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Errata

The Editors of the Political Economy regret that despite their best efforts, printing mistakes have occurred in the pages of this volume due to the extremely limited time at their disposal. They urge the readers to note the corrections given in the form of a list attached at the end of this volume.

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FOREWORD

This volume of the Political Economy contains the papers read at the Second Annual Conference of the Bangladesh Economic Association, held in March, 1976. The theme of the Conference was: "Economy of Bangladesh: Which Way Are We Moving", appropriately chosen to reflect the changed mood of the country, brought about by the political change of November, 1975. The change in mood was remarkable in more ways than one. For it brought in its wake an atmosphere in which discussion could be held on all the major social, economic and political problems facing the country without fear or favour.

The problems, issues and questions previously held to be settled, were allowed to be reopened for analysis and debate. As the papers printed in this volume show, the participants of the Conference took full advantage of this opportunity and addressed themselves freely to the various issues of policy in all their multi-faceted aspects. Although there is no single direction that can be distinguished to which the discussion could be said to have converged, it was quite clear, nonetheless, that so far as the methods, instruments and strategies of development were concerned, there was an underlying unity of views towards a readiness to evaluate them in terms of their effectiveness and a desire to be pragmatic with respect to the overall development of our motherland. This can be considered as the unique feature of the Conference of 1976.

The Chief Editor gratefully acknowledges the help and kindness which he has received from the members of the Department of Economics and the Bureau of Economic Research of Dacca University in the various stages of publishing this issue of the journal.

He is also grateful to the Asia Foundation of Bangladesh for the generous financial assistance without which it would have been difficult to publish this journal within the limited time at his disposal.

Dated, Dacca
the 14th June, 1977.

M. K. Chowdhury
Chief Editor

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বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির দ্বিতীয় বার্ষিক সম্মেলনে প্রদত্ত
সমিতির সভাপতি ডঃ মহিউদ্দিন আলমগীর-এর

ভাষণ

মহামান্য রাষ্ট্রপতি, রাষ্ট্রপতির উপদেষ্টা পরিষদের সদস্য অধ্যাপক
মীর্জা নূরুল হুদা এবং সমবেত শ্রদ্ধাবান্,

শ্রদ্ধীর্ঘ দুই বছর বিরতির পর বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির দ্বিতীয়
বার্ষিক সম্মেলনের আয়োজন করতে সমর্থ হয়েছি। এই সময়টুকুকে আমি
শ্রদ্ধীর্ঘ বলছি এই কারণে যে, এর মধ্যে বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক, সামাজিক ও
অর্থনৈতিক পটভূমিকায় অনেক পরিবর্তন সাধিত হয়ে আমাদের জ্ঞান আজ
এক নতুন সত্তাবনার দ্বার উন্মুক্ত করেছে। আমরা এ সম্মেলনের মূল বিষয়
হিসেবে “বাংলাদেশের অর্থনীতি : আমরা আজ কোন্ পথে?” এটাকেই
গ্রহণ করেছি। অবশ্য অর্থনীতিবিদ হলেও আমরা আমাদের আলোচনা
শুধু অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যাবলীর মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ রাখতে চাই না, কারণ সামাজিক
ও রাজনৈতিক পরিবেশ সশব্দে একটা সম্যক ধারণা না থাকলে অর্থনৈতিক
সমস্যাবলীর পূর্ণাঙ্গ আকাংখিত স্ফুটন গতিপথ নির্ধারণ করা সম্ভব নয়।

অর্থনীতিবিদগণ স্বভাবত নিজেদের অত্যন্ত সংকীর্ণ গণ্ডির মধ্যে আবদ্ধ
রেখে বিভিন্ন সমস্যার তাৎপর্য বিশ্লেষণ করার চেষ্টা করেন। এর কিছুটা
আমাদের পঞ্চবার্ষিকী পরিকল্পনায় প্রতিফলিত হয়েছে। তদানীন্তন সংশ্লিষ্ট
কর্তৃপক্ষ একথা সম্পূর্ণভাবে উপলব্ধি করেননি যে, পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন, মূল্যায়ন
এবং বাস্তবায়নের পথে রাজনৈতিক চিন্তাধারা এবং পরিকল্পনাবিদদের চিন্তা-
ধারার সমন্বয় সাধন একান্ত অপরিহার্য। স্মরণ্যে কোন দেশের অর্থনীতির
গতিপথ নির্ধারণ করতে হলে সামগ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গির প্রয়োজন আছে।

আমাদের অর্থনীতি কোন্ পথে—এ সশব্দে আমার বিচার বুদ্ধির উপর
ভিত্তি করে একটি বিস্তারিত প্রবন্ধ আপনাদের কাছে পেশ করেছি।
আমি আশা করবো এর মধ্যে যে-সমস্ত প্রশ্ন উত্থাপন করার চেষ্টা করেছি
সেগুলি এই সম্মেলনের বিভিন্ন অধিবেশনে আলোচিত হবে। আজকে দেশের

এই ক্রান্তিলগ্নে আমাদের সমস্ত মৌলিক সমস্যাবলীর খোলাখুলি আলোচনার যথেষ্ট প্রয়োজন আছে। তবে এই আলোচনা সম্পূর্ণ তত্ত্ব-ভিত্তিক না হয়ে বাস্তব-ভিত্তিক এবং প্রাসংগিক হওয়া বাঞ্ছনীয়। আমাদের সমস্যার সমাধান সম্পর্কে যথেষ্ট মতভেদ রয়েছে। তবে আমি মনে করি দেশের বাস্তব অবস্থার সঠিক বিশ্লেষণ করলে এই মতভেদের কারণ অনেকখানি দূর করা সম্ভব। অবশ্য নেহাৎ মনগত এবং ব্যক্তিগত কোন্দলের কারণে যে মতভেদের সৃষ্টি হয় তার নিরসন সহজে সম্ভব নয়। ক্রমাগত দেশের সমস্যাবলীর জটিল আকার ধারণের পেছনে এই ধরনের কোন্দলের যথেষ্ট অবদান রয়েছে। এবং এ-সমস্যার বিশেষ কোন তারতম্য আজও হয়েছে বলে আমার মনে হয় না। সুতরাং আজকে বা সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রয়োজন তা হচ্ছে নিরপেক্ষ দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি থেকে সমস্যাবলীর মূল বিশ্লেষণ এবং আদর্শগত ভিত্তিতে ভবিষ্যৎ যাত্রার পথ স্ফুগম করা। এই যাত্রাপথের সংগে ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িত আছে লক্ষ মানুষের ভাগ্য। সেই মানুষ বারা দারিদ্র, বেকারত্ব এবং বিভিন্ন ধরনের অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক এবং রাজনৈতিক নিপেষণে নিপীড়িত। বাংলাদেশের জনগণের ভাগ্য এবং তাদের সমাজ-ব্যবস্থার গতিপথ সনাতনী অর্থনৈতিক মাপকাঠিতে বিচার করা সম্ভব নয়। এই গতিপথ বিশ্লেষণ করতে হলে আমাদের জানতে হবে বর্তমান সমাজ-ব্যবস্থা এবং তার নেতৃবৃন্দের নীতি বিভিন্ন ধরনের শোষণের হাত থেকে সাধারণ নির্ধারিত মানুষের মুক্তির পথে কতখানি সহায়ক হচ্ছে। আমার মতে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নতি অথবা অবনতির মাপকাঠি হবে এদেশের উৎপাদন যন্ত্র প্রত্যক্ষ উৎপাদন কারীদের ভাগ্য পরিবর্তনে কতটুকু নিয়োজিত আছে। আমাদের অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আমার মনে হয়, জনগণের ভাগ্য পরিবর্তন ততক্ষণ সম্ভব নয় যতক্ষণ পর্যন্ত এদেশের উৎপাদন শক্তির সম্প্রসারণ করে একই সঙ্গে উৎপাদন সম্পর্কের এমন মৌলিক পরিবর্তন সংঘটিত হয় যে উৎপাদন শক্তির মালিকানা প্রত্যক্ষ অথবা পরোক্ষভাবে উৎপাদন কারীদের হাতেই ন্যস্ত হয়। কারণ এ-ছাড়া আভ্যন্তরীণ এবং বৈদেশিক শোষকদের প্রভাব এদেশ থেকে দূর করা সম্ভব নয়। সুতরাং আমাদের সামগ্রিক প্রচেষ্টার কার্যকারিতার মাপকাঠি হবে আমরা কতখানি এই অভীষ্ট লক্ষ্যের দিকে পৌঁছাতে সমর্থ হচ্ছি। এর সঙ্গে অবশ্য আমাদের বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখতে হবে যে দারিদ্র, বেকারত্ব এবং অর্থনৈতিক বৈষম্যের গতিপথ কোন দিকে।

বাংলাদেশের অর্থনীতির বিশেষ বৈশিষ্ট্য যে অনুন্নত উৎপাদন শক্তি এবং শোষণকারী উৎপাদন সম্পর্ক এ নিয়ে বোধ হয় বিশেষ যুক্তি-তর্কের অবতারণার প্রয়োজন নেই। এর প্রত্যক্ষ প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায় উৎপাদন ক্ষমতার নিম্নমান এবং জনগণের দারিদ্রের ব্যাপকতা ও তার নগ্ন প্রকাশের মাধ্যমে। দারিদ্রের অসহ্য জ্বালায় যে শতলক্ষ মানুষ প্রতিনিয়ত ধুকে ধুকে মরছে সে কথা এ সম্মেলন কক্ষে উপস্থিত কারো বোধ হয় অজানা নেই। যদিও আমরা চেষ্টা করি তা ভুলে থাকবার জগ্গে এবং এর দূরীকরণে আমাদের সবার যে বিশেষ দায়িত্ব আছে সে কথা আমরা অনেকেই স্বীকার করতে রাজী নই। বরং আমরা নিষ্ঠুরের মত হয় প্রত্যক্ষ শোষণকারীর ভূমিকা গ্রহণ করে অথবা শোষণকারীর সহায়ক হিসাবে প্রতিনিয়ত অবলীলাক্রমে কাজ করে চলেছি। তা না হলে গত দুই যুগ ধরে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের নামে এত অর্থ ব্যয় সত্ত্বেও কেন দিন দিন দারিদ্রসীমার নীচে অবস্থিত লোকের সংখ্যা বেড়ে চলেছে? কেন ১৯৭৪ সালে শতলক্ষ নারী, শিশু, বৃদ্ধ ও যুবক দুভিক্ষের মরণ কামড়ের স্বীকার হলো? আপনাদের কি মনে হয় না যে সেই মৃতপ্রায় ক্ষুধাতুর মানুষের চোখের দৃষ্টি আজ এবং ভবিষ্যতেও আমাদের জগ্গ অভিভাষিত হয়ে থাকবে, যদি না আমরা সেই নিদারুণ অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে শিক্ষা গ্রহণ করি এবং সমবেত ভাবে সকল প্রকারের দেশী এবং বিদেশী শোষণের পরিসমাপ্তি ঘটানোর সংগ্রামে রতী হই। বিশেষ করে এদেশ থেকে বিজাতীয় মূলধনের প্রভাব দূর করা একান্ত আবশ্যক। যে-সকল শক্তি-১৯৭৪ এর দুঃখজনক অভিজ্ঞতার জগ্গ দায়ী তাদের প্রভাব আজও আমাদের সমাজের বিভিন্ন স্তরে বিভিন্নরূপে কার্যকর আছে। এমন কি অনেক নূতন শক্তিও নিজেদের বিষাক্ত ফনা তুলে ধরে জনহিতবিরোধী কাজে লিপ্ত হবার প্রয়াস পাচ্ছে। সুতরাং সময়মত উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ না করলে অতীতের বিভিন্ন দুঃখজনক ঘটনার পুনরাবৃত্তি অবশ্যজ্ঞাবী। বিশেষ করে বাঙ্গালীর কল্যাণে যে বাংলাদেশের জন্ম সেই মূল লক্ষ্য থেকে আমরা আরও অনেক দূরে সরে যাব। ফলে হবে আরও দারিদ্র, আরও দুভিক্ষ এবং আরও মৃত্যু। আমি আমার মানসক্ষে এমন অবস্থার সৃষ্টি হওয়া অবশ্যজ্ঞাবী মনে করছি যেখানে আমাদের মধ্যকার অনেক সুবিধাবাদী লোকের আজকের আশ্রয় প্রধান জীবন একটি পরিহাসে পরিণত হবে। সুতরাং আজ এই জনগণের পট পরিবর্তন শুধু যে সেই দারিদ্রের বিশালতা ও গভীরতার উপসম ঘটানোর জগ্গে প্রয়োজন তা নয়, এর প্রয়োজন আছে আমাদের সমষ্টিগত সমাজ জীবনের মৌলিক মূল্যবোধ পরিবর্তনে, যে মূল্যবোধ পরি-

বর্তন আমাদের জীবনকে আরও সর্বাঙ্গীন সুন্দর করে তুলবে এবং সমাজের সকল স্তরের মানুষের মধ্যে বেঁচে থাকার জন্তে নতুন করে উৎসাহ যোগাবে। তখন এমন এক পরিবেশের সৃষ্টি হবে যে সকল মানুষ একান্তভাবে সকলের সমন্বিত কল্যাণের উৎকর্ষ সাধনের জন্ত সচেষ্ট হবে।

আপামর জনসাধারণের অবস্থার অবনতির মূলে রয়েছে সম্পদ এবং আয়ের ক্রমবর্ধমান অসম বণ্টন। বৈষম্য এবং দারিদ্রের বিভিন্ন সূচক পর্যালোচনা করলে দেখা যায় যে, ষাট দশকের তুলনায় সত্তর দশকে অবস্থার অনেকখানি অবনতি ঘটেছে। ১৯৭৩-৭৪ সনে প্রায় ৫ কোটি ৪০ লক্ষ লোক দারিদ্র সীমার নীচে জীবন যাপন করছিল। সম্পদ বণ্টনের অসমতা দিন দিন বেড়েই চলেছে। গ্রামাঞ্চলে ক্রমাগত সম্পদ হস্তান্তরের ফলে এক জটিল পরিস্থিতির উদ্ভব হয়েছে। ছোট চাষী এবং ভূমিহীন চাষীর সংখ্যা বাড়তির পথে। প্রাকৃতিক অথবা অস্বাভাবিক দুর্ভোগের ফলে যখন মানুষের অবস্থার বিশেষ অবনতি ঘটে তখন তাদের নিজেদের পূর্বকার অবস্থা বজায় রাখা অত্যন্ত কঠিন হয়ে দাড়ায়। এই অবস্থার জোতদারী, মহাজনী, পুঞ্জিবাদী ও আমলাতন্ত্রী শোষণ যন্ত্রের নিষ্পেষণ আরও মারাত্মক হয়। এই শোষণ যন্ত্রের চাপে গ্রামীণ দরিদ্র জনসাধারণ তাদের শেষ সহায়-সহল জমি, ভিটেমাটি অথবা অস্বাভাবিক সম্পদ হাতছাড়া করতে বাধ্য হয়। ১৯৭৪ সনের দুভিক্ষের সময় এক জরিপে আমরা দেখেছি যে, শহরাঞ্চলের লজরখানার অধিকাংশ (৭০%) তাদের কোন একটা সম্পদ সাধারণ মূল্যের চাইতে অনেক কম মূল্যে হস্তান্তর করতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন। সকল মানুষের জীবনের ভিত্তিতে সমতা না আনতে পারলে এ অবস্থার উন্নতি মোটেই সম্ভব নয়। এই সমতা আসতে পারে একমাত্র উৎপাদনক্ষম সম্পদ অথবা উৎপাদনের সুসম বণ্টনের স্থায়ী ভিত্তি সৃষ্টির মাধ্যমে। এ ধরনের ব্যবস্থা সাধারণতঃ নেতৃবর্গের শ্রেণীস্বার্থের পরিপন্থী হওয়াতে এ পথে অগ্রসর হওয়ার জন্ত তাদের মধ্যে বিশেষ গরজ দেখা যায় না। এর জন্ত প্রয়োজন রাজনৈতিক নেতৃবর্গের শ্রেণীগত এবং গুণগত পরিবর্তন সাধন করা যা বাংলাদেশের পট-ভূমিকায় একমাত্র সমাজতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের মাধ্যমেই সম্ভব। এর দ্বারাই সম্ভব জনগণের সত্যিকারের অর্থে সর্বপ্রকার নিষ্পেষণের হাত থেকে মুক্তি অর্জন যে মুক্তি বলতে আমরা বুঝি উৎপাদন যন্ত্রের (শক্তি সমূহের) উপর উৎপাদনকারীর অধিকার প্রতিষ্ঠা করা।

এদেশে যদিও বেশ কয়েকটি পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন করা হয়েছে তবু রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্ব পরিকল্পিত উপায়ে সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের উপর বিশেষ জোর দেন নাই। স্বাধীনতা উত্তর বাংলাদেশে যে পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন করা হয়েছিল তার লক্ষ্য ছিল সমাজতান্ত্রিক সমাজ-ব্যবস্থা কামেম করা। কিন্তু একটি সামন্তবাদী এবং আধা-সামন্তবাদী সমাজ-ব্যবস্থা থেকে পুঁজিবাদী সমাজ-ব্যবস্থার স্তর এড়িয়ে সমাজতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য যে সাহসিকতা, নিষ্ঠা, ত্যাগ ও দূরদর্শিতার প্রয়োজন তদাণীন্তন রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্ব এবং রাজনৈতিক কর্মীদের মধ্যে তার যথেষ্ট অভাব ছিল। সবচেয়ে দুঃখের বিষয় এই যে, অসমাজতান্ত্রিক নেতৃত্ব সমাজতন্ত্রের বুলি আওড়িয়ে দেশ এবং জনগণকে বিভ্রান্ত করার প্রচেষ্টা চালিয়েছিল। তাছাড়া তদাণীন্তন পরিকল্পনাবিদদের রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্বের সঙ্গে খুব একটা ঘনিষ্ঠ যোগাযোগ ছিল না। পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নের সাথে জনগণের যোগাযোগ ছিল আরও কম। এমতাবস্থায় যে পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন করা হয়েছিল তা বাস্তবমুখি হতে পারেনি। বিশেষ করে পরিকল্পনার পিছনে রাজনৈতিক সহযোগিতা এবং সমর্থন ছিল না। সুতরাং সমাজতান্ত্রিক সমাজ-ব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠার স্বপ্ন চরিতার্থ হওয়ার কোন কারণই ছিল না। এ পরিকল্পনা কাগজী পরিকল্পনার পরিণত হলো। রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্ব স্বতঃপ্রনোদিত হয়ে তথাকথিত সমাজতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার উদ্দেশ্যে যে ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করলেন সেগুলিও জনগণের মনে বিশেষ সাড়া জাগাতে পারলেনা। কারণ অচিরেই একথা স্পষ্ট প্রতীয়মান হলো যে, সমাজতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার নামে এক নূতন ধরনের শোষণ যন্ত্রের উদ্ভব করা হয়েছে।

প্রথম পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়নের সম্ভাবনা যে সন্দেহপরাহত সেকথা সর্বজনবিদিত। কিছুদিন যাবত তিন বছর মেয়াদী একটি পরিকল্পনার কথা শোনা যাচ্ছে। এর রূপ যে কি হবে তা আমাদের জানা নেই। তবে একটি কথা মনে রাখতে হবে যে রাজনৈতিক শূণ্যতার মধ্যে কোন পরিকল্পনা কার্যকরী করা সম্ভব নয়। তাছাড়া আমলাতন্ত্রের সঙ্গে কোন্দলের ফলস্বরূপ পরিকল্পনা কমিশন এবং তৎসঙ্গে সংশ্লিষ্ট সবার যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ পদমর্যাদা খোলাতে হয়েছে। প্রথম কমিশনের সদস্যস্বল্প মোটামুটিভাবে কতকটা নিজেদের গরজেই নির্বাসনে যেতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন। বর্তমান কমিশনের সদস্যস্বল্পের অবস্থা দেখলে মনে হয় তাদের ক্ষমতা বিশেষ দায়িত্বে নিয়োজিত অফিসারের চাইতে বেশী নয়। দেশের মধ্যে থেকেও আজকের পরিকল্পনা কমিশন এক ধরনের নির্বাসন জীবন বাপন করছেন। এটা অত্যন্ত দুঃখের বিষয় যে, অশুভদিনের ছায়া

কাটিয়ে আমরা যখন আলোর মধ্যে আসলাম ঠিক তখনই কিছু স্বার্থাশ্রমী আমলা এবং পুঁজিবাদী শক্তিসমূহের ষড়যন্ত্রের ফলে স্বর্ঠু পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণ এবং বাস্তবায়নের স্বযোগ হারাতে বসেছি। আমার মনে হয় অবস্থা দেশের জন্ত মঙ্গলজনক নয়। এদেশের জনগণের ভাগ্য পরিবর্তন করতে হলে সমাজ-ব্যবস্থার অত্যাশ্রম মৌলিক পরিবর্তনের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সুপরিবর্তিত উপায়ে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রচেষ্টা চালাতে হবে। পরিকল্পনাকে বাদ দিয়ে আমরা বেশী দূর অগ্রসর হতে পারবনা। ব্যক্তিগত পুঁজিবাদের অব্যাহত সম্প্রসারণ আমাদের জন্ত বাঞ্ছনীয় নয়। বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান অবস্থায় ব্যক্তিগত পুঁজিবাদের বিকাশ যে কিছুটা উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি করতে পারে সে বিষয়ে আমার সন্দেহ নেই, তবে এটা দীর্ঘ মেয়াদী সময়ে সাধারণ মানুষের ভাগ্য পরিবর্তনের ভিত্তি হতে পারেনা। সত্যি কথা বলতে কি, ব্যক্তিগত পুঁজিবাদের সম্পূর্ণক হিসেবে যে সম্পদ হস্তান্তর করা হবে, বিশেষ করে বৈদেশিক মুদ্রায়, তার বেশীর ভাগই বিদেশে পাঁচার হয়ে যাবে। ঐতিহাসিক পটভূমিকায় আমাদের দেশের ব্যক্তিগত পুঁজিবাদের চরিত্র বিশ্লেষণ করলে একথা নিঃসন্দেহে ধরা পড়ে। এর চেয়ে আমার মনে হয় আজকের অবস্থায় স্বযোগ আমরা নিতে পারি পরিকল্পনার উপর জোর দিয়ে এবং সুপরিবর্তিত উপায়ে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব সংগঠন সমূহের কর্মক্ষমতা ও উৎপাদন ক্ষমতা বৃদ্ধি করে।

দীর্ঘমেয়াদী পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণের ভিত্তি স্বৃষ্ট না হওয়া পর্যন্ত অন্তর্বর্তীকালের জন্ত আমি কয়েকটি প্রস্তাব পেশ করতে চাই। (১) দেশের সম্পদ আহরণের সম্ভাবনা ষাঁচাই করে একটি মধ্যমেয়াদী পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণ করা উচিত। এই পরিকল্পনার লক্ষ্য হবে, (ক) জনগণের ন্যূনতম চাহিদা মিটানো, (খ) সকল কর্মক্ষম ব্যক্তিদের উৎপাদনক্ষম কর্মসংস্থানের প্রচেষ্টায় উপযুক্ত পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি এবং সমাজতান্ত্রিক সমাজ-ব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠার লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছানোর তাগিদে প্রয়োজনীয় পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ এবং (গ) বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের উপর আমাদের নির্ভরশীলতা কমানোর পথ স্বগম করা (২) এই মধ্যমেয়াদী পরিকল্পনা চূড়ান্তভাবে গৃহীত হওয়ার আগে দেশের সর্বস্তরের জনগণকে এর বিভিন্ন দিক আলোচনা ও বিশ্লেষণ করার স্বযোগ দিতে হবে। পরিকল্পনা গৃহীত হওয়ার পর এর প্রতি পূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক, প্রতিষ্ঠানিক এবং প্রশাসনিক সমর্থন দিতে হবে। তা না হলে এই পরিকল্পনার বাস্তবায়ন বিঘ্নিত হবে। (৩) কিছু নির্দিষ্ট খাতে ব্যক্তিগত পুঁজি বিকাশের অনুমতি দেওয়া যেতে পারে যদি এর কার্যকলাপ জনসাধারণের

কল্যাণ বৃদ্ধির পথে সহায়ক হয়। (৪) রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব সংগঠন সমূহের কার্যক্ষমতা বৃদ্ধির জন্ত বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে হবে। এই খাতে বরাদ্দ সকল জাতীয় সম্পদের পূর্ণ সদ্যবহার নিশ্চিত করতে হবে।

আভ্যন্তরীণ সম্পদ আহরণের ভিত্তি সম্প্রসারিত না করলে পরিকল্পনার স্তূৰ্ণ বাস্তবায়ন সম্ভব হবে না। বাংলাদেশের সঞ্চয়ের হার এত কম যে এর ভিত্তিতে ন্যূনতম চাহিদা মিটাতে সক্ষম এমন কোন পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন সম্ভব নয়। বর্তমানে আভ্যন্তরীণ সম্পদ থেকে বিনিয়োগের অংশ অত্যন্ত নগণ্য। স্তূতরাং সরকারী ও বেসরকারী উভয় খাতে সঞ্চয়ের হার বৃদ্ধি করে তা উৎপাদনক্ষম কাজে বিনিয়োগ করার ব্যবস্থা করতে না পারলে আমাদের বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের উপর নির্ভরশীলতা কমানোর স্বপ্ন কখনও বাস্তব রূপ নিতে পারবে না। এ বিষয়ে কয়েকটি বিশেষ পদক্ষেপের কথা চিন্তা করা যেতে পারে।

- (১) সম্পদ এবং আয়ের পূর্ণ বণ্টন এবং সেই সাথে সঞ্চয়ের প্রাস্তিক হার বাড়ানোর ব্যবস্থা করা।
- (২) জনগণকে সঞ্চয়ে উৎসাহিত করার জন্ত বিভিন্ন ধরনের ঋণপত্রের ব্যবস্থা করা। ঋণপত্র থেকে লাভের হারের দ্রব্যমূল্যের বৃদ্ধির সঙ্গে সমন্বয় রাখতে হবে।
- (৩) অমুদ্রাভিত্তিক গ্রামীণ বিনিয়োগ বাড়ানোর জন্ত উপযুক্ত প্রতিষ্ঠানিক ব্যবস্থা নিতে হবে। একথা বোধহয় আমাদের সবার জানা আছে যে, এদেশে অমুদ্রাভিত্তিক বিনিয়োগের স্ৰবোণ অসীম।

সরকারী খাতে সঞ্চয় বাড়ানোর জন্ত নিম্নে বর্ণিত কয়েকটি ব্যবস্থা নিতে হয়। (ক) রাজস্ব খাতে সরকারী ব্যয় বৃদ্ধির হার হ্রাস করা। (খ) আয় এবং মূল্যনির্ধারণ নীতি এমন হওয়া প্রয়োজন যে অনুপার্জিত আয়ের সম্পূর্ণ অংশ যেন সরকার নিজ খাতে সংগ্রহ করতে পারেন। (গ) রাজস্ব আয় বাড়ানোর জন্ত কর আদায়কারী প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থার পুনর্বিজ্ঞান করা দরকার। বিশেষ করে কর ফাঁকি দেওয়ার সমস্ত পথ রোধ করতে হবে। এছাড়া যে সমস্ত খাতে কর জনিত আয়ের চাইতে ব্যয় বেশী সেগুলি রাখার যৌক্তিকতা পুনর্বিবেচনা করতে হবে। কর আদায়ের কয়েকটি খাতকে একত্র করে সম্পদ আহরণের পথ স্মগম করার অনেক স্ৰবোণ আছে। (ঘ) উৎপাদন শক্তি বৃদ্ধি অথবা মূদ্রাভিত্তিক অর্থনীতির সম্প্রসারণের হারের সঙ্গে

সংযোগ না রেখে অবাধভাবে ঘাটতি অর্থ সংস্থান-এর নীতি বর্জন করতে হবে। রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব খাতে উদ্বৃত্ত বাড়িয়ে উৎপাদনক্ষম বিনিয়োগের ভিত্তি প্রশস্ত করতে হবে। বর্তমানে এই উদ্বৃত্ত রাজস্ব খাতে আয় হিসাবে ধরা হয়, কিন্তু আসলে এটা উন্নয়ন খাতের প্রাপ্তি। (ঙ) উদ্বৃত্ত চাষীদের আয়ের উপর কর আরোপ করা উচিত। (চ) সর্বপ্রকারের ভতু'কী পুনর্বিবেচনা করে দেখা উচিত। অবশ্য এপ্রসঙ্গে ছোট চাষী ও ভূমিহীন ভাগ-চাষীদের জন্ম বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা করার প্রয়োজন রয়েছে।

উন্নয়নের জন্ম সম্পদ আহরণের কথা বলতে গেলে স্বভাবতই বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের উপর বাংলাদেশের ক্রমবর্ধমান নির্ভরশীলতার কথা আসে। আজকে আমরা আমাদের অনেক মৌলিক চাহিদা মিটানোর জন্ম অপরের মুখাপেক্ষী হয়ে পড়েছি, একটা জাতির পক্ষে এটা বাঞ্ছনীয় নয়। জাতীয় অর্থনীতি এবং সমাজব্যবস্থার উপর বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের প্রভাব অত্যন্ত গভীরভাবে বিশ্লেষণ করা প্রয়োজন। এ প্রসঙ্গে আমি বিদেশী সাহায্যের ক্ষতিকর দিকটা তুলে ধরার চেষ্টা করব। (১) সংযুক্ত সাহায্য-নীতির দরুন ঋণের তুলনায় সত্যিকারের সম্পদ সরবরাহ অনেক কম। (২) স্বল্পমেয়াদী সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্ম শাসকগোষ্ঠী অনেক সময় ভবিষ্যৎ বংশধরদের কর্মক্ষমতাকে ঋণের জালে আবদ্ধ করতে দ্বিধাবোধ করেন না। (৩) বাংলাদেশ সহ অনেক উন্নয়নগামী দেশে বৈদেশিক সাহায্য দুর্নীতিবাজ ও কর্মক্ষমতাহীন ফ্যাসিষ্ট সরকার কর্তৃক দুর্বল জনসাধারণের শোষণ এবং নিপেষণের পথ স্বগম করে। (৪) বৈদেশিক সাহায্য অনেক সময় প্রাপক দেশসমূহের প্রযুক্তিগত নির্ভরশীলতা বাড়িয়ে তোলে। (৫) বিদেশী পুঁজি দেশীয় সম্পদ জনগণ বিরোধী শক্তিসমূহের কাছে হস্তান্তর করার পথ প্রশস্ত করে। (৬) বিজাতীয় মূলধন আভ্যন্তরীণ, সামাজিক এবং রাজনৈতিক পরিবর্তনের উপর ঋণে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে। এসমস্ত থেকে একথা স্পষ্ট প্রতীয়মান হয় যে, বিদেশী পুঁজির ভূমিকা অত্যন্ত গভীরভাবে বিশ্লেষণ করার প্রয়োজন আছে। আমি বিদেশী সাহায্যকে সম্পূর্ণ উপেক্ষা করার কথা বলছি না, তবে এর দ্বারা কতটুকু পরিমাণে উৎপাদন শক্তি বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে সেদিকে নজর দেবার জন্ম সংশ্লিষ্ট কর্তৃপক্ষকে অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি। একটা কথা আমি অবশ্য স্মৃতি কর্তে ঘোষণা করতে চাই যে, বিদেশী পুঁজির যে অংশ দেশীয় শোষণকারী শক্তির সঙ্গে হাত মিলিয়ে জনগণের শ্রমলব্ধ ফলকে আত্মসাত করার প্রচেষ্টার লিপ্ত হয় তাকে এদেশের মাটি থেকে উৎখাত করার জন্ম প্রগতিশীল শক্তিসমূহকে এগিয়ে আসতে হবে। আমি পরিকল্পনা

কমিশনকে অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি স্বাধীনতা-উত্তর কালে বাংলাদেশ যতখানি বিদেশী ঋণ গ্রহণ করেছে তার কষ্টটুকু উৎপাদনক্ষম কাজে বিনিয়োগ করা হয়েছে সে বিষয়ে একটি খতিয়ান তৈরী করতে। দেশবাসীর পক্ষে একথা জানা অত্যন্ত প্রয়োজনীয় যে, আমরা ভবিষ্যতে ঋণ পরিশোধ করার জগু কি ধরনের প্রস্তুতি নিচ্ছি।

পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়নে অপারগতা, দেশীয় সম্পদ আহরণে শিথিলতা এবং বিদেশী সাহায্যের উপর অবাধ নির্ভরশীলতা এসবের পেছনে আমাদের ঔপনিবেশিক আমলাতন্ত্রের ভূমিকা অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। বস্তুতপক্ষে, আমার মনে হয় ইতিহাসের আলোকে দেশের সামাজিক এবং অর্থনৈতিক অগ্রগতির পথে আমলাতন্ত্রের ভূমিকা নূতনভাবে পর্যালোচনা করা উচিত। যেদেশে আদর্শগত শৃঙ্খতা বিরাজ করেছে সেখানে আমলাতন্ত্রের অশুভ প্রভাব বিস্তার অত্যন্ত সহজসাধ্য হয়ে পড়ে। একথা বলা বাহুল্য যে, বর্তমান বিশ্বের অধিকাংশ উন্নয়নকামীদের আমলাতন্ত্র ঔপনিবেশিক শাসনের ছায়া মাত্র। বাংলাদেশ সহ সকল অনুন্নত দেশে প্রাক-স্বাধীনতা কালে আমলাগোষ্ঠী ঔপনিবেশিক শোষণের হাতিয়ার হিসাবে কাজ করেছে। জনগণের দরিদ্রতা এবং প্রতিষ্ঠানগত কাঠামোর দুর্বলতার পূর্ণ সুযোগ গ্রহণ করে দিনের পর দিন নিজেদের স্বার্থসিদ্ধি করেছে এই শোষণগোষ্ঠী। বৈদেশিক শোষণকারীদের সঙ্গে হাত মিলিয়ে দেশের সম্পদ লুণ্ঠনের পথ প্রশস্ত করে দিয়েছে এই আমলারা। এ অবস্থায় দেশের আভ্যন্তরীণ পুঁজিবাদী শোষণগোষ্ঠীও অবাধে সর্বপ্রকারের শোষণক্রিয়ার সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করে চলেছে। স্বাধীনতা-উত্তর কালে এই শোষণগোষ্ঠীর শ্রেণী-চরিত্রে বিশেষ পরিবর্তন ঘটেনি। অতি দ্রুত এরা ক্ষমতাশীল রাজনৈতিক শক্তির সঙ্গে আঁতাত স্থাপন করে নূতনভাবে দেশের সম্পদ এবং সাধারণ মানুষের শ্রম-শোষণের ব্যবস্থা পাকাপাকি করে। জনহিতকর এক সমাজব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠার জগু যদি কোন জাতিকে এই ঔপনিবেশিক আমলাতন্ত্রের উপর নির্ভরশীল হতে হয় তবে এর চেয়ে দুর্ভাগ্যের কথা আর কি হতে পারে। আমরা যদি এখনও এদেশে সমাজতান্ত্রিক অর্থনীতি এবং সমাজব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠা করার কথা চিন্তা করি তাহলে বর্তমান ঔপনিবেশিক আমলাতন্ত্রের পুনর্বিচার করতে হবে। বিশেষ করে সাধারণ মানুষের দৈনন্দিন জীবন থেকে আমলাতন্ত্রের প্রভাব কমাতে হবে। তবে বিকল্প-ব্যবস্থা সম্পর্কে অনেক চিন্তা এবং বিশ্লেষণের প্রয়োজন রয়েছে। এখন শুধু এটুকু বলা যেতে পারে যে, সর্বস্তরের জনগণের প্রতি-নিধি যারা সাধারণ মানুষের সুখ-দুঃখের অংশীদার হয়ে তাদের অবস্থার উন্নতির

কাজে রতী হন, সেই ধরনের প্রকৃত গণনেতৃত্বের হাতে রাজনৈতিক এবং প্রশাসনিক ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তর করার ফল চিন্তা করা উচিত। এমন ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে যাতে বিভিন্ন স্তরের কর্মকর্তার নীচের স্তরের কর্মীদের কাজের তত্ত্বাবধান করলেও পরিশেষে সবাইকে আপন কাজের জন্য সরাসরিভাবে জনগণের নিকট জবাবদিহি করা হয়। সত্যি কথা বলতে কি, আজকে সবচাইতে বেশী তাগিদ হচ্ছে নীতি নির্ধারণকারীদের এবং সেই নীতির উপর নির্ভরশীল জনগণ এবং তার দ্বারা নিয়ন্ত্রিত কার্যক্রমের কেন্দ্রস্থলের মধ্যকার দূরত্ব কমিয়ে আনা।

এবার আমি বাংলাদেশের গ্রামীণ অর্থনীতি এবং সমাজব্যবস্থা সম্বন্ধে দু-একটা কথা বলতে চাই। এদেশের কৃষিতে উৎপাদন ব্যবস্থার মধ্যে সামন্তবাদ, আধা-সামন্তবাদ এবং পুঁজিবাদ এসব কিছুই উপাদান বিদ্যমান আছে। এসমস্ত উপাদান এমন একটি কাঠামোর মধ্যে সহঅবস্থান করছে যেখান থেকে তারা নিজ নিজ গতিপথে সনাতনী পন্থার শোষণ প্রক্রিয়া অব্যাহত রেখেছে। এধরনের শোষণের হাত থেকে গ্রামবাংলাকে বাঁচাতে হলে ভূমির ভোগ দখল ব্যবস্থার বৈপ্লবিক ও আমূল পরিবর্তন আনতে হবে। বস্তুত গ্রামবাংলার সামাজিক এবং অর্থনৈতিক বিপ্লব আনয়নের জন্য ভূমিসংস্কার অপরিহার্য। তবে ভূমিসংস্কারের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে উৎপাদন শক্তি বৃদ্ধির জন্য উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে হবে। এর জন্য উৎপাদনের প্রযুক্তিগত সম্ভাবনা সমূহ অত্যন্ত গভীরভাবে বিশ্লেষণ করতে হবে। বাংলাদেশের জনসংখ্যা এর সম্পদ বৃদ্ধির আনুসংগিক হার পর্যালোচনা করলে একটা কথা স্পষ্ট প্রতীয়মান হয় যে, এদেশের জন্য সবচেয়ে বাঞ্ছনীয় পথ হলো সমষ্টির মঙ্গলের জন্য সমষ্টিগতভাবে সকল সম্পদ ব্যবহারের প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা করা।

উপরোক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করলে পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে যেমন দ্রুততর কৃষিবিপ্লব আনয়নের লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছানো যাবে, তেমনি আবার সকল মানুষের ন্যূনতম চাহিদা মিটিয়ে জাতীয় স্বাধীনতা বাড়ানো সম্ভব হবে। একথা বলা বাহুল্য যে, গ্রামবাংলার উৎপাদন এবং স্বল্প বৃদ্ধির মাধ্যমেই বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের উপর নির্ভরশীলতা কমিয়ে আনা যাবে। আমার কাছে যে সত্য অত্যন্ত স্পষ্ট হয়ে দেখা দেয় তা হচ্ছে বর্তমান ভূমিব্যবস্থার কাঠামোতে মৌলিক পরিবর্তন না আনলে কোন প্রকারেই সরকারের উদ্যোগে গ্রামবাংলার মানুষের ভাগ্য পরিবর্তন সম্ভব নয়। সে উদ্যোগ যে রূপই ধারণ করুক না কেন—সবুজ বিপ্লব বা স্বনির্ভর বাংলাদেশ।

স্বনির্ভর বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গ যখন এসে পড়লো তখন এ সম্বন্ধে কিছু মন্তব্য করার প্রয়োজন আছে বলে আমি মনে করি। তবে প্রথমেই স্বনির্ভরতার তাৎপর্য সঠিকভাবে উপলব্ধি করতে হবে। আমার মতে বাংলাদেশের অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে স্বনির্ভরতার তিনটি ব্যাখ্যা দেওয়া যায়।

(ক) উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থার মাধ্যমে দেশ আন্তর্জাতিক একচেটিয়া পুঁজিবাদী এবং সাম্রাজ্যবাদী শক্তিসমূহ এবং তাদের দেশীয় সহযোগীদের অশুভ প্রভাবমুক্ত হবে।

(খ) দেশ নিজ সম্পদ আহরণ এবং বিনিয়োগের মাধ্যমে সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নে স্বয়ংস্ফূর্ততা অর্জন করবে।

(গ) দেশে এমন একটি পরিবেশের সৃষ্টি হবে যে সর্বস্তরের মানুষ আত্মনির্ভরশীল হওয়ার সুযোগ লাভ করবে। এই আত্মনির্ভরশীল হওয়ার অর্থ হলো জনগণ সকল প্রকার শোষণের হাত থেকে মুক্ত হবে এবং তাদের ভাগ্য পরিবর্তনের জ্ঞান নীতিনির্ধারণের সঙ্গে প্রত্যক্ষ অথবা পরোক্ষভাবে জড়িত থাকবে।

উপরোক্ত তিনটি শর্ত পূরণ না হলে সত্যিকার অর্থে স্বনির্ভরতা অর্জন সম্ভব হবে না। বিশেষ করে আমরা আজ যেভাবে খাজ-শস্ত্রের জ্ঞান সাম্রাজ্যবাদের উপর নির্ভরশীল হয়ে পড়েছি তা থেকে মুক্তি কখনও আসবে না। এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বর্তমান স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন তার অভীষ্ট লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছানোর জ্ঞান অত্যন্ত দুর্বল পদক্ষেপ বলে আমার মনে হয়। একথা যদি আমরা মেনেও নেই যে সামগ্রিক ভাবে এই আন্দোলন স্বনির্ভরতা অর্জনে সক্ষম হবে তবু বণ্টনের ব্যাপারে একটা বিরাট প্রশ্ন থেকে যায়। আন্দোলনের উদ্যোক্তারা যদিও “স্বনির্ভরতা ঘরে ঘরে” এই কথাটি তাদের প্রচারের সঙ্গে জুড়ে দিয়েছেন তবুও আমার মনে হয় না যে আমাদের বর্তমান কঠামোতে এটা অর্জন করা সম্ভব। এ কথাটা যদি সত্যিকার ভাবে কার্যকরী হতে হয় তা হলে গ্রামবাংলার অর্থনীতি এবং সামাজিক ব্যবস্থার প্রতিষ্ঠানিক পরিবর্তন (যে সম্পর্কে আমরা কিছুটা ইংগিত কিছু পূর্বে দিয়েছি) আনতে হবে। অত্যাধিক বর্তমান আন্দোলন শুধুমাত্র সম্পদের অপচয় ছাড়া আর কিছু করতে সক্ষম হবে না। তবে স্বল্পমেয়াদী ভিত্তিতে কিছুটা উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির সম্ভাবনাকে অস্বীকার করা যায় না। অবশ্য সম্পদের ব্যয় অনুপাতে এই উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি কতটুকু বুদ্ধিসংগত হবে তা গভীর ভাবে বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখতে হবে।

শিল্পক্ষেত্রে আমাদের গতি পশ্চাৎমুখী। এই দুঃখজনক অবস্থার জন্ম অতীতের ঔপনিবেশিক শক্তি যেমন দায়ী, ঠিক তেমনি স্বাধীনতা-উত্তর কালে রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্ব এবং অস্থায়ী সংশ্লিষ্ট সবার দায়িত্ব-জ্ঞানহীন কার্যকলাপ ও কর্মদক্ষতার অভাব সমান ভাবে দায়ী। এ অবস্থার কিছুটা উন্নতি ইদানীং পরিলক্ষিত হলেও এটা যথেষ্ট নয়। বিশেষ করে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব শিল্পসমূহের উৎপাদন ক্ষমতা বৃদ্ধি করে একক প্রতি উৎপাদন-ব্যয় কমাতে হবে। রপ্তানী শিল্পসমূহে যদি অচিরেই উৎপাদন ব্যয় হ্রাস করা না যায় তা হলে রপ্তানী আর বজার রাখার জন্ম ভর্তুকী দিতে গিয়ে সরকার এবং দেশের জনগণের প্রাণান্ত হবে। যে-কোন দেশেই রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব শিল্পের প্রধান সমস্যা হলো যাদের হাতে এগুলি পরিচালনার দায়িত্ব অর্পন করা হয় তারা অনেক সময় জনস্বার্থকে সামনে রেখে কাজ করতে অনীহা প্রকাশ করে। ব্যক্তিগত মালিকানার পরিবর্তে এক ধরনের আমলাতান্ত্রিক মালিকানার সৃষ্টি হয়। যার ফলে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব শিল্পসমূহ জনস্বার্থ সংরক্ষণে ব্যর্থ হয়। এই কারণে জনকল্যাণের আদর্শ সামনে রেখে যেসব রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব শিল্প নিয়ে পরীক্ষা নিরীক্ষা চালানো হয়েছিল তার ফলাফল ঠিক আকাংখিত পর্বালে পৌঁছতে পারেনি। সুতরাং রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব শিল্পের সাফল্য রাষ্ট্রের আদর্শগত ভিত্তির সাথে ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িত। বাংলাদেশে সমাজতান্ত্রিক আদর্শের কথা উচ্চারিত হলেও সে আদর্শের ভিত্তিতে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব শিল্পকে পরিচালনা করার কোন প্রচেষ্টাই চালানো হয় নাই। বাস্তবক্ষেত্রে যা ঘটেছিল তা সম্পূর্ণই ছিল সেই আদর্শ বিরোধী এবং এর খেসারত দিতে হয়েছে দেশের আপামর জনসাধারণকে। সুতরাং এই প্রসঙ্গে আবার জনগণের সামনে তুলে ধরতে হবে এবং তাদের উপর বিচার করার ভার গ্রহণ করতে হবে, একটি শোষণহীন সমাজব্যবস্থা গড়ার জন্ম তাঁরা পরিপূর্ণভাবে প্রস্তুত আছেন কিনা। ১৯৭১ এর অভিজ্ঞতার পর এ-বিষয়ে কারো মাঝে সন্দেহ থাকা উচিত নয় যে, বাংলায় মুক্তি অর্জনের জন্ম যে-কোন মূল্য যে-কোন সময় দিতে প্রস্তুত আছে। স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে আজ দেশী এবং বিদেশী স্বার্থাঘেবী মহলের শোষণের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রামে পরিণত করতে হবে। সেই সংগ্রামে জনগণের জয় অবশ্যজ্ঞাবী। তখন রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত্ব শিল্পের সমস্যা আর এত বড় করে দেখা দিবে না।

জনসংখ্যা নীতির ক্ষেত্রে জনসম্পদ পরিকল্পনার চাইতে জনসংখ্যা নিয়ন্ত্রণকে বেশী গুরুত্ব দেওয়া হচ্ছে। জনসংখ্যা সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্ম এ পন্থা আমার কাছে

নেতীবাচক বলে মনে হয়। আমার মতে জনসম্পদ পরিকল্পনার পথ আমাদের গ্রহণ করা উচিত। এর অর্থ হলো, প্রথমে দেশের সমগ্র জনসম্পদ ও অগ্ন্যাত্ম সম্পদের পূর্ণ সদ্যবহারের জন্ম এমন আবহাওয়ার সৃষ্টি করা, যার ফলে দেশের সাধারণ মানুষের অবস্থা পরিবর্তনের অনুকূলে নীতি গ্রহণ সহজতর হয়ে পড়বে। তখন জনসংখ্যা নিয়ন্ত্রণের জন্ম সর্বস্তরের জনগণ স্বতঃস্ফূর্তভাবে এগিয়ে আসবে।

একটি পরিবর্তনশীল সমাজব্যবস্থায় জনসম্পদের ভূমিকা অত্যন্ত ব্যাপক। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ আমাদের দেশে এই মূল্যবান সম্পদ চিরকাল অবহেলিত হয়েছে। পূর্ণ ও সুপ্ত বেকারত্ব আজ এ-দেশের অগণিত মানুষের জন্ম এক অভিশাপ হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে। এরজন্য দায়ী শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে ভার-সাম্যহীনতা এবং অনুন্নত উৎপাদনশক্তি। অপরিবর্তিত উপায়ে শিক্ষাব্যবস্থার সম্প্রসারণের জন্ম শিক্ষিত বেকারের সংখ্যা দিন দিন বেড়ে চলেছে। এ-বিষয়ে সংশ্লিষ্ট কর্তৃপক্ষের অবিলম্বে উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা উচিত। বেকার সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্ম স্বল্পমেয়াদী এবং দীর্ঘমেয়াদী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করার প্রয়োজন আছে। এ সম্বন্ধে কিছু প্রস্তাব আমি আমার প্রবন্ধে আপনাদের বিচারের জন্ম পেশ করেছি।

একটা কথা আমাদের সবার মনে রাখতে হবে অর্থনৈতিক অগ্রগতি ছাড়াও সামাজিক অগ্রগতির ক্ষেত্রে দেশের সকল মানুষের অবদান অপরিহার্য। পুরাতন প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল সমাজের মধ্যে জনস্বার্থবিরোধী শোষণগোষ্ঠীর কার্যকলাপ বন্ধ করতে হলে প্রগতিশীল শক্তি সমূহকে জনগণের উপর ভিত্তি করে সংগ্রামে লিপ্ত হতে হবে। বলা বাহুল্য, দেশের এবং বিদেশের অনেক শক্তিশালী হস্ত এই নূতন চিন্তাধারা প্রবর্তনের পথে প্রতিবন্ধকতার সৃষ্টি করবে। যতশীঘ্র সম্ভব প্রগতিশীল শক্তিসমূহকে এদের মুখোশ উন্মোচন করতে হবে। তবে প্রগতিশীল শক্তিসমূহ যদি দেশের সাধারণ মানুষের আস্থা অর্জন করতে চায় তা হলে তাদের একতাবদ্ধ হতে হবে এবং কৃষক-শ্রমিক-মেহনতি মানুষের অবস্থার উন্নতির জন্ম তাদের সঙ্গে একাত্ম হয়ে কাজ করতে হবে।

আমাদের রাষ্ট্রীয়, সামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক অস্তিত্বের প্রতি চরম আঘাত হানার জন্ম দেশী বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়ার শক্তি আজ প্রচণ্ডভাবে তৎপর। তাদের আক্রমণের বর্ষাফলক হচ্ছে ফারাক্কা বাঁধ, যার অশুভ প্রতিক্রিয়াসমূহ বাংলাদেশের জনজীবনে ইতিমধ্যেই বিপর্যয়ের সৃষ্টি করেছে।

একটি জাতীয় চ্যালেঞ্জ হিসাবে একে মোকাবেলা করার জন্ম যেমনি প্রয়োজন জাতীয় ঐক্যের, তেমনি প্রয়োজন জনগণের মধ্যে এর স্বল্পমেয়াদী ও দীর্ঘমেয়াদী প্রতিক্রিয়া সম্পর্কে সম্যক উপলব্ধি। সমস্যার স্বরূপ সম্পর্কে পূর্ণ সচেতনতাই হবে সমাধানের হাতিয়ার। আমরা সম্পূর্ণ সচেতন আত্মসমর্পণের সুবিধাজনক পহার কোন প্রকারে অস্তিত্ব টিকিয়ে রাখা কাম্য হতে পারেনা। তাই ফারাক্তা বাঁধ থেকে উদ্ধৃত সমস্যার মোকাবেলার জন্ম জনগণের দেশপ্রেমবোধকে জাগ্রত করে অশুভ শক্তির এই হুমকিকে প্রতিহত করতে হবে। জাতীয় মর্যাদা বিন্দুমাত্র বিসর্জন না দিয়ে আত্মনির্ভরশীলতার পথে দুর্যোগকালীন প্রস্তুতির ভিত্তিতে সমগ্র জাতিকে সমবেত করেই এই চ্যালেঞ্জের মোকাবেলা সম্ভব। এর কোন প্রকার ব্যতিক্রম হবে জাতীয় আত্মবিলুপ্তি।

আমি আমার সীমিত শক্তি দিয়ে দেশের অর্থনৈতিক পরিস্থিতির একটি ছবি আপনাদের কাছে তুলে ধরার চেষ্টা করেছি। সম্মেলনের অধিবেশনগুলিতে গভীর ও আন্তরিক বিশ্লেষণের মাধ্যমে এই পরিস্থিতির পরিচ্ছন্নতার এবং সামগ্রিক চিত্র চিত্রনের ঐকান্তিক প্রচেষ্টা সম্ভব হবে—এই বিশ্বাস আমার আছে। অর্থনীতিবিদদের উপর যে জাতীয় দায়িত্ব অপিত আছে তা পালনে সম্মেলনের প্রতিনিধিবৃন্দ তাঁদের ক্ষমতার সর্বোত্তম ব্যবহার করে এদায়িত্ব পালন করবেন। এবং জাতীয় অর্থনৈতিক সিদ্ধান্তসমূহের জন্ম পথ নির্দেশ করবেন বলেই আমি আশা রাখি।

মহামান্য রাষ্ট্রপতি তাঁর সমস্ত ব্যস্ততা সত্ত্বেও আমাদের এই সম্মেলনটি উদ্বোধন করে এই সম্মেলনের জাতীয় গুরুত্বের যে স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছেন তার জন্ম আমরা তাঁর প্রতি কৃতজ্ঞতা জানাচ্ছি।

পরিশেষে, বাঁদের অপূর্ব উৎসাহ এবং সহযোগিতায় এই সম্মেলন অনুষ্ঠান সম্ভব হয়েছে তাঁদের প্রতি আমার আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন করছি। বাংলাদেশ ইনস্টিটিউট অব ডেভেলপমেন্ট ষ্টাডিজ এবং ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় এই সম্মেলনকে সফল করার যে সর্বাংগীন সহায়তা দিয়েছেন তার জন্ম অর্থনীতি সমিতির পক্ষ থেকে আমি তাঁদের প্রতি কৃতজ্ঞতা জানাচ্ছি। সম্মেলনে যোগদানকারী প্রতিনিধিবৃন্দ, অতিথিবৃন্দ এবং সাংবাদিকবৃন্দকে স্বাগতম জানিয়ে আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করছি।

বাংলাদেশ জিন্দাবাদ

PLANNING FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Z. HUQ

Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission

It is at a critical hour of our national life that I am addressing this Economic Conference. Before going into the subject proper, I would like to mention about a problem which in a way is confronting our development efforts.

Export of manpower : brain drain

As you may be knowing the original architects of the Planning Commission have all left one after another. And for quite some time Planning Commission could not function in a normal manner. Many of our professional staff members have left and some are on their way to leave. The situation is particularly disturbing in regard to economists. Economists have a good demand abroad and for obvious reasons they take the first opportunity to go out of the country. It is not simply the Planning Commission, but our universities and other organisations also are being gradually denuded of the brain power. The situation is by no means encouraging from the point of view of our national interest. The drain of brain from a country when it needs it most is bound to prove unhelpful. I hope this Economic Conference would give some thought to this problem and throw more light on it. When I make this observation, I am conscious of the necessity of export of our surplus personnel to the outside world. However, this export of manpower should be consistent with our own needs. We should encourage such export by a deliberate and planned expansion of the supply. This is not to suggest that there should be an outright embargo on the outflow of our personnel. This is also not equitable. What we ought to aim at is that where necessary we should retain our personnel by providing proper incentives and where possible we should encourage them to go to earn more for themselves as also for the country. As a matter of fact, export of skilled manpower to foreign and friendly

countries is one field which should be taken up in right earnest for proper development in our labour-surplus economy.

General Economic Situation :

I would now turn to the economic situation obtaining in the country. The general state of our economy is not unknown to any one of us, less so to our economists. As you know, the Government recently brought out a White Paper which made some articulation of our economic problems. Speaking at this moment, I would not hesitate to say that the economic development of Bangladesh presents a formidable challenge. Due to a long and agonizing history of colonial neglect and an extensive damage suffered during the liberation war, Bangladesh emerged as one of the poorest nations on the world map with a vast segment of her population lying below the poverty line. The post-liberation efforts during the last four years for recovery and development of the economy have met with numerous problems as a result of which we have made little progress from the situation in which we had been prior to liberation. According to our statistics, while the expected GDP during the current year would mark some increase from the GDP of 1969-70, in *per capita* terms it would still remain lower than what we had in 1969-70. This clearly shows the magnitude of our development problem. If in four years of our existence as an independent nation we have not been able to recoup the economic position we enjoyed four years ago, one can imagine how hard a task we really face. We should also seriously think about the reasons for this stagnation.

The economy has experienced a severe inflation, a factor which by itself has created serious social and economic imbalances and made the task of planning and development immensely more difficult. Despite some measures taken in the past, our export trade has not yet made a break from a position of stagnation. Government revenues are not rising fast enough to meet our needs of growing non-development and development expenditure. We are unfortunately caught up in a position of having to depend largely on foreign assistance for supporting our balance of payments and development needs. This very fact and our inability

to raise enough resources internally, have largely impeded our effort for development. There have been other problems as well.

The performance of our nationalised enterprises has been unsatisfactory in the past. This sector continues to be a source of anxiety for the Government and the planner. It suffers from many handicaps which may be summed up as follows :

- (1) Management gap ;
- (2) Capacity gap ;
- (3) Process of production gap ;
- (4) Marketing gap ;
- (5) Raw materials and spare-parts gap ;

Determined steps are now being taken by the Government to eliminate these gaps to bring about all round improvements as soon as possible. There have been problems of planning also, those having to do with project preparation and project implementation. The speed of both project preparation and project implementation has somehow not been up to the mark. Post-implementation appraisal of projects has remained very weak resulting in repeated revisions of cost leading to overrun in time and cost. Large number of ongoing projects are unduly lingering thus escalating cost of projects which vitiates the investment and return ratio. There is an urgent need to develop cost consciousness in the process of projects development or else there is bound to be frustrating results in the development process. All these suggest that development of Bangladesh entails an all-embracing phenomenon requiring determined and sustained efforts in all directions.

The planners and economists should pull their weight together and exert their best to provide necessary guidance to lift the economy from this sad state of affairs and to assure continued progress and prosperity to our people. There could perhaps be no other more appropriate time to discuss our economic problems than this occasion. I invite our economists and participants in this conference to address themselves seriously to these problems on a priority basis. Indeed lost opportunities of the past have vastly complicated our tasks. If we still lose time, identify and solve our problems, I am afraid, with our exploding population it will be extremely difficult to make a break through in our development effort.

There are major issues confronting us. One of these issues relates to the size of our development programme in relation to the long-term needs of the economy on the basis of a minimum growth target. The domestic inflation coupled with a global inflation of an unprecedented magnitude which had a devastating impact on our balance of payments and the overall resource constraint, have very seriously affected our development budget. It is a known fact that we are lagging much behind what was envisaged in the First Five Year Plan. However, after allowing for the price change and the devaluation effect the current year's development budget marks a major increase (about 50 per cent) from the level of the previous year.

Mobilisation of Savings :

The implications of the required level of development effort in terms of resource mobilisation needs to be emphasized. There are complaints about the inadequacy of our domestic resource mobilisation. Resource mobilisation agencies like Banks, Insurance Companies and Postal Savings institutions should, therefore, make more determined effort to mobilize additional domestic resources. It is observed that in recent past bank deposits have shown marked improvement. There is, however, need for more domestic resources.

Our present overwhelming dependence on foreign assistance should give us a major cause for concern. At present a major part of our import trade is financed by foreign grants and loans. The implication of accepting foreign loans is that the economy should be able to develop its export trade in such a manner that it is capable of meeting the future debt servicing obligations and gain some more benefits. The performance of our export trade should cause us anxieties. We should think intensively how best we can develop it as a truly dynamic area of expansion.

As already mentioned our public sector enterprises are not operating as efficiently as they should. This is also an important issue which merits our serious attention.

At the same time, we should not lose sight of how we can revitalize our private sector enterprises. For good reasons, investment activity in the private sector has not been satisfactory.

Long-term development would require a significant stimulation of private sector activity so that private sector and public sector may strive together within the specified fields to improve the economy of the country. In this regard, it is also of importance to encourage the inflow of private foreign investment. In our labour surplus economy foreign investors should find it profitable to invest. Government has already taken some significant measures which it is hoped will bring in a new dynamism in the private sector investment in the country.

The employment and income distribution aspects of development are also important issues in the Bangladesh context. With our increasing population and with economic activity not rising fast enough our unemployment problem is becoming increasingly acute. The problem of unemployment of the educated is also becoming serious and a potential source of social instability. Unemployment, incidentally, measures a dimension of the growth effort required. Because of the inflation and other factors including growing rural and urban unemployment, the distribution of income in the society has become inequitable. These are issues which should receive due attention in our development planning.

When we talk about the prerequisites of development, we should know the respective roles played by purely economic and social factors. To what extent in Bangladesh the lack of development of so-called social overheads, that is, education, training and motivation of our people, their health and medical care, etc., is responsible for our slower economic growth is also something that should not be overlooked. Our literacy rate is one of the lowest in the world. Let us look at Japan. Its spectacular development has accompanied achievement of almost hundred per cent literacy.

Poverty and Remedy :

Planners in a developing country face a most difficult task in trying to improve the lot of a substantial section of the society who struggle below the absolute poverty line. The position of Bangladesh in this respect is deplorable as our *per capita* income of \$ 76 (Tk. 1,050/-) is one of the lowest in the world and this has remained almost static for the last few years. Our strategy should, therefore, be to attack absolute poverty

and substantially reduce income inequalities through judicious planning and honest and earnest executions of the projects in different fields of national activity. Our programme for social welfare and redistribution of already inadequate national wealth would only be meaningful if they are particularly designed to increase the productivity of the poor.

In the countryside as also in the cities there is a huge and mostly untapped potential to reduce absolute and relative poverty and to increase economic growth by directly assisting the poor to be more productive. A new problem is gradually emerging as our city population is fast increasing due to exodus of rural population to the cities. They generally migrate to the cities in the hope of finding more remunerative employment. Mere poverty and hunger lead many old and decrepit people to move to cities in the hope of survival. They generally resort to begging and make slums in city areas without much improving their lot. Although this trend for migration of rural population to urban areas is global in character, in our case this is posing some serious socio-economic problems which need more planned efforts and urgent attention.

Unemployment :

It is observed that so far there could be no serious study on a national basis of unemployment and under-employment problems as these afflict the society both in the rural and urban areas. Unemployment among the educated youths in the country has already become a serious problem and its gravity is increasing every year. There is an urgent need for surveying the problem on a national basis so that adequate steps may be taken before this takes a more serious turn. Planning Commission has already undertaken a study of the Rural/Urban unemployment and educated unemployed in the country. Present Government is conscious of this problem and the urgent need to find adequate remedies.

Manpower Planning :

Manpower Planning is a must in a developing society without which there is bound to be more miseries and disaffection. It

is, however, observed that in the past little attention was given to this vitally important area of planning.

Rural Development and Food Self-sufficiency :

More than 80 per cent of our people live in villages. As the Government is now anxious to improve the lot of the common man greater attention is being concentrated on rural development activities. We want Bangladesh to be self-sufficient in food at the earliest. The nation's heavy food bill has been mainly responsible for its balance of payment difficulties over the years. In fact food deficits have been impeding the process of development of the country in more ways than one. More than ever before, endeavour to grow more food is being made now on a real national basis. 'Swanirvar' (self-sufficiency) movement has already caught the imagination of the people and it is our hope that Bangladesh will be self-sufficient in food much earlier than many thought it could be. This year we had a bumper paddy crop. Inadequacy of proper storage facilities came in the way of more determined procurement policy by the Government. We have at present storage capacity of about 8 lakh tons only. We need at least double this capacity to meet our requirements. Steps are being taken on emergency basis to meet the additional storage requirement. Wastages of food-grains, fruits, vegetables, etc., in developing countries is known to be a serious handicap in meeting food requirement. We have been suffering from this handicap for long. Already Australia, World Bank authorities and other friendly countries have offered substantial help to cope with this problem.

Aid giving countries and institutions, particularly the World Bank has been giving more emphasis on rural development programmes. In fact there has been a significant change in development emphasis in this direction. During the last one year, World Bank's rural development lending has reached a new peak. The Government is determined to take advantage of this opportunity and has further intensified its development programmes in the fields of Agriculture, Population Planning and Population Control, Education, Development of Resources, Irrigation, Communication, Health Care, etc.

Research and Training :

Proper research is an essential condition for progress in the field of development and even otherwise. This is being gradually realised now and steps are already underway to strengthen and activate all research organisations in the country like jute research, research in paddy and sericulture, research in sugarcane, natural resources, etc. Through research new possibilities for economic progress may be opened up. It is our hope that our research organisations in different fields of economic activity would soon explore new possibilities for the country's progress. To provide incentive to the research scholars, particularly in the productive sector, there should be arrangement for giving proper recognition for important inventions through awards. Proper utilization of newly invented formula suitable for industrial and commercial use should be encouraged.

Adequate training arrangement in all fields of development activities is a must to ensure better performance and improved results particularly in the field of production. Money invested on research and training is sure to pay handsome dividend to the nation.

Uptil now development by giving priority to the concept of economic and largely industrial growth irrespective of historical realities or social consequences has tended to produce an economic market too limited for further expansion and social benefit too narrow for long term acceptance.

Role of GNP and per capita income :

Planned development has come to be measured by the growth of GNP, and only in a secondary way, by *per capita* income, especially for ranking countries. The two measures are significantly different for the second concept—I call it a concept for it has use in analytical exposition only, but does not exist in reality except in statistical sense, adds an important dimension to development planning which would be otherwise totally absent from growth calculus.

In approaching the problem of development from the prime view of *per capita* income, we have to simultaneously take into consideration two things, growth of GNP and growth of population.

The question is whether population problem is purely a biological phenomenon or is in any way dependent on income. In this respect the classical position is described by Malthus in his theory of population published in early 19th century. In recent years we have come to learn about 'low level equilibrium trap' in backward countries, the logical conclusion of which calls for big efforts either at investment and technological front or for family planning to break through the trap in order to attain sustained growth in *per capita* income.

The essential question is what is the relationship between GNP and population. What naturally comes to one's mind is the Malthusian population theory upon which the trap is built. One needs not be told about the limitations of this theory. But what I intend to emphasise here is that the theory applies essentially to specific historical conditions so aptly dramatized by the 'trap' theory. Not only it fails to recognise creativity of human mind at the frontier of technology, but also the income level at which the Malthusian equilibrium will tend to stay. We all know that rich people have generally small families and large families are more conspicuous in rural areas than in urban areas. In Bangladesh an important segment of the population cannot participate in development activities; they do not contribute much to GNP, nor they do directly participate in its distribution. The barrier to this is general illiteracy. Prof. Boulding described development basically as a learning process in which folk knowledge increasingly becomes outdated as is being experienced in our agriculture. This adds to our problem of choice a dimension whether to invest an extra ten crore taka in an industrial project, in family planning or in education. This is undoubtedly an intricate choice; but it has to be made. Some hold the view that economic growth, population planning and education are competing ends. But a little reflection over what has been said above would lead to the conclusion that over a period of time they all contribute to the same end, the welfare of individual.

Commitment to Plan and People's Role

There is need for total commitment of the Government and the people to implement the plan once it is approved by

the Government. The plan should be flexible so that suitable adjustment may be made when it becomes necessary. It should be people oriented. Maximum efforts are needed to acquaint the largest section of the society about the objectives of the plan so that people's participation in the projected activities can be ensured. Once these conditions are fulfilled it is only expected that there will be greater social coherence and better balanced growth.

There is a clear shift of attention of developed and developing nations and the institutions which serve them internationally from the high abstractions and generalities of economic growth to the immediate, concrete and critical needs of human beings. In the circumstances the present switch to improve the lot of people is a move in right direction. Let us all join the present movement to build up a healthier and happier society in Bangladesh.

DEVELOPMENT AND MOBILISATION OF RESOURCES : A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

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I

Like the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country, the issues of her development planning and strategy can be seen as the products of a number of circumstances which are peculiar to the country's past history. Just as the most immediate reason for the country's break-away from Pakistan was its persistent failure over a period of 25 years in its attempt to have an effective participation in the political process of pre-liberation Pakistan and a legitimate share in the distribution of political power, the economic factor in the breakup was a less than proportionate sharing in the economic benefits and opportunities, which had been generated by the massive development effort undertaken by the Central Government located in, and controlled by, what then was West Pakistan during the period of her association with Pakistan.

The above factors, may seem in retrospect, too obvious to deserve mention in any discussion on the current economic policy making. But for an insight into present day development policy of Bangladesh it is essential that we refer to what actually happened in the period preceding the events that followed since March, 1971. This is because one can see in the attempts that have been made since liberation in policy making the influence of these factors, both in respect of political and economic re-organisation of the country.

The economic factors which operated before need, however, a careful exploration from the point of an understanding of decisions regarding the present policies and process of evolution of strategies in different sectors of the economy that have since been embodied in the country's First Five Year Plan.

There have been various manifestations of the economic factor that caused disaffection in pre-liberation Bangladesh. However, of these, one can identify two aspects from the point of view of their having a strong influence on later policy making. The first is the impact of the centrally directed policy on East Pakistan's economy in the shape of unfair sharing of resources as evidenced by a consistently lower allocation of investment within the framework of Five Year Plans as well as of not locating proportionate amount of income generating Central Government activities. This effect was compounded by the fact that due to central control over the economy, a massive transfer of resources took place from East to West Pakistan through various devices such as utilisation of the region's balance of payments surplus, over-valuation of domestic currency, protected market and so on.

The other form in which the economic factor expressed itself, has been the growth and importance of a strong private sector in the large scale manufacturing industry of Pakistan, almost exclusively located in the Western half of the country. The extent and importance of their growth have been epitomized by the appearance of 22 families who were found to own and/or control almost 90 percent of the total assets of all privately owned manufacturing industries, banking and other financial institutions. The importance of this group was equally great in the then East Pakistan, since as much as 33 percent of all manufacturing capacity in that part was controlled by them. The development of a strong private sector by itself would not have caused much resentment in the East but it was taken to be a vehicle of exploitation since its expansion was based on active government assistance in the shape of various direct and indirect government subsidy which resulted in higher prices for the consumers of East Pakistan. In addition, the pattern of development turned to be such as to diminish competition and encourage monopoly in ownership and control and thus was viewed in the East as an instrument of accelerating the process of exploitation of one part of the country by the other.

These two factors are mentioned here as the background against which much of the present day planning policies, especially those with regard to ownership and control of economic

assets of existing as well planned industries can be discussed for an insight into their social and economic significance. This is so because many persons who had been involved in working out the approach to planning and the associated strategy for Bangladesh, either directly or indirectly, had very often drawn attention to the history of planning in Pakistan (when Bangladesh was a part of that country) for deriving appropriate lessons for the planning exercise for Bangladesh, strongly emphasizing the need for avoiding the policies of Pakistan Planning which they considered as totally mistaken ones.

Finally, it is possible and also pertinent, in this connection, to identify two groups of people whose views about the course and pattern of future development of the country had influenced the process of plan making and, therefore, formulation of policies in Bangladesh. The first group consists of those whose past research on economic policies of Pakistan seems to have been designed to demonstrate injustices done to East Pakistan by the policies followed by the Central Government of Pakistan, in the shape of exploitation of the agricultural sector of the region. Some among this group had also shown earlier that the claim that the region's neglect in regard to resource allocation had been based on the fact of its lower productivity in relation to West Pakistan had not been a true picture of the reality in the shape of detailed study of sectoral and regional productivity and saving propensities of the two wings of the then Pakistan.

In addition, regional income statistics showed that despite a satisfactory rate of growth occurring in the national context, East Pakistan's *per capita* income remained stagnant, and it actually declined in her rural sector. These were shown to be the effect of the development strategy pursued by the central government of Pakistan during the sixties.

The second group can be, called the radical economists in Bangladesh. Although apparently they did not have as much influence in plan making as the first, but they did manage to affect the policy structure proposed in the plan in a subtle way, which was enough to create confusions and contradictions from the point of view of implementation of the plan. In general, this group advocated an immediate and complete socialization of all productive

assets and allocation of these by a single Central Planning authority. In support of their contention they maintained that under the existing conditions of Bangladesh the traditional forces of market mechanism would not be able to solve the massive problem of unemployment and poverty. Accordingly, they advocated a complete re-structuring of existing society on the lines of China, under which the regimentation and control would be exercised by the specially trained members of a political cadre. Further, they advocated that the control and management of all production activities would have to be vested in the hands of some variant of revolutionary councils, as were found in the socialist countries.

II

The above background to the current situation and the social milieu is necessary to understand why the present development policy sorted out in the First Five Year Plan with its preponderance of state and other socialistic forms of ownership and control had been devised as a means to promoting growth. But something more needs to be added to make the condition sufficient in order to understand what needs to be done for lifting the economy out of its present condition.

This is because an analysis of the present state of the economy is needed before prescription for remedying the situation can even be attempted. The economy of Bangladesh, as it functioned during the last 25 years or so, can be truly described as a traditional, stagnant, or at best, as a static economy in progress, exhibiting a state of affairs in which some progress may have been made in one or two sectors, but in which the *per capita* income, consumption, the extent of rural unemployment and other indicators of growth tended to remain more or less constant. The statistics of these major indicators make a depressing reading, as they reflect not only one of the lowest levels of living for the population but also show how little indeed has been the extent of progress in the immediate past. At the same time, however, the picture of the economy indicates the direction that the future growth should take as well as the action programme that must be initiated without any further delay to overcome the present state of stagnation.

Thus the present economic structure shows in bold relief the characteristics of what has been called a dualistic and labour surplus economy, having a large agricultural sector which directly and indirectly contributes nearly four-fifths of the GDP and employs nearly 75 percent of the total labour force. Manufacturing industries in the modern sector (the latter taken as the one in which economic calculations determine production) contributes only six percent to the GDP, providing employment to no more than one percent of the total labour force of the country.

The productivity of agriculture is one of the lowest in the world, not merely in terms yield per acre (for rice, the yield per acre is only $1/3$ that of Egypt) but also in terms of productivity of labour. To illustrate the case of this productivity, one can cite the findings that are now available about size of surplus labour. While different estimates vary in respect of computational methods, they all agree that even taking account of seasonal fluctuations in labour requirements, 32 to 35 percent of the total agricultural labour force can truly be regarded as surplus. In absolute terms this proportion represents over six million workers, who could be said to have been remained completely unutilized for the period of the last 25 years for which data are available. The situation in this respect appears to have been further aggravated in recent years by two other factors viz (1) a high population growth and (2) the relatively stagnant state of the economy since 1971.

Alongside this, if we remember that there is at present very little scope in Bangladesh to bring new land under cultivation so as to provide opportunities for employing the surplus labour, we can grasp the serious dimension of the problem.

III

Given the above of the economy, it becomes intuitively clear that the way in which growth and development can be generated is to find productive employment of the economy's surplus labour. Here the question of resource mobilisation comes. The term 'resource' is not used here in the traditional saving-investment of monetary sense—but in the real and fundamental sense. Human resource and power is actual wealth of any society

proper and sincere mobilisation of which is, in the fundamental sense, the real cause for accelerating the pace of economic development.

But in view of the current pressure of population on agriculture, it becomes clear that there will be but little scope for such employment in this sector, except perhaps marginally. This indicates that the only way to the country's long-run development is the provision of employment in non-agricultural activities. As has been known since Nurks's contribution, this in turn will depend on the capacity of Bangladesh's agriculture to release a surplus output for consumption (wage payment) by the surplus labour to be employed in the non-agricultural activities, if inflation is to be avoided.

In the conditions prevailing now in Bangladesh, there does not appear to be any other way. The country does not have any known deposits of minerals except some quantity of natural gas and oil, which can be exported and proceeds from which can be used for importing these wages fund from outside. It follows, therefore, the process of finding employment of agricultural surplus labour will depend on the capacity of the agricultural sector to provide this surplus—and this must come from present level of output, however low it may be, as well as from higher productivity in this sector to be brought about by the application of new technologies.

The persons concerned with policy making should be guided by the current situation of the country, rather than by historical or other factors which may not remain as relevant as they might have been before.

Insofar as the development of Bangladesh requires a steady and successful transfer of surplus population to non-agricultural pursuits, its achievement does not have to be tied to only one method of execution, whatever may be its name. No doubt, there are activities which should be initiated and controlled by public authorities, central and local, but decision to do so should be made on the basis of demonstrated effectiveness of such measure in respect of the goals of development. Similarly, there are areas and one suspects may be many, in the context of the present situation of Bangladesh, which can be more efficiently

developed by the private enterprise operating through the market forces in the development of which the latent energy of people may find its fullest expression and, therefore, these should not be completely kept outside the orbit of private enterprise.

IV

It is within the above framework that I propose to discuss the development policies of Bangladesh which were embodied in the country's First Five Year Plan. My main object is to explore the extent to which the decisions with regard to allocation of resources between different production sectors as well as between the rural and urban components of the economy are likely to lead the economy toward the sort of development that has been indicated above, viz., the starting of a process whereby over time a progressive transfer of agricultural surplus labour to non-agricultural production takes place. Secondly, I shall evaluate the institutional structure that the planners have proposed for the implementation of the programmes in the two principal production sectors, industry and agriculture, from the point of view of their likely effectiveness in generating dynamism in the economy.

It would appear that the most important factor in the development strategy concerns not so much what the figures of the various macro variables are but to what extent the strategy that is selected, is able to introduce dynamism in the economy in place of an atmosphere of stagnation—often the result of the existence of various forms of rigidities in the economy. From this point of view, it may not be a matter of great concern to find whether the targets of a particular plan are achieved to their full extent, especially in the course of the next four or five years. What is of fundamental importance from the point of view of attaining and sustaining a forward movement over the long run, is that the process of development start in the right direction.

In the second place, the study of the pattern of growth strategy in terms of its socio-economic implication is necessary for its possible ability in the creation of a spirit of dynamism in the crucial sector of agriculture. This is because it is the

most important sector in today's Bangladesh economy and from this sector must emerge the agents for promoting dynamic growth. It is, therefore, important that one subject the proposed institutional structure for this sector to a scrutiny to see if it contains elements of ordered flexibility or if it is more likely to merely replace one type of rigidity by another, thus leading to the perpetuation of the present state of stagnation in Bangladesh.

V

If one carefully goes through the plan document, one can detect a distinct pattern running through its entire length. It is that in respect of mobilization of resources as well as of their planned use, the public sector had been given a predominant role. This is reflected not merely in the share of this sector in the aggregate investment, which comes to as much as 83 percent of the total planned investment, but also in a complex system of interferences and controls the plan has proposed to introduce in the shape of an institutional structure for the implementation of the various sector programmes.

This becomes evident from an examination of the policy packages of the plan with respect to the various sector programmes such as agriculture, manufacturing industry, transport and communication, housing, etc.

In respect of manufacturing industry, the policy was orientated towards the development of limited number of large scale industries, the development potentialities of which had largely been explored in terms of their capacity for import substitution as well as in terms of the possibility of using the discovery of natural gas in the country. But the institutional structure proposed by the plan for implementing the programmes for this sector was such that ownership as well as control would remain in the public sector. Private enterprise from domestic as well as foreign sources in this regard had been completely ruled out.

The logic of this approach to industrial development does not always appear clear from this plan. At times it was supported by reference to ideology and at other times in terms of the argument that Bangladesh was lacking in the supply of an adequate number of capable private entrepreneurs who could be expected to undertake the size of investments to be needed

in starting what had been defined as large scale industry, therefore, the state was needed to play a larger role in the industrialization process. So far as the first argument is concerned, it is not possible to pass any judgement since being ideology, it is, like religion, largely a matter of belief and, therefore, cannot be subjected to a scientific test (though from the point of view of ends or goals of policy, its effectiveness *vis a vis* other methods can be evaluated). As to the latter, one does have a greater freedom, since despite its protestations, Bangladesh is not certainly the only country in the world which has been attempting the development of industry under the sponsorship of the state. For having faced with similar conditions, Pakistan, Japan and many other countries in both developed and less developed countries of the world have followed this path in the early stages of their development.

What, however, distinguishes the approach to Bangladesh is a permanent injunction that for all time to come the large scale industry will remain in the domain of the public sector only.

Now it may be true that in the situation prevailing in Bangladesh shortly after independence, there were not enough Bengali entrepreneurs to take over the enterprises abandoned by their Pakistani owners so that Govt. take over and administration of these might have been necessary (though this was true only to a limited degree since many Bengali owned enterprises in the large scale sector was also nationalised at the time of take over). Judging by the performance of these enterprises in the subsequent period, however, especially at the hands of the Government appointed administrators, one may have reasonable doubts about the efficacy of state control as the best form of industrial management for the future. Jute manufacturing, the largest of all manufacturing industries, has been practically ruined at the hands of the Government appointed managers, which is a pointer to the shortage of administrative talent in Government sector.

What is relevant here in the context of promoting dynamic growth in the economy is the contribution that the expansion of large scale industry, to be initiated by the public sector alone is likely to make to the growth of output and employment. For it is on this that the future development potential of the plan will depend.

According to the plan, the estimated contribution of the proposed large scale units of industry had been put at no more than 1/6th of the total volume of employment expected to be created in the manufacturing sector. The small scale sector which had been given over to the private enterprise for development was expected to create 5/6th of the total jobs. Yet the share of the state in the total industrial investment had been put at 83 percent as against 17 percent for the private sector. Similarly, out of total expected growth of output in the manufacturing sector, only one-fourth was expected to be generated in the public sector, the bulk was expected to come from the private sector, operating the small and cottage industries of the country.

The above picture does not, however, say, small as the private sector is going to be, where exactly these small scale industries have been proposed to be located. Yet if a spirit of growth and dynamism is to be introduced in the economy of Bangladesh, it is essential that much the greater part of the required volume of jobs as well as manufacturing activity will need to be created for the surplus labour in the agricultural sector and in order that this may be done without too great a strain on resources, it should be created in the rural areas of the country. Excepting the case of cottage industries, however, there was no clear indication as to where the small scale industry will be located. In addition, one can find a systematic bias against the appearance of a class of small and medium type individual entrepreneurs which is reflected in the shape of the plan's recommendation that all new enterprises in this sector be started and run by worker's cooperatives right from the beginning. For this to happen, the plan devoted much time and space on how to form the cooperatives on the basis of help and direction of several government sponsored institutions to be created as a part of an ever increasing bureaucracy.

In the context of the situation in Bangladesh today, it is true that suitable institutional arrangements are needed in many spheres. But one should also bear in mind what really needs to be done if one's aim is to promote the development of small scale industries. In view of the existence of a large volume of surplus labour in the rural areas of the country, what is needed is to encourage people to come forward and

setup these activities in the rural areas so the surplus labour can be absorbed in productive employment in the production of those goods for which there is now a gap in supply. So long, therefore, there is an existence of this surplus labour in the rural areas, establishment of these by any agency, be it private, public or cooperatives, will be a welcome development from the point of view of absorption of labour as well as output creation. Whether this can be done more effectively by private individuals or cooperatives will depend on existing situation. In some countries which depended on market forces and where there has taken place a successful transition to full employment growth, there has been more reliance on private enterprise, the members of which had emerged out of the rural sector itself. Japan provides a striking example of this type of policy.

The emphasis by the planners on the setting up of the small scale industries by worker's cooperatives as a desirable thing reflected nothing but a prejudgement about the capacity or the potential of private enterprise to perform effectively in this field. Apart from the fact that there has been no proof that these types of cooperative or collective enterprise have been easy to setup in the mixed economies of the type one finds in Bangladesh today, a large scale diversion of resources and talents to the establishment of more and more paternalistic bureaucracy is likely to bring about a further element of rigidity in the social structure of the country when the need of the hour seems to be to loosen the present rigidities that have caused such wide spread stagnation as one encounters in the rural sector of the country.

VI

The sector which is the most crucial one for Bangladesh's development is agriculture. It produces nearly 60 percent of the current GDP (80 percent of which is in the form of food-grains), provides employment to 75 percent of the labour force and supports 85 percent of total population, while its contribution to the country's exports has been as high as 80 percent. Yet this has been the sector which remained almost stagnant in the sense that its growth rate remained consistently below the growth rate of population in the last 25 years of Bangladesh's association

with Pakistan. Unlike many areas of the less developed world, there never really has taken place anything like a green revolution in Bangladesh despite the fact there have been isolated and limited attempts to introduce crops of high yielding variety, especially different varieties of rice. The result of this has been the appearance of a deficit in the domestic supply of food grains which now accounts for 12 to 15 percent of the domestic production even in the normal years.

In view of the above, it seems natural that the plan should lay a strong emphasis on the development of this sector. The objective of the plan was to obtain increases of 30 percent for the principal crops like rice and jute and of much higher percentages for what are called minor crops.

Given the country's present food shortage as well as the possibility of what can be done to increase yields per acre (rice yields are only 1/4th of those in Japan) there can be little doubt about the rationale of these objectives. There is in fact so much a sense of urgency about the raising of productivity in this sector that any further delay in this respect can be extremely dangerous for the survival of the millions. Added to this is the fact there does not seem to be any leeway in the shape of financing the import of required quantity of food grains by quickly increasing exports which are fairly traditional and face almost a stagnant demand from abroad. On the other hand, to cover the present deficit in food-grains through import, more than half the country's export earnings will be required to finance, and this will deprive manufacturing industry of its raw materials and spare parts, most of which needs to be imported from abroad.

Moreover, the problem of unemployment and under-employment is mostly concentrated in this sector in which the ratio of unemployment has been estimated as 32 percent. There is, therefore, no question about the justification for the sector's programme in relation to growth.

For the implementation of the programme the planners had recommended the establishment of an institutional set-up in the form of a set of cooperatives on the model of those developed at the Rural Development Academy at Comilla but with

a difference which would impart a radical bias to agricultural economy of Bangladesh.

Unlike the original model of Comilla which was devised as an institution of owner cultivators for cooperation in respect of the supply of improved agricultural inputs and credit, the system proposed in the plan (and given the name, Integrated Rural Development) had been designed to include three categories of rural population, (a) the landless rural population (b) those farmers who own and cultivate their own land (c) those farmers who own their own land but cultivate land with the help of hired labour. The system specifically excludes the landlords and other interests who own land but do not directly participate in the cultivation of land.

But this implies that since all arable land is planned to be brought under this system, no one can hold agricultural land unless he engages directly in its cultivation. This is a very radical programme which runs in the face of the Government land reform decision limiting the ownership to 33 acres, yet prescribing no injunction to the effect that all of this must be cultivated by the owner himself.

Another feature of the proposed institutional structure was that these cooperatives would be used for supplying to their members improved seed, fertilizer, water as well as credit all of which will be procured from the Central Government institutions like the Agricultural Development Bank and other branches of the central agricultural ministry. Consequently, there will be neither any scope nor any opportunity for the development of any private initiative in this field.

Moreover, despite its name integrated rural development programme there was no comprehensive scheme of rural mobilization implicit or explicit in it. In so far as rural mobilization implies a coordinated endeavour involving an active participation by all classes of rural population not merely in agricultural activity but also in the development of an industrial sector in the countryside, omission of a complementary strategy in respect of this presents a rather puzzling picture.

The exclusion of private entrepreneurship appears strange in the face of solid evidence that the preliberation period

provided about the success of private enterprise in spreading the use of fertilizers in agriculture *vis a viz* cooperatives. Quite naturally, therefore, there had been so much emphasis on the need for training various categories of workers who would emerge as a new group of bureaucrats to man a new Central Organization which in its turn could be used to meet the cooperatives to be formed by the three categories of rural population.

It may be mentioned in this connection that rural cooperatives have not been totally unknown in Bangladesh. In fact they have been in existence in the country in one form or another since about 1800. The said arrangement can, therefore, be said to be an extension of the earlier attempts in this field, but with an important difference. This was reflected not merely in a widening of the scope and dimension of the project so as to cover about 80 percent of agricultural production but also in the fact that the organizational structure from the point of view of participation and management appeared to have been based specifically on the concept of class conflicts existing in the rural communities. Further the analysis underlying the programme had been carried out in such a way as to identify a particular class in the rural society as the class enemy viz., the surplus farmers in the country. This, incidentally, had brought the Awami League's Government's land reform scheme into an open clash with the ownership pattern implicit in the planners' programme for cooperatives.

As regards the development of rural industries which had been completely left out of the I. R. D. P., there was, however, only one type that had been suggested for development in the rural areas in a different context. This concerns what has been traditionally known as cottage industry in which only family labour is used. Presumably this was done on the belief that modern industry or manufacturing of modern products could not be established in the countryside at any rate, the cost of attempting to do so would be too high and at the same time, there was no possibility of any small scale entrepreneurs ever emerging in the rural areas. In view of this, all that one could do in respect of rural industrialization was to encourage and help the traditional forms of cottage industries which were

carried on by the small farmers as a subsidiary activity or by those who combine this with other types of rural activities (e. g., fisherman using part of his time weaving). This provides the clue to answer to the question that arises naturally in this context as to why nowhere in the plan there is any discussion on the prospects of developing an indigenous group of entrepreneurs, nor has there been any analysis of social classes from which should normally emerge a class of businessmen who will take the leadership in developing industries in line with the requirements of the development pattern that is called for by the present structure of the economy.

Since the proposed cooperative structure for agriculture is to be based on the Comilla approach, it is pertinent to mention that this experiment in rural cooperatives was originally addressed to farmers, who, due to the small size of the holdings they owned and operated, were not in a position to take advantage of the new seed-water fertilizer technology and other facilities being provided by the central authorities. It would thus appear the formation of cooperative was considered as a necessary institutional setup for all categories of producers for bringing about the desired technological change in agriculture and through this in the rural communities.

What, however, had been suggested by the plan was not the formation of producer's cooperatives, irrespective of ownership size, but of cooperatives of three categories of rural population. Of these three categories, the first will have no land but somehow a numerical superiority in the organization, will participate in the production process of the land under the jurisdiction of the cooperatives and will presumably get a share in the output, not as wages but as dividends. There was no specific mention, though, as to how all this will be done.

Now in the absence of some kind of vesting of landownership in the cooperatives, it is difficult to see how the landless labourers can really have any share as well as responsibility in the management of agricultural planning and production in the rural areas. From what one can glean from the policies towards land tenure system of the country there does not seem to be any intention on the part of the Government to force all individual

owners to surrender their land to the cooperatives. So there does not seem to be any scope for the landless to have any real impact on how the land should be cultivated. Moreover, if the I. R. D. P. is merely to repeat the Comilla experiments, the cultivation and management of the farms will remain with the operators as is the case now. It follows, therefore, the only possibility for the landless labour to participate lies in their being employed as wage-labour, the benefit of higher productivity resulting for the IRDP going to them in the form of higher wages, as well as in the prospect of their being gainfully employed over a longer period in the year.

VII

The difference which distinguished the approach of planning exercise in Bangladesh from that of the earlier one had manifested itself in the shape of two major policy recommendations: Firstly, the large scale sector of manufacturing industry had been totally reserved for the state sector for purposes of development and operation. Within the time horizon of the First Five Year Plan, development of this sector had been limited to the growth and expansion of a few items such as the textiles, cement and petrochemicals. Private enterprise had given rather a subsidiary role, being limited to small scale industry only with a share of barely 13 percent of the aggregate individual investment proposed in the plan.

In the rural sector the major emphasis had been put on increasing agricultural output only within the framework of the I. R. D. P. But there was not any realistic policy for initiating a complementary process of industrialization in the rural areas as a means of absorbing the surplus labour at the source.

To implement the programmes in both of these sectors, as indeed in other spheres as well, the planners had envisaged the creation of structure of bureaucracy consisting, of the Cadre, the members of which will be assigned the jobs that normally were performed by the market e. g., allocation, procurement, distribution, etc., although the members of this bureaucracy were expected to be guided by "accounting prices" to be calculated no doubt by the planners at the top in making decision on the functions mentioned above.

The reality of the situation, as one finds it today in Bangladesh, suggests that the course of development in the country should follow a pattern in which the rural sector as a whole get a chance to develop as many alternative production activities outside agriculture as possible through the savings and investment efforts of the industrious section of the rural population in the small scale industries. This is most important from the point of view of the possibility of long run growth.

From the study of the various institutions that had been envisaged for plan implementation, it appeared that what the planners had as the point of reference at the back of their mind, so far as the control of the economy was concerned, was something like the Chinese of control of production and planning by revolutionary councils which could perhaps work under an appropriate programme of social revolution with the help of a dedicated cadre. Since, however, the social revolution which would be needed to bring this about apparently was not acceptable to the political leadership of the then ruling party, they had suggested a diluted version of revolutionary councils in the shape of the cooperatives for the villages with a built-in scope for conflict creation between the rural classes. This may have been good for resolving the conflict between the radical elements among the planners on the one hand, and the conventional political leadership as well as the traditional elements in the planning organization, on the other, but so far as the development of the country is concerned, the result may well be such as to produce the worst of the both worlds. For the system that was being envisaged would be run and controlled by a vast army of bureaucracy on whose decision will depend the allocation of resources between the villages and the towns as well as between different classes of society. As the Pakistan experience amply demonstrated, decisions by bureaucrats may not always lead to harmonisation of diverse interests that may arise in the process of carrying out development programme for the country. If this happens, there will develop conflicts between the urban and rural areas as well as between different social classes which may hinder rather than promote the sort of development that the plan had envisaged for the country. The example of Ceylon can be pertinent in this respect where the attempt to run the nationalized tea estates with the help of worker's cooperatives has led to disastrous results.

PLANNING FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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Being a student of Political Science, I was a little surprised, when I was asked by the youthful President of Bangladesh Economic Association to present a paper here to-day. Among the social scientists, the economists have been the first to adopt scientific statistical and mathematical tools of analysis. A bold optimism about prediction, prescription and policy formulation was writ large in the voluminous literature on development economics that were produced in the fifties. The political scientists, following the lead of the economists, soon began to sharpen their tools of analysis. When in the sixties, proclaimed as "Decade of Development," by the United Nations, economic planning in most of the developing nations failed, the political scientists began to assert that the failure was largely due to the inability of the economists to understand that economic development and political development are simultaneously bound phenomena, that economic development can not take place in a country with decaying political system. The Bangladesh case is a clear example of the failure of economic planning in a non-developing political system. The economic "wizards" of Bangladesh who during the pre-liberation days vigorously predicted the economic viability of an independent Bangladesh, found out to their great dismay that in the context of a non-developing political system, academically immaculate blue print of economic development amounts to nothing more than a mere bundle of waste papers.

The serious scholars of economic growth have always been careful to point out the political basis of economic development. As W. W. Rostow, in his famous book, *The Stages of Economic Growth*¹ has written, "While it is true that economic change has political and social consequence, economic change is, itself, viewed here as the consequence of political and social as well as narrowly economic forces. And in terms of human motivation, many of the most profound

1. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1960, p. 2.

economic changes are viewed as the consequence of the noneconomic human motives and aspirations." Gunnar Myrdal, titled one of his earliest works as, *The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory*.² Most of the recent students of development politics are increasingly asserting that without political development economic development will always be in the realm of *desiderata*.³

The crucial questions involved are : What is planning? Can the process of economic development be delineated and can roughly be replicated? Can one define political development as the economists can define economic development? How are political development and economic development related to each other? Are they really simultaneously bound phenomena? Or is one of them to precede the other?

All these questions have prescriptive orientation and a traditional social scientist might reply that his business is analysis not prescription. That will be the rationalization of an escapist attitude and will make the social scientists irrelevant for the third world caught up in the vortex of "revolution of rising expectations."

I need not dwell on the concept of planning in this gathering of distinguished scholars. I would only emphasize that planning implies deliberate and conscious attempt to manipulate the existing state things in the desired directions. Planning, whether economic or political, is a matter of conscious and rational choice of one of several alternative paths of development. In other words, planning is the opposite of older conception of social determinism of political and economic change. The point has been most tellingly made clear by Karl Marx himself, greatest of the exponents of economic determinism : "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in different ways: *the point, however, is to change it.*"⁴

Fortunately, for us the economists and social scientists have been able to delineate the process of economic development. At the pure economic level, development economists have found out the

2. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1953.

3. See, For example, R. T. Holt and J. E. Turner, *The Political Basis of Economic Development : An Exploration in Comparative Political Analysis*, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. 1966.

4. Quoted in J. D. Montgomery and W. J. Siffin, *Approaches to Development* Mc Graw-Hill Book Company, 1966, p. 15. *Italics added.*

process of economic growth-generation of surplus capital, investing the surplus capital first in developing infra-structure and social overhead, mechanization of agricultural sector to provide a continuous flow of surplus capital needed for cumulative investment in heavy and light industries and for creating a large domestic market for most of the industrial products.

The students of comparative economic development have also pointed out the basic similarity of process of economic development in western capitalist countries and the communist world. Modern researches on economic development in Britain and Japan indicate that the theory of *Laissez Faire* was an economic model which bore little relationship with the economic realities in those countries during, what Rostow calls, the "take-off" stage. The Governments in both the countries at the period—were deeply involved in creating the social overhead, in resource mobilization and resource allocation. Even in U. S. A. where highly favourable resource-population balance and availability of modern technology made economic development much easier, the Government in the initial stages helped develop the social overhead by heavily subsidizing the building up of the railroad system which according to Rostow was one of the crucial factor in the "take-off" of the United States' economy. The main difference between Western and communist models is that while in the Western Countries, resource management was left to private entrepreneurs and distribution of goods to market forces, in the communist model resource-management as well as the distribution of goods are in the hands of Government agencies manned by people who are experts in the fields and at the same time cadres of the communist party.

Recent scholars of social change (Hagen, Mclell and the like) have found the leaders of development (entrepreneurs as they are often called) as a special psychological type. The entrepreneurs are an innovating class, a very hard-working band of people with immense drive, who are determined to change and manipulate the environment, taking great risks and ruthlessly over coming all obstacles. The scholars specialised in development in the communist countries (Moor, Fainsod and the like) have found great similarity in the psychological make-ups of the Western

entrepreneur and the leaders of the "Command economy" of the communist system. Like the Western entrepreneurs, the communist technocrats are a determined group, dissatisfied with the status quo, destroying the old economic structure and building up a new world. In the West, the protestant ethics, achievement need and a "reactive nationalism" provided the motivation for the capitalist entrepreneurs, in the communist system, the ideological commitment, nationalistic zeal and vision of a better future act as motive power for the leaders of development. To sum up the argument so far, recent researches on change and development clearly point out that the process of economic growth ran a similar path in both the non-communist and communist countries.

Now what about political development? How are levels of political development related to the stages of economic growth? While dealing with political development we are in a difficult terrain. To measure political development, we can not easily find out the value-neutral quantitative indices which the economist can easily use. To overcome the ideological basis in dealing with the questions of political development, some recent political scientists have resorted to the concept of *the capability of the political system*. In its concrete aspect by *capability* we mean the capacity of the political system (i) to extract resources; (ii) to regulate behaviour of individuals and groups; (iii) to extend governmental authority from the centre to the periphery; (iv) to mobilise masses for developmental works; (v) to ensure the equitable distribution of goods; and (vi) to deal effectively with international pressures. At the psychological and symbolic levels, *capability* denotes the capacity of the political system, (vii) to give a sense of national identity to the people; and (viii) to establish the legitimacy of the government.⁵ Political Scientists with penchant for mathematical design can put quantitative symbols to these eight criteria of capability of the political system and draw algebraic equations or graphic charts to measure different levels of political development.

5. For an elaborate treatment of the concept of capability of the political system, see, G. A. Almond & G. B. Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Boston, Little, Brown and Co. 1966 and L. Binder *et al*, *Crises and Sequence in Political Development*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1971.

I would not, however, attempt to develop a mathematical model of political development here. What I want to say is that if definition of political development is accepted, it can be historically proved that the level of economic growth is dependent on the corresponding level of political development and this statement seems to be true for both the communist and non-communist model of economic and political development. In the non-communist model (including Japan), "the take-off" stage was preceded by the emergence of national identity, establishment of the legitimacy principle of government and growth of "reactive nationalism", to use Rostow's phrase again, for mobilization of people for developmental works. Moreover, before the economy could "take-off", the Government became highly centralized, its power penetrated deep into the society so that extractive and regulative power of the political system became significantly effective. That is, before the economy could reach the stage of "take-off" the degree of political development had already reached quite a high level, only the distributive crisis remained to be solved and the political system later tackled the problem through gradual extension of suffrage and through the system of welfare politics.⁶

In the communist model, the issues of national identity, legitimacy of Government, penetration of governmental authority to society, mobilisation of masses and equitable distribution, all are resolved through the establishment of one party-system manned by highly trained political cadres. In this system the political elite act both as agents of political and economic development with a ruthlessness characteristic of capitalist entrepreneurs and telescope in a few decades the political and economic development which the European Countries and Japan took several centuries to achieve.⁷

If this analysis of the processes of economic and political development is correct and if the process of growth in both the communist and non-communist worlds are qualitatively similar, it is not difficult to understand the political under-development and economic stagnation of the developing nations. These developing

6. See, R. T. Holt and J. E. Turner, *op. cit.*

7. See, I. R. Senal, *The Challenge of Modernization: The West's Impact on the non-Western world*, New York, W. W. Norton & Co. Inc.

nations lack the cadre of people—who have ruthless dynamism, hard-working capacity, ability to look at problems from both past and future perspectives and dedication to the country—the type of people who created the economically developed and capable political system in the Western as well as in the communist worlds. These developing states have been, what Gunnar Myrdal calls, “soft” states. Here the capability of the political system is quite low. Laws, rules and executive directives are honoured more in their breach than observance. Inefficiency, indiscipline, corruption and dereliction are the prevailing norms. The result is that the goals proclaimed by the leaders are hardly achieved. Incongruity in the promised behaviour of the leaders and actual performance of it breeds utter cynicism and apathy.

This was exactly the condition in the post-liberation Bangladesh. Bangladesh was the “softest” state in the world. And alternative models of developing Bangladesh into a “hard state” are quite clear. One is to pool together all the best available political leaders, civil and military officers, management experts and to give them full political support by the present rulers to work on the basis of rationally fixed priorities and use the “reactive nationalism” of Bangladesh (best manifested in November 7 upheaval) to mobilize and discipline the masses for national development. If these people lack “associational sentiments”, fail to provide cohesive and decisive leadership and indulge in endless factionalism on personal scores, political power will inevitably pass into the hands of those who are advocating “social revolution” and promising quicker process of political and economic development under the leadership of ideologically-oriented political cadres. There is no easy road to political and economic development. Both the models would involve hard work, a sense of vision, devotion to duties and a ruthless application of discipline in all spheres of life.

As a value-neutral analyst, I have no preference for any of the two models. While it may sound heretical from a particular ideological perspective, as a student of social science I can possibly safely finish my talk saying :

“I do not care whether the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice.”

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পরিকল্পনার জন্ম পরিকল্পনা

১। অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের জন্ম পরিকল্পনা একটি মাধ্যম মাত্র, উদ্দিষ্ট নয়, উপাস্তও নয়। মাধ্যমের মান স্বনির্ভর নয়, স্বনির্বাচিতও নয়। মাধ্যমের প্রকৃতি, উদ্দিষ্টের সংজ্ঞা, চেতনা ও বিচারের উপর নির্ভরশীল। মাধ্যমের উৎকর্ষ উপাস্ত, সংগঠন ও উপকরণ নির্ভর। একারণে পরিকল্পনার জন্মও পরিকল্পনা প্রয়োজন।

২। পরিকল্পক মণ্ডলীকে জানতে হবে পরিকল্পনার উদ্দেশ্য কি? পরিকল্পক মণ্ডলী সাধারণভাবে সর্বত্র ও সর্বদা বিভিন্ন সম্পর্কিত বিষয়ে বিশেষজ্ঞ হয়ে থাকেন। তাদের বিশেষ জ্ঞানের বিশেষ ব্যাপ্তি ও পরিধি রয়েছে, বিশেষ ক্ষেত্রে তার চারুনা এবং বিশেষ কাজেই তার ব্যবহার পরিহার্য, উদ্দিষ্ট নির্ণয়ে সেজ্ঞান অব্যবহার্যতা নয়, তবে উদ্দিষ্ট নির্ণয় রাজনীতি নির্ভর, রাজনৈতিক উদ্দেশ্য ও লক্ষ নির্ভর এবং রাজনৈতিক পদ্ধতি নির্ভর। উদ্দিষ্ট নির্ণয়ে তাই রাজনীতির গুরুপদসংস্থার। বিশেষজ্ঞ সে-পদসংস্থার নিয়ন্ত্রণ করেন না; পদসংস্থারের ফলশ্রুতি সম্পর্কে অবহিত হন মাত্র। রাজনীতির যে-ব্যাপ্তি সামাজিক সম্পর্কে-আন্দোলিত করে, রাজনীতির যে-পরিধি সমাজের পরিজ্ঞেয়কে প্রাণ সংগঠিত করে, রাজনীতির যে-চাঞ্চল্য জনচিত্র স্পর্শ করে, রাজনীতির যে-উদ্দেশ্য লোকাধৃত বা লোক-লাঞ্ছিত হয় তারই ভিত্তি পরিকল্পনার প্রথম উপাস্ত। পরিকল্পনা তৎগত অর্থে দর্শন নয়। তবে ধাতুগত অর্থে, ভাবগত অর্থে পরিকল্পনা দর্শনেরই রূপান্তর। পরিকল্পনা রাজনীতিক ও সামাজিক দর্শনের বাহন, উদ্ভাবক নয়। রাজনীতির সাথে তার সম্পর্ক নিবিড় যদিও পরিকল্পনা ব্যাপক অর্থে কোন একটি রাজনৈতিক দর্শনের উপযোগ, উপাচার বা ফলশ্রুতি হতে পারে, নাও হতে পারে। যেখানে রাজনৈতিক দৃষ্টি স্বচ্ছ, যেখানে রাজনৈতিক চেতনা সমৃদ্ধ, যেখানে রাজনৈতিক সংগঠন লোকাশ্রয়ী, সেখানেই রাজনৈতিক উদ্দিষ্ট ও সামাজিক উদ্দিষ্টের পথ এককেন্দ্রিক এবং পরিকল্পনার উদ্দিষ্ট তত প্রাঞ্চল, তত লোকাধৃত এবং তত লোকাশ্রয়ী। এর বিপরীতও সমভাবে সত্য, রাজনৈতিক চেতনা অসমৃদ্ধ হলে, রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্ব স্ববির হলে, রাজনৈতিক সংগঠন লোকাশ্রয়ী না হলে, রাজনৈতিক দৃষ্টি পরিচ্ছন্ন না হলে, রাজনৈতিক

অভিজ্ঞান কুপমণ্ডুকতা মুক্ত না হলে, রাজনৈতিক ব্যাপ্তি পরিসরচ্যুত হয়ে সমাজদেহে পূর্ণাশ্রয়ী না হলে পরিকল্পনার উদ্দিষ্ট ভাবাবেগমুক্ত, সত্যাশ্রয়ী বাস্তবমুখী কল্যাণকর হয়ে উঠতে পারে না। পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পনার তাই রাজনৈতিক সংগঠনের ভূমিকা মুখ্য। রাজনীতি-সচেতন নেতৃত্বের আবাহনই পরিকল্পনার আগমন হয় ভাবজগত থেকে মর্তে।

৩। পরিকল্পনা আজ প্রায় সর্বত্রগামী। সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশে কেন্দ্রীভূত নির্দেশনায় লালীত নিয়ন্ত্রিত উন্নয়ন প্রচেষ্টা আজ পরিকল্পনাশ্রয়ী অর্থনীতির একটি প্রকাশ মাত্র। সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশে ও বিকেন্দ্রীভূত পরিকল্পনার পরীক্ষা নিরীক্ষা চলছে। অসমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশে বাজার উদ্ভূত অনাচারী প্রক্রিয়ার শোষণ ও নিয়ন্ত্রণ মানলে পরিকল্পনার সাহায্য নেয়ার দৃষ্টান্ত আজ বিরল নয়। বস্তুত পরিকল্পনার প্রয়োজনীয় প্রকরণ ও পদ্ধতি অসমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশেও উৎকর্ষ ও প্রয়োগ লাভ করেছে। পূর্ণ বা খণ্ড, কেন্দ্রীভূত বা বিকেন্দ্রীভূত, নিয়ন্ত্রিত বা বাজারশ্রয়ী পরিকল্পনার যে বিভিন্ন দৃষ্টান্ত, তার মূলে রয়েছে বিভিন্ন দেশের রাজনীতি ও রাজনৈতিক দর্শন, সমাজ ও সামাজিক চিন্তাধারা, অর্থনীতি ও অর্থনৈতিক প্রকরণ ও বৈশিষ্ট্য।

৪। পরিকল্পনা রাজনৈতিক উদ্দিষ্ট হতে নিদ্দিষ্ট হলেই ষথেষ্ট হবেনা, প্রয়োজন পরিকল্পনাকে স্মৃতথ্যানির্ভর করে গড়ে তোলা। তথ্য আপনা আপনি এসে উপস্থিত হয়না উদ্ভূত যেমনি তথ্য আপনা আপনি হয়না অথচ তথ্য সমস্ত ক্রিয়াকার্য্য, ঘটনা, অবস্থা ইত্যাদির প্রেক্ষিতে প্রতিনিয়ত অন্তর্জ ও সংগ্রহ যোগ্য। প্রয়োজন সংগ্রহের সংগঠন, সংগ্রাহকের অভিনিবেশপূর্ণ জ্ঞান, সংগঠকের অনুশীলিত প্রচেষ্টা ও একটি সম্মিলিত প্রয়াস। এটা তখনই সম্ভব যখন সমাজ তথ্য সম্পর্কে সচেতন হয়ে উঠে। যখন ব্যক্তি তথ্যের সামান্য তারতম্যের ফলশ্রুতি সম্পর্কে জ্ঞাত থাকে এবং ব্যক্তিসমষ্টি সমাজের তথ্যপ্রকরণ সম্পর্কে সত্যসংক হয়ে উঠে। স্মৃতথ্য তাই কেবল মাত্র সংগঠন ও সংগ্রাহক নির্ভর নয়। বস্তুতঃ স্মৃতথ্য সমাজচেতনারই ফলশ্রুতি। স্মৃতথ্যের দুষ্টর অভাব পরিকল্পনাকে কেবলমাত্র কতিপয় নির্দেশ ও উদ্দিষ্টের একত্রীকরণে পরিণত করতে পারে। পরিচালিত অনুশীলনের অভাবে নির্দেশ ও উদ্দিষ্টের স্নুগত সমন্বয় সাধন অসম্ভব হয়ে পড়তে পাড়ে। পরিকল্পনা যত বিস্তৃত, যত ব্যাপক, যত সমন্বিত তথ্যের প্রয়োজন তত তীব্রতর, তীক্ষ্ণতর ও ব্যাপ্ততর। পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পিত রূপরেখায় তাই তথ্য ও তথ্যসম্পর্কিত সচেতনতা সবিশেষ গুরুত্ববহ।

৫। পরিকল্পনা সাধারণতঃ লক্ষ্য, বিনিয়োগ সংগঠন, নীতিমালা বিষয়ে সমৃদ্ধ হয়ে থাকে। লক্ষ্য সংগঠন নিরপেক্ষ হতে পারে না, যেমনি পারে না নীতিমালা হতে সনির্ভর। নীতিমালা প্রয়োগ সংগঠনের ভূমিকাও মুখ্য। লক্ষ্য ও বিনিয়োগের যোগাযোগ অপ্রত্যক্ষ নয়। বিনিয়োগের সাথে সংগঠনের যোগ প্রত্যক্ষ। একে অঙ্কে বাদ দিয়ে, একে অস্ত্রের সমন্বিত না হয়ে, একে অস্ত্রের নির্ভরতা সম্পর্কে সমধিক জ্ঞাত না হলে পরিকল্পনায় সফল প্রয়াসের অভাব পরিলক্ষিত হবে। পরিকল্পনার এই চার অংকের পরস্পর নির্ভরশীলতা সম্পর্কে সচেতন না হলে স্বচ্ছ রাজনৈতিক উদ্দেশ্য ও স্মৃত্য স্মসংহত সমন্বিত বাস্তব পরিকল্পনার সৃষ্টি করতে পারে না। পরিকল্পনা পরিবর্তনের বাহন। পরিবর্তনকে ত্বরান্বিত করা, পরিবর্তনকে উন্নয়নে রূপান্তরিত করা, উন্নয়নকে গতিশীল করা, গতিকে বিভিন্ন খাত উপখাতে সংযোজিত করা এবং খাত ও উপখাতের সংযোজিত গতিকে স্মসংবদ্ধ করার মাধ্যম পরিকল্পনা। এতেনার অভাব থেকে জন্ম অস্বচ্ছ ধারণা থেকে লক্ষ্য অথবা লক্ষ্য ও বিনিয়োগ সম্পর্কিত আলোচনা প্রাধান্য পেয়ে থাকে। পরিকল্পনার উপকরণ ও উদ্দেশ্য হিসেবে সংগঠন ও নীতিমালা গোণ হতে গোণতর হয়ে দৃষ্টির আড়ালে যায় হারিয়ে। অথচ পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পনায় যে তথ্যের প্রয়োজন সে কেবল পরিসংখ্যান নয়। প্রচলিত সংগঠন ও নীতিমালার প্রকরণ, বিকরণ ও নিরীক্ষিত প্রতিবেদনও বটে। সংগঠন প্রায়শঃ পরিবর্তন বিমুখ মানসিকতার পরিচয়ে পুষ্ট হয়ে উঠে; নীতিমালার অনুকরণের প্রাবল্যে প্রায়শই সৃষ্টিশীলতা যায় হারিয়ে অথবা তাৎক্ষিক গোড়ামীতে পরীক্ষা, নিরীক্ষা হয়ে পড়ে সীমিত। যে মুক্তজ্ঞান সংগঠনকে গতিশীল করে, যে মুক্তবুদ্ধি নীতিমালাকে সংবেদনশীল করে এবং যে স্বচ্ছসৃষ্টি তাৎক্ষিক গোড়ামীকে সীমিত করে, তারই প্রভাব পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পনায় একান্ত প্রয়োজন।

৬। পরিকল্পনার উদ্দেশ্য মানুষ, উৎস মানুষ। পরিকল্পনার নির্বাহীও মানুষ, পরিকল্পকও মানুষ। পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পনার মানুষের ব্যক্তিচেতনার ব্যাপ্ত সৃষ্টিশীল ও সমাজাশ্রয়ী বহিঃপ্রকাশ প্রয়োজন। অস্ত্রথায় ব্যক্তিচেতনা পারস্পরিক সংঘাতে অনাচারী অবস্থার সৃষ্টি করে। ব্যক্তিক উৎকর্ষের সাথে সামাজিক উন্নয়ন, সামাজিক অগ্রগতির পরে ব্যক্তিক নির্ভরতা তীব্রভাবে অনুভূত না হলে প্রক্রিয়া বহিঃভূত সজ্ঞান সচেতন ব্যক্তিক্রিয়ায় পরিকল্পনার সামাজিক রূপ ব্যাহত হয়ে পড়ে। পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পনায় সংগঠন ও নীতিমালার মতই-ব্যক্তি সমাজের পরস্পর নির্ভরতার সজ্ঞান পরিচিতি সর্বস্তরে কাম্য। সমাজতাত্ত্বিক দেশে একক রাজনৈতিক সংগঠন ও তার শাখা প্রতিষ্ঠান

একাজে লিপ্ত। অন্তর্দেশে এ চেতনা এসেছে যুগচেতনার সাথে, এ জ্ঞান এসেছে ইতিহাসের শিক্ষা হিসাবে, এতদ্ব এসেছে সমাজ ও সরকার গঠন ও পরিচালন প্রক্রিয়ার লব্ধ জ্ঞান থেকে।

৭। পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পনা নিয়ে দীর্ঘতর আলোচনা সম্ভব এবং প্রয়োজন। এসম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত অস্বচ্ছ ধারণার প্রকাশ প্রতিনিরতঃ চোখে পড়ে। পরিকল্পনা কি, কেন এবং কি ভাবে এপ্রশ্নের খেঁই না পেড়ে, মস্তব্যের ফুলঝুরি এদেশে মিলেছে। তাই, সার কথাটুকু, আবার বলছি, পরিকল্পনার পরিকল্পনায় উপকরণ হল: (১) লোকাশ্রয়ী স্বচ্ছ গতিশীল সমৃদ্ধ রাজনৈতিক অভিজ্ঞান ও প্রক্রিয়া যা থেকে নিদ্রিষ্ট হবে পরিকল্পনার উদ্দিষ্ট, (২) তথ্যসংগ্রহের সমাজ-সচেতন প্রয়াস, যা থেকে অনুভূত হবে বর্তমান স্তর এবং অগ্রগতির প্রকৃতি, (৩) লক্ষ্য বিনিয়োগ, সংগঠন ও নীতিমালার পরস্পর নির্ভরশীলতার স্বীকৃতির ভিত্তিতে গতিশীল সংগঠন, মুক্তবুদ্ধি প্রসূত নীতিমালা, তাত্ত্বিক গোড়ামী অনির্ভর লক্ষ্য ও স্ত্রসংযোজিত স্ত্রসংহত বিনিয়োগের ব্যবস্থা, যে চতুরপ্রকরণের সমন্বয়ে পরিকল্পনা হতে পারে বাস্তবায়িত এবং (৪) ব্যক্তি ও সমাজ সম্পর্কের সম্ভাবন স্ত্রসমৃদ্ধ চিন্তা যা সামাজিক অগ্রগতির প্রথম প্রজ্ঞা।

পরিকল্পনার জন্ত সংগঠন

১। পরিকল্পনার জন্ত সংগঠন বলতে যে প্রতিষ্ঠান মানসপটে দৃশ্যমান হয় সেটির নাম পরিকল্পনা কমিশন, বার্ষিক ও পঞ্চ-বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণ ও প্রকল্প মূল্যায়নই বার মূল কর্ম। অথচ কেবলমাত্র কমিশন এককভাবে পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণে অসমর্থ, একথা আমরা প্রায়শই বিস্মৃত হই। এবং সেকারণেই পরিকল্পনার জন্ত সংগঠনে বিভিন্ন বিদ্রান্তি বিদ্যমান, আর এ বিদ্রান্তি থেকেই পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণ ও বাস্তবায়নে বিভিন্ন পরিহার্য সমস্যা নির্যত সংকলিত ও সংযোজিত হতে থাকে, আর পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণের বাস্তব বিকেন্দ্রীকরণ পদ্ধতি আলোচনায় স্থান হারিয়ে ফেলে।

২। বার্ষিক বা পঞ্চ-বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা, যেটিই বিবেচ্য হোকনা কেন, এটি একটি সমন্বিত বহুবিধ পরিকল্পনা, এতথ্য বিস্মরণে থাকলে সাংগঠনিক বিবেচনা অসম্পূর্ণ থাকবে। কমিশনের প্রয়াস এসময়নের সন্ধানঃ এ সন্ধান পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণের আদি থেকে পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়নের ইতি পর্যন্ত ব্যাপ্ত। সমন্বয়ের সন্ধান তাই উদ্দিষ্ট নির্বাচনে। উদ্দিষ্ট নির্ণয় হয় রাজনৈতিক দর্শন, অতিজ্ঞান ও প্রক্রিয়ার মাধ্যমে। পরিকল্পনা কমিশনের কাজ সেখানে অন্তরালগামী

নেপথ্য। বিভিন্ন উদ্দিষ্টের ফলশ্রুতি—প্রয়োজনীয় বিনিয়োগ, সংগঠন, নীতিমালা ও পারস্পরিক সম্পর্ক ও ফলাফল বিশ্লেষণই কমিশনের কাজ। সেজন্য সংগঠনে যে প্রস্তুতি প্রয়োজন সেটি ভিন্ন ভিন্ন উদ্দিষ্টের বিশ্লেষণ ক্ষমতা, আর স্বত্বব্য এ বিশ্লেষণ কেবলমাত্র আর্থিক, অর্থনৈতিক, বিশ্লেষণই নয়, এ-বিশ্লেষণের ব্যাপ্তি সাংগঠনিক বিশ্লেষণে, নীতিমালা বিশ্লেষণে, কর্মপূর্ব পর্যায়ের, ফলাফল মূল্যায়নে আর সর্বোপরি সাক্ষ্য সামঞ্জস্য ও অগ্রাধিকার বিশ্লেষণে।

৩। উদ্দিষ্টের বিশ্লেষণের প্রেক্ষিতে নিহিত সিদ্ধান্তের আলোকে উদ্দিষ্টভিত্তিক প্রকল্পনির্ণয়ের কাজের শুরু। একাজ কমিশনের এককপ্রচেষ্টায় সম্পূর্ণ বা সম্বদ্ধ হতে পারে না। তাই প্রয়োজন পরিকল্পনা কমিশনের বাহিরে মন্ত্রণালয়ে এবং পরবর্তীস্তরে পরিদপ্তর, স্বায়ত্বশাসিত প্রতিষ্ঠান ইত্যাকার সাংগঠনিক পর্যায়ের পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণের প্রয়াস। একাজ স্বল্পভাবে সম্পাদনে প্রয়োজন হয় উদ্ধর্মুখ vertical ও সমান্তরাল lateral মতবিনিময়, পরামর্শ ও সমন্বিত প্রচেষ্টার। এপ্রচেষ্টা তত ফলপ্রসূ হবে যত হবে উদ্দিষ্টের সমঝোতা। যত দৃঢ় হবে বাস্তবজ্ঞান এর ভিত্তি, তত ব্যাপ্ত হবে বর্তমানের প্রাসংগিক মূল্যায়ন। তাই পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণে উদ্দিষ্টের গণ্ডিতে প্রকল্প নির্ধারণের কাজ সর্বনিম্নস্তরের সাথে সমন্বিত করতে সাংগঠনিক প্রয়াসের প্রয়োজন রয়েছে। আর এ সাংগঠনিক প্রয়াস যত শ্রুত হবে, যত শিথিল হবে, যত অসমন্বিত হবে ততই হবে পরিকল্পনার প্রকৃতিতে অবাস্তবতার স্বযোগ, ভাবানুতার প্রশ্ন ও গোড়ামীর আশ্রয়।

৪। পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণে জনসমর্থনেরও প্রয়োজন। পরিকল্পনার উদ্দেশ্য জনকল্যাণ আর কল্যাণের ব্যাপ্তি বিস্তৃত হওয়া বিধেয়। কিন্তু জনসমর্থনের পূর্বশর্ত হল জনগণের তথ্যসম্বদ্ধ মুক্তজ্ঞানের সঞ্চার। গোপণীয়তার নামে জনগণকে তথ্য থেকে যতদূরে সরিয়ে রাখা হবে, তত স্ট্রট হবে গোপী ও স্থানীয় চাপ। গণতান্ত্রিক দেশে জাতীয় পরিষদ ও রাজনৈতিক দলগুলোর মাধ্যমে তথ্য ও তথ্যের তর্কবিতর্ক নিয়মতান্ত্রিকরূপে নিয়োজিত। সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশে একমাত্র জাতীয় দলের মাধ্যমে ছাড়াও জাতীয় পরিষদ, স্থানীয় প্রশাসনিক পরিষদ, বিভিন্ন কর্মস্থানের প্রতিষ্ঠানের মাধ্যমে তথ্য ও তথ্যের পরিবেশনার সাথে সাথে জনসমর্থন ও জনমত বাচাই ও গঠনের প্রচেষ্টা অব্যাহত থাকে। পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণের এদিক বিস্তৃত হলে পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়ন বিঘ্নিত হবে আর পরিকল্পনা গোড়ামী, ব্যাজিক পছন্দ ও সাংগঠনিক ক্রটিমুক্ত হতে পারে

না। এদেশে পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নের শেষে বিশেষ সম্মেলনের আয়োজন হয়, যে সম্মেলনে কেবলমাত্র বিশেষজ্ঞরাই তাঁদের জ্ঞানের আলোকে নানাবিষয়ে যুক্তিতর্ক তোলেন; কিন্তু যে বিশাল জনরাশি অবিশেষজ্ঞ হয়ে আছেন তাঁদের সাথে সংযোগের পূর্বাগর কোন ব্যবস্থা আজও সাংগঠনিকভাবে হয়ে উঠেনি।

৫। পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নে আমরা প্রকল্পের পক্ষ, অর্ধপক্ষ ভিত্তি থেকে macro-model তৈরীতে এত ব্যস্ত হয়ে পড়ি যে অর্থ, বিনিয়োগ, এমনকি সম্পদ, সংগঠন ও নীতিমালা এগুলোর সম্বন্ধে আমরা অংকের চেহারায় মুখ ঢাকি। অথচ পরিকল্পনার সামাজিক ভিত্তি নিয়ে প্রশ্ন তুলতে আমরা বিস্মৃত হই। সেকারণে রাজনৈতিক সমর্থন মিললেও পরিকল্পনার ভিত্তি দৃঢ় হতে পারেনি। অথচ পরিকল্পনার উদ্দেশ্যে সম্পদ সৃষ্টি, সম্পদ সংগ্রহ ও সম্পদের ব্যবহার। এসবের সাথে জড়িত উৎপাদনের উৎস, উৎপাদনের পদ্ধতি, উৎপাদিতের বিতরণ ও সম্পদ পরিসম্পদের সংগঠন। এগুলোর সাথে সম্পর্কিত হল সামাজিক ধারা, নীতি, প্রকৃতি, প্রতিষ্ঠান ও মানসিকতা, সমাজ সম্পর্কে সচেতন না হলে, সমাজকে পরিচালন ও নিয়ন্ত্রণের সহজ ও সংগত পথ খুঁজে না পেলে অর্থনৈতিক পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়িত হতে পারে না। তাই শিক্ষিত পরিকল্পকগণ, মন্ত্রণালয়ের অধিকর্তা ও সাধারণভাবে প্রশাসক যারা, সে মুষ্টিমেয় গোষ্ঠী জনসাধারণ থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে পড়লে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নে সমাজের সাড়া মিলে না। আতাতুর্কের আধুনিকীকরণ প্রচেষ্টা সেকারণে অসফল হয়েছে, স্ক্রকানের সাম্রাজ্যবাদী প্রচেষ্টা একারণে বিফল হয়েছে। সাংগঠনিক প্রয়াসে তাই সামাজিক ভিত্তি ও পরিবর্তনের প্রচেষ্টার সামাজিক একান্ত্রতা গড়ে তোলার মাধ্যম অতীব বাঞ্ছনীয়; না হলে পরিকল্পনা উন্নয়নের সন্ধানে যে প্রচেষ্টা চালাবে তা সমাজাদৃত হবে না।

৬। পরিকল্পনার জন্ম সংগঠন নিয়ে প্রয়োজন বিস্তৃত উন্মুক্ত আলোচনা। আমরা প্রশাসক পরিকল্পকে শংকিত হই, বিশেষজ্ঞ পরিকল্পকে আনন্দিত হই আর দুয়ের সমন্বয়ের প্রচেষ্টায় প্রশাসনিক নিয়মাবলীর নাগপাশ এত কঠিন নিগড়ে বাঁধা যে প্রশাসক ও বিশেষজ্ঞের সম্পর্ক ক্রমেই তিক্ত হয়ে দাঁড়ায়। বর্তমান প্রশাসনিক মানসিকতা যদি উন্নয়নের পরিপন্থী হয় তাহলে প্রশাসনকেই বদলানো বিধেয় হবে।

৭। সার কথা এই পরিকল্পনা কমিশন পরিকল্পনার জন্ম সংগঠনের শীর্ষ মাত্র। এখানে বিশেষ জ্ঞানের পরিকল্পকের সমাহার প্রয়োজন। প্রয়োজন সে ব্যবস্থার যেখানে বর্তমান ও বর্তমানভিত্তিক ভবিষ্যত সম্পর্কে গবেষণা নিরত সঞ্চারমান। প্রয়োজন সে পরিবেশের যেখানে শীর্ষের সাথে নিম্নের যোগসূত্র দৃঢ়, যোগাযোগ নিরত অর্থবহ, গতামত ও তথ্যের বিনিময় মূল্যায়নের সহায়ক। সেকারণে মন্ত্রণালয়ের পরিকল্পনাদপ্তর বিশিষ্টভাবে সংগঠিত হওয়া প্রয়োজন; প্রয়োজন উন্নয়ন প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলোর পরিকল্পনা বিভাগের সবিশেষ উন্নয়ন। পরিকল্পনার জন্ম জনসমর্থন ও সামাজিক ভিত্তি নিরূপণ ও পরিবর্তনে সবিশেষ প্রয়াসের জন্ম প্রয়োজন সে প্রতিষ্ঠানের বাদের গবেষণা ও বিশেষ জ্ঞান, সংযোগ ও বিশ্লেষণ পরিকল্পনাকে প্রাণবন্ত করে তুলতে সাহায্য করবে।

পরিবর্তনের জন্ম সম্পদ

১। আমাদের পরিকল্পনার সবচেয়ে বড় জটিল সম্পদের উপেক্ষা। সম্পদের আর্থিক একটি রূপ আছে এবং থাকতে পারে। এবং পরিকল্পনার কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে সে আর্থিক পরিমাপেরও প্রয়োজন রয়েছে। কিন্তু পরিবর্তনের সার্বিক প্রস্তুতিতে যে সম্পদ ভিত্তিমূলে স্থিত হওয়া আবশ্যিক সেটি দেশের সর্বপ্রকারের সম্পদ। আর্থিক সম্পদ তার অংশ হতে পারে অথবা তার একটি প্রেক্ষিত পরিমাপ হতে পারে। কিন্তু দেশের স্বাভাবিক সম্পদের প্রকৃতি, ব্যাপ্তি, বিভিন্নতা, ব্যবহার উপযোগীতা সম্পর্কে প্রকৃত জরীপের অভাব পরিকল্পনার জন্ম সম্পদ সম্পর্কে উচ্চ অথবা সীমিত ধারণার সৃষ্টি করতে পারে। প্রকৃত ধারণার অভাব থেকেই পরিকল্পনার প্রকৃতি বিদ্রিত হয়। আমাদের মত দেশে যেখানে অর্থনীতির সর্বপ্রবাহ অর্থের লেনদেনে নিদ্দিষ্ট নয়, যেখানে সম্পদের মূল্যায়ন আর্থিক পরিমাপে নিদ্দেশের অসুবিধা বিদ্যমান এবং যেখানে সে মূল্যায়ন সম্ভব এবং স্থিতি ও নৈমিত্তিক সেখানেও পরিকল্পনার জন্ম সম্পদের পরিমাপ ও ভিত্তি কেবল অর্থের পরিমাপে হলে বিদ্রান্তির সম্ভাবনা প্রচুর। আর সে বিদ্রান্তির প্রথম শিকার আমাদের পরিকল্পনা।

২। পরিকল্পকের অবশ্য সীমাবদ্ধতা ছিল। রাজনীতিবিদের ফরমায়শে যে স্বল্প সময়ে পরিকল্পনার প্রস্তুতি তাতে সার্বিক জরিপ ছিল অসম্ভব। পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণের যে macro-model আমাদের হাতিয়ার সেখানেও সাধারণভাবে উন্নত পশ্চিমী দেশের প্রভাবে প্রবাহগুলোর সাধারণ মান নির্ণয় হয়

আধিক পরিমাপে। অথচ অর্থ যে প্রেক্ষিত প্রেক্ষনেট এবং সেকারণে আধিক পরিমাপকে স্ফূট করতে সর্বপ্রকার সম্পদের স্বাভাবিক পরিমাপের প্রয়োজন তার বিস্তৃতি পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণকে সহজ করে কিন্তু সমৃদ্ধ করেনা।

৩। প্রকৃত অর্থবহ পরিকল্পনার তাই সম্পদের জরীপের প্রয়োজন। জানা প্রয়োজন জনসম্পদের প্রকৃতি। জনসম্পদের কি শক্তি অর্থবহভাবে বিনিয়োগ সম্ভব। জনসম্পদের কুশলী প্রকৃতি, তাদের শারীরিক প্রকৃতি, তাদের শিক্ষাগত মান, তাদের অবস্থিতি, পেশা, বিচলনীয়তা, উৎকর্ষ, অপকর্ষ এর সম্ভারণ, সমস্তই সম্পদ সম্পর্কিত জরীপের অংগ। কৃষিক্ষেত্র সম্পর্কে হয়তোবা এ জ্ঞানের পরিধি একটু বিস্তৃত। কিন্তু সে বিস্তৃতি কেবলমাত্র সময়প্রবাহে গতানুগতিকতার ছবি। জমির স্বরূপে, সারের প্রয়োজনীয়তা, ফসলের উপযোগীতা, প্রাচুর্যের তীব্রতা, বিভিন্ন ফসলের কষণ খরচও উপেক্ষিত বিকল্পের আয়, আধুনিকীকরণের প্রতিষ্ঠানিক ও সামাজিক সুবিধা ও অসুবিধা ও ইত্যাকার জ্ঞানের অভাব পরিকল্পনার জন্য কৃষিজ সম্পদের ব্যবহারও সম্ভাবনাকে সীমিত করে, বিক্ষিপ্ত করে, কখনও বা বিভ্রান্ত করে। শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে অধিকতর সহজভাবে সম্পদের জরীপ সম্ভব হলেও প্রশাসনিক-কারণে বিভ্রান্তির অন্ত নেই। এদেশে শিল্পের সংখ্যা সম্পর্কে কোন স্বীকৃত তথ্য নেই, শিল্পের উৎপাদনক্ষমতা প্রশাসনিক ব্যাভিচারে বিভিন্ন প্রকারে বিপর্যস্ত : নতুন শিল্পের জন্য ক্ষমতার তথ্য আটঘণ্টা হিসেবে উপস্থাপিত, কোথাও সুবিধার তারতম্যে লাইসেন্সের জন্য ক্ষমতা অত্যধিক হিসাবে লিখিত, কোথাও লিপিবদ্ধ শিল্প প্রকৃতপক্ষে অনুপস্থিত, আবার কোথাও শিল্প-পরিদপ্তরের নাগপাশ এড়িয়ে বাজার নির্ভর হয়ে আনাচে কানাচে ছোট-শিল্পের ছড়াছড়ি। তাই শিল্পের ক্ষমতার ব্যবহার, ব্যবহারোপযোগীতা যা থেকে উপস্থিত শিক্ষাসম্পদের পরিমাপ সম্ভব তার অভাব অত্যন্ত তীব্র। আর তারই ফলশ্রুতি শুধু সম্পদের উপেক্ষা নয়, সম্পদের অব্যবহার ও অপব্যবহার।

৪। এ বিভ্রান্তি থেকে মুক্তি পাবার প্রয়াসে পরিকল্পক আশ্রয় খোঁজেন সঙ্কল্পের পরিমাপে, বৈদেশিক খাতে উৎস্রের সন্ধানে আর বৈদেশিক পুঁজির সহায়তার পরিবেশ সৃষ্টির প্রচেষ্টায়। সেকারণে পরিকল্পনার প্রকল্প অর্থ নির্ভর হবে, প্রকৃত সম্পদ নির্ভর হয়ে উঠেনা। এ কারণে অর্থব্যয়ে মূল্যায়ন হয়, চাকুরীতে লোক নিয়োগ হয়, কিন্তু সম্পদের ব্যবহারে উন্নত সমৃদ্ধ সম্পদের সৃষ্টি যথাসম্ভব হয়না।

৫। পরিকল্পনার জন্ত সম্পদের পরিমাণ হবে কৰ্ণনোপযোগী ভূমির কৰ্ণতীরতার হারে ; শিল্পক্ষমতার ব্যবহারের প্রগাঢ়তার ; জনসম্পদের কুশলী শৈলীর উপকৰ্ণনিকল্পনী বিনিয়োগে ; শিক্ষাংগনের উপযোগীতাও ব্যবহারের ব্যাপ্তিতে ; উন্নয়নধর্মী মানসিকতার সৃষ্টিতে ; আর অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নে সামাজিক নেতৃত্বের প্রকৃত ভূমিকাपालনে ; একারণে প্রয়োজন আর্থিক পরিমাপের পাশে পাশে সম্পদের স্বাভাবিক পরিমাপের চিত্র তুলে ধরা ।

৬। সম্পদ যদি তার স্বাভাবিক পরিমাপে চিত্রিত হয়, তবে পরিকল্পনার যে সীমা আর্থিক পরিমাপে বিধৃত সেটি সত্য বলে প্রতিভাত নাও হতে পারে। সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশের সম্পদ ব্যবহারে, বিশেষতঃ জনসম্পদ ব্যবহারে এসত্য কথাটি উদ্ভাসিত, যদিচ রাজনৈতিক অনুদায়তা কখনও কখনও অমানবিক পরিস্থিতির সৃষ্টি করে থাকতে পারে। প্রস্তাবনা শুধু এই যে আর্থিক পরিমাপে সম্পদের যে সম্ভাবনা উপস্থাপিত হয়, সম্পদের স্বাভাবিক পরিমাপে সে সম্ভাবনার গণ্ডী আরও বিস্তৃত হতে পারে ; আর এর ফলে উন্নয়ন ত্বরান্বিত হওয়া সম্ভব। সেকারণে আর্থিক পরিমাপের ভিত্তি হিসাবে, আর্থিক প্রয়োজনের পরিপূরক হিসাবে এবং আর্থিক সম্পদের প্রকৃত ব্যবহার নিশ্চিতকরণের কারণে পরিকল্পনার জন্ত সম্পদ আরও বিস্তৃতভাবে স্বাভাবিকতার চিত্রিত হওয়ার দাবী রাখে ।

৭। সম্পদের স্বাভাবিক চিত্রায়নে বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের প্রয়োজনীয়তা পরিশীলিত হয়ে উঠতে পারে। এটি আর্থিক পরিমাপে না হয়ে দেশজ সম্পদের পরিপূরক সম্পদের পরিমাপে চিত্রিত হয়ে উঠবে, সেজন্য সাহায্য আসবে উন্নয়নের প্রয়োজনে, ব্যবহারের উপযোগীতায়, দেশজ সম্পদের সম্প্রসারণে, কোনও জনের বা কোনও নেতার বা কোনও দাতার প্রাধান্য বা মাহাত্ম্য প্রচারে নয় ।

৮। সম্পদ সম্পর্কে প্রচলিত অর্থ নির্ভর চিত্রায়ন তাই কেবল দেশের অভ্যন্তরেই সম্পদ চিহ্নিতকরণে আংশিকতার দুষ্ট তাই নয়, আংশিকতার ফলশ্রুতিতে বিভিন্নভাবে সম্পদ বিনিয়োগ ও সীমাবদ্ধতার বিনষ্ট তার বহিঃসম্পদের ব্যবহারে এ-অপচয়ের ফলশ্রুতিও সন্নিবেশিত ।

পরিকল্পনায় অর্থবিনিয়োগের প্রাধান্য

১। পঞ্চ-বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় যেমনি, বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায়ও তেমনি দুষ্ট হয় অর্থবিনিয়োগের প্রতি আনুকূল্য, অতীতকালে এটি সরকারের উন্নয়ন বাজেট বৈ

কিছু নয়। এই উন্নয়ন বাজেটে রাজস্বখাতে খরচ অবশ্যই দেখা যায়, এবং সেটি অর্থমন্ত্রণালয় ও পরিকল্পনা কমিশনের কারচুপি। ফলে রাজস্বখাতের খরচটি অতি দ্রুত ব্যায় হতে পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়নের এক অকিঞ্চিৎকর চিত্র উপস্থাপন করে। আর অর্থবিনিয়োগের প্রতি পক্ষপাত সম্পদের প্রকৃত নিরূপণ, আহরণ ও বিনিয়োগের অভাব থেকে উদ্ধৃত। অথচ পরিকল্পনা কেবল অর্থবিনিয়োগ নয়, তার বহুভর একটি অর্থ রয়েছে পঞ্চ-বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় তার কিছু পরিচয় মিললেও, বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় সে পরিচয় প্রায়শঃ অনুপস্থিত। হালে অর্থনৈতিক সমীক্ষার সাথে বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার বিচ্ছেদ এমনি অর্থবহপাঠকে দুরূহ করে তুলেছে। অবশ্য স্মরণীয় পরিকল্পনা কমিশনের সমীক্ষা, অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয়ের রিপোর্ট এবং বাংলাদেশ ব্যাংকের মূল্যায়ন সর্বদা সমন্বিত চিত্র, উপস্থাপন করে না। পরিসংখ্যানের সমস্তা আছে, আছে সংজ্ঞার বিভ্রান্তি, তদুপরি রয়েছে জ্ঞানের অনুশীলনের অস্বচ্ছতা। কিন্তু তদোপরি রয়েছে তথ্যের হেরফের, সাংগঠনিক ও মন্ত্রণালয়ের প্রকৃত চিত্রের বদলে সুলভতর চিত্রায়নের মানসিকতা।

২। বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় অর্থবিনিয়োগের পাশে যে চিত্রটি প্রয়োজন সেটি হল সম্পদের ব্যবহার, উৎপাদনের উৎকর্ষ, গতি। সুতরাং উন্নয়ন বাজেটকে পরিবেশন করতে হবে সম্পদের বর্তমান ব্যবহারের মূল্যায়নের সাথে, উপস্থাপিত করতে হবে বর্তমান ব্যবহারের একটি পরিহারের পথার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে, সংযোজন করতে হবে উৎপাদনের লক্ষ্য ও তার সাথে সামঞ্জস্যমান নীতিমালার সাথে। এটি হয়না বলেই উপস্থিত ক্ষমতার পূর্ণব্যবহার উপেক্ষিত হয়ে নতুন ইউনিটের সৃষ্টি হয়; প্রয়োজনীয় সম্পদের অভাব স্বত্ত্বেও প্রকল্প বাজেটে সংকলিতও হয়; আবশ্যকীয় নীতিমালার সাথে সম্পর্কহীন ভাবে সংগমনের সৃষ্টি হয়; অর্থাৎ এক কথায় বাজেট স্কীত হয় ঠিকই কিন্তু লক্ষ্য ও অবস্থার প্রেক্ষিতে এটি থাকে সামঞ্জস্যহীনভাবে একক নিলিঙতার অস্তিত্ব হয়।

পরিকল্পনার বিকৃতি

১। পরিকল্পনার যথাযথ প্রনয়ণ পরিকল্পনার যথাযথ বাস্তবায়নের পূর্ব শর্ত হলেও পূর্ণশর্ত নয়। পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ণে তথ্যের অপ্রতুলতা, তথ্যের গরমিল, উদ্দিষ্টের অস্বচ্ছধারণা, উদ্দেশ্যের পরস্পর প্রতিকূলতা, সম্পদের সব বা উপরিমূল্যায়ন প্রতিষ্ঠানিক অপ্রস্তুতি, নীতি ও পদ্ধতির অসম্পূর্ণতা পরিকল্পনার বিকৃতির কারণ হয়ে দেখা দেয়।

২। এদেশে বিভিন্ন কারণে জরুরী কর্মোদ্যোগের সূচনার শেষ নেই। অথচ আমরা এক মুহূর্ত ভেবে দেখিনা পরিকল্পনার মধ্যে এ-কর্মোদ্যোগের স্থান

কোথায়, কোন্ পর্যায় এবং এর পূর্বাপর সংজ্ঞা রয়েছে কিনা। ফলে এ-কর্মোদ্ধোগে অল্প কর্ম হয় স্বগিত, স্থলিত, শ্লথ বা বজ্রিত। প্রথমটি ঘটায় কর্মের মাধ্যমে বিকৃতি, দ্বিতীয়টি হয় কর্মহীনতার দুষ্ট। দূরের ফল ও ফলের ফলাফল সূচনা থেকে শেষ পর্যন্ত স্থল বিকৃতিই নিকট মহীকূহে হয় রূপান্তরিত। পরিকল্পনার অনুশাসন না মানলে এ বিকৃতি নিরসনের কোন পথ নেই! পরিকল্পনার অনুশাসন মেনে নেয়ার অর্থ অনমনীয়তা নয়, এর অর্থ এই পরিকল্পনার পরিবর্তন, পরিবর্জন ও পরিবর্ধন; পরিকল্পনার রীতিনীতির মধ্যে পূর্ণ মূল্যায়নের মাধ্যমে পূর্বাপর সংগতি রেখে করতে হবে।

৩। পরিকল্পনার বিকৃতির মূল উৎস অবশ্য অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয়ের হাতে। বছরের শুরু থেকে ব্যয়ের চিত্র তৈরীর বৈজ্ঞানিক পদ্ধতিবলন আমাদের স্বভাব বিরুদ্ধ হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে, তাই স্বচ্ছতার নিয়ম (rule of thumb) আমাদের অবলম্বন। তদুপরি মূল্য পরিশোধ, স্বদ, অনুমিত উৎস কেটে নেবার পূর্বানুষ্ঠান। ফলে নিটঅর্থ বিনিয়োগের পরিমাণ বাজেট ও পরিকল্পনার বরাদ্দের অনেক কম হয়ে বিকৃতির স্বেচছ অসীম করে তোলেন। এছাড়া টাকা নেবার নামে এক পকেটের পরসী অল্প পকেটে ঢেলে অর্থমন্ত্রণালয় সমগ্র ও সম্পদের যে অপচয় ঘটান সেটিও অবাক না করে পারে না। অথচ এসমস্তই সাধারণ Book adjustment এর সাহায্যে হওয়া সম্ভব। অর্থমন্ত্রণালয় যতদিন রাজস্ব যোগানের দৃষ্টি নিয়ে উন্নয়নকে নিয়ন্ত্রিত করবেন, ততদিন পরিকল্পনার বিকৃতি ঘটতে থাকবেই।

৪। এ বিকৃতি থেকে রেহাই কি নেই? আছে, তবে সে পথের সন্ধান আমরা করিনে, সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশে পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়নের পর প্রকল্পের জ্ঞান অর্থ বিনিয়োগ ব্যাংকের মাধ্যমেই দেয়া হয়ে থাকে। ব্যাংক পরীক্ষা করে দেখে পরিকল্পনার ছকে প্রকল্পের স্থান কোথায়, এর বিশেষত্বই বা কি নিরীক্ষণ করে প্রকল্পের ঋণবিচ্ছ্যতি, নির্দেশন করে সম্ভাব্য উন্নততর বাস্তবায়নের পথ। দুপক্ষ পরিকল্পনার ছকে বাস্তবায়নের সময় পরিক্রমাও তৈরী করে নিরূপণ করে প্রকল্পের মূলধনের গঠন ও লাভের হার, সম্পদের সঞ্চালন ও অর্থের যোগান। আর তার পরে বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠানের সাথে আর-ব্যাংকের লেনদেনের মাধ্যম হয় ব্যাংক, আর এই লেনদেনের মাধ্যমে ব্যাংক লক্ষ্য রাখে যে পরিকল্পনার ছকে যে সময় পরিক্রমা নির্দিষ্ট হয়েছে তার সাথে বাস্তবায়নের সাদৃশ্য অসাদৃশ্য কোথায় এবং সেগুলো মিটিয়ে ফেলার কোন পথ বা পন্থা রয়েছে

কি না। সম্পূর্ণ বানিজ্যিক ভিত্তিতে, প্রশাসনিক নিগড়ের বাইরে পরিকল্পনার ছকে প্রকল্প হয় বাস্তবায়িত। এর ফলে পরিকল্পনার বিকৃতি হয় সীমিত, পরিহার্য এবং ব্যবস্থাপনার বৈজ্ঞানিক শৈলী হয় ব্যবহৃত।

৫। পরিকল্পনার অল্প বিকৃতি অবশ্য বাস্তবায়নে নিয়োজিত প্রতিষ্ঠানের কুশলী শক্তির অভাবের সাথে বিদ্যমান। প্রতিটি প্রকল্পের যে ব্যয় নির্ধারিত হয়েছে তার একটি অর্থ রয়েছে; এ ব্যয় সম্পদের বন্টনের মাপকাঠি। ব্যয়ের পরিমাপ যত বিশুদ্ধ, বিকৃতি তত কম। কিন্তু ব্যয়ের পরিমাপ নানাভাবে ক্ষীণ হয়: অতিরিক্ত লোক বিনিয়োগে, অসমচুক্তির মাধ্যমে, তত্ত্বাবধানের ত্রুটিতে, বাস্তবায়নের সময়ের দীর্ঘতায়, কুশলীর অদক্ষতার, উৎকোচের প্রাদুর্ভাবে। আমরা গত বিশবছর ধরে যে প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়ন করেছি তার অভিজ্ঞতার কোন সংগ্রহ নেই, সুবিধা অসুবিধার কোন মূল্যায়ন নেই, তত্ত্বাবধানের ফলশ্রুতির কোন ইতিহাস নেই। Case history-এর অভাবে আমরা একই ভুলের পুনরাবৃত্তি করি, প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নের প্রকৃতি ব্যবস্থাপনার প্রয়োজন হয় বিশ্বিত আর প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নের বৈজ্ঞানিক শৈলীর সন্ধান থাকে অস্বীকৃত।

৬। পরিকল্পনার বিস্তৃতির আরেক উৎস হল বৈদেশিক সাহায্য, সাহায্যদাতার রয়েছে নিজস্ব চিন্তা, পদ্ধতি, ভাবাবেগ, উদ্দেশ্য, রাজনীতি ও ব্যবসাবুদ্ধি। দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধের পর থেকে বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের গতি-প্রকৃতি লক্ষ্য করলে এসম্পর্কে কোন সংশয় থাকে বলে মনে হয় না। যে বৈদেশিক রাষ্ট্র বা সংস্থা যত বড়, বিশ্বে যার স্থান যত দৃঢ়, তার উদ্দেশ্য ও ব্যবসাবুদ্ধি তত বেশী, তা প্রকটই হোক বা অপ্রকাশ্য থাকুক। তাদের রয়েছে constituency তাকে রাখতে হয় সুখী। তাদের রয়েছে আন্তর্জাতিক রাজনীতির কলাকৌশলী আর বৈদেশিক সাহায্যকে সাধারণভাবে তার অনুশাসন মানতে হয়। ফলে দেশজ পরিকল্পনার যে চাহিদা আর বৈদেশিক দাতার যে সরবরাহ তা মিল হয় না, ফলে priority হয় পরিবর্তিত আর এ পরিবর্তনের ফলশ্রুতিতে পরিকল্পনার ছক ব্যর্থ ভেঙ্গে। সাহায্যকারী দেশ ও প্রতিষ্ঠানের নিয়মকানুনের নিগড়ে অর্থনৈতিক সার্বভৌমত্ব হয় সীমিত আর ব্যয় ও সময় প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নে ভিন্নতর চিত্রের প্রবর্তন করে। এই বিকৃতি মোচনের পথ হল প্রথমতঃ ব্রিটেনের কুশলী শক্তির সমৃদ্ধি, দ্বিতীয়তঃ বিদেশী সাহায্যের ফলে বিকৃতির পরিমাপ ও পরিচয়ের যথাযথ গ্রহণ, তৃতীয়তঃ দেশের চিন্তা ও পদ্ধতিতে স্বাবলম্বনের ছাপ ও ছায়ার সাথে সাথে নিজের যুক্তির বন্ধনকে সুদৃঢ় করে

সাহায্যদাতার উদ্দেশ্য ও ব্যবসাবুদ্ধির সরাসরি উন্মোচন। উৎস্বস্তি বা ভিক্ষা-
স্বস্তি থেকে নিষ্কৃতি সম্ভব নয়।

৭। পরিকল্পনার বিকৃতির কারণ হিসেবে অল্প কারণ সহজেই চোখে
পড়ে সেটি হল পরিকল্পনার প্রয়োজনে নীতি ও প্রতিষ্ঠানিক রদবদলে অনীহা।
আমাদের নীতি ও প্রতিষ্ঠানের একটি অনড় স্থিতি রয়েছে, এটি গতিশীল হয়ে
উঠতে পারে নি।

৮। পরিকল্পনার বিকৃতির বিমোচন তাই কাম্য, শুধু কাম্য নয় অপরিহার্য।
যে উন্নতির সহায়ক নয়, তাকে বদলাতে হবে।

পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়নের ব্যবস্থা

১। পরিকল্পনা আপনা আপনি বাস্তবায়িত হয়না। পরিকল্পনাকে
বাস্তবায়িত করতে হয়।

২। পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়নের ব্যবস্থাপনায় প্রাথমিক প্রয়োজন উপযোগী
সংগঠন। পরিকল্পনায় প্রকল্পের পরিবর্তনের সাথে সংগঠনের ও প্রকৃতি পরিবর্তন
বাহুনিয়। প্রয়োজন সাংগঠনিক কাঠামোর গতিশীলতা।

৩। প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নে ব্যাপৃত অংগণে প্রথমই যে ছক একে দেয়া হয়,
তার পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে আসে লোক নিয়োগের ব্যাপারে অনুদারতা, যেহেতু
কর্মের তালিকা নেই, সেহেতু কর্মের উপযোগী লোকের খোঁজও নেই। সেনা-
বাহিনীর অফিসার যেমনি সরকারী প্রশাসনিক অফিসারেরা হতে পারেন না
সেখানে Professionalism এর প্রয়োজন, উন্নয়ন প্রতিষ্ঠানেও সে একই কারণে
Professionalism-এর আবশ্যিকতা। আমরা কোথাও কেবল লোকের জ্ঞান পদ
স্ট্রি করি, পদের জ্ঞান (কর্মের জ্ঞান) লোকের সন্ধান করি না। আমরা কখনও
বা উচ্চসীত কর্মচারীকে স্বল্প দায়িত্ব দিয়ে অলস করে তুলি কিন্তু অল্প
দিকে কোন দায়িত্বশীলকে কাজের চাপে কুজ্যপৃষ্ঠ না বানিয়ে ছাড়ি না।
এসমস্তই সংগঠনের কর্মক্ষমতার প্রতিবন্ধক। সংগঠনকে হতে হবে গতিশীল,
সংগঠনকে পরিবর্তিত হতে হবে দায়িত্বের পরিবর্তনের সাথে সাথে,
সংগঠনকে আবর্তিত হতে হবে দক্ষতার সন্ধানে, তবেই উন্নয়ন প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলো
প্রাণবন্ত হবে।

৪। সাংগঠনিক এ ক্রটির সাথে যুক্ত হয় accountability-র কোন স্বীকৃত
পদ্ধতির অভাব। সরকারী অডিট সাধারণতঃ বিলম্বিত এবং operationally

অর্থহীন। এ পদ্ধতিতে মন্ত্রণালয় বা পরিকল্পনা কমিশনের আগ্রহ নেই, কারণ কাজ বাড়ে, প্রকল্প সেটি দিতে গড়রাজি কারণ এসব তথ্যই তার সমস্ত দক্ষতার দলিল। প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নের তাই কোন accountability নেই। অথচ control-এর প্রবণতা অত্যধিক কারণ তাতে প্রশাসনিক চাপ সৃষ্টি সহজ এবং এচাপ যিনি যত দেন তিনি তত ভাল প্রশাসক বলে স্বীকৃত। কিন্তু উন্নয়ন প্রতিষ্ঠানে উত্তম প্রশাসক তিনিই হওয়ার দাবীদার যিনি প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নে সময় ও অর্থ সঠিক প্রাথমিক মূল্যায়নের কাছাকাছি রাখতে সমর্থ।

৫। প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়ন ব্যবস্থাপনার তাই লক্ষ্যের সঠিক চিত্রায়ন প্রয়োজন, লক্ষ্য নিরূপিত হলে বাস্তবায়নের সময় কাঠামো, আবশ্যিক সামগ্র্য প্রতি-বন্ধকার পূর্ব পরিচিত এবং সেটি নিরসনের প্রচেষ্টা, দরকার খরচের মাপ্যপ্রতি মূল্যায়ন ও তার খণ্ড-সময়ভিত্তিক অনুসরণ আর এগুলো সম্ভব করে তোলার জ্ঞান প্রয়োজনীয়, গতিশীল প্রতিষ্ঠান, প্রকল্পগুলো এমনভাবে বেগবান বলে, প্রাপ্তবস্ত হলে, পরিকল্পনার ব্যবস্থাপনাও এমনি গতিশীল হবে, উজ্জীবিত হবে। এর ফলশ্রুতি হিসেবে স্থানীয়, সাংগঠনিক ও জাতীয় ভিত্তিতে পরিকল্পনার প্রকৃত বাস্তবায়ন (কেবল অর্থের খরচ নয়) ও তার নিরীক্ষণ সহজ ও অর্থবহ হয়ে দাঁড়াবে।

পরিকল্পনা ও শ্রেণীসমাজ

১। পরিকল্পনা প্রাদুর্ভাব হয়েছিল তরাশিত উন্নয়নের প্রয়াসে রাষ্ট্র নিয়ন্ত্রণ প্রতিষ্ঠায়। রাষ্ট্র সেখানে নেপথ্য নিয়ন্ত্রক নয়, স্বয়ং উপস্থিত। উৎপাদনের ক্রমবৃদ্ধি ও উন্নয়ন এর প্রধান লক্ষ্য। সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়নে রাষ্ট্রের প্রত্যক্ষ উপস্থিতি মৌল লক্ষ্যের অগ্রদিকটি হচ্ছে লাভের সন্ধানে উৎপাদনের অনাচারী স্বভাবের থেকে মুক্তির সন্ধান। আর এ মৌল লক্ষ্যের সম্পূরক দিক ছিল ধনিক শ্রেণীর হাতে শ্রমিক শ্রেণীর বঞ্চনার নিরসন। সে কারণে রাষ্ট্র মালিকানার মাধ্যমে সামন্তশ্রেণী ও নতুন নাগরিক ধনীদেব উচ্ছেদের সাথেও রাষ্ট্র নিয়ন্ত্রণ হয়েছিল যুক্ত।

২। সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়ন বা তৎদেশীয় মতবাদী রাষ্ট্রগোষ্ঠির বাহিরে পরিকল্পনার সাথে রাষ্ট্র নীতির শ্রেণীসম্পর্কিত এ চিত্রটি এমনিভাবে প্রতিভাত নয়। পরিকল্পনার উন্নয়নপ্রয়াসী বৈশিষ্ট্যই সম্যকভাবে আদৃত। এমনি ধারা বিবর্তনের নানা কারণ খুঁজে পাওয়া সম্ভব। প্রমত্তঃ ঔপনিবেশিক শাসনের ফলে ঔপনিবেশবাদী দেশে প্রচলিত অর্থনৈতিক পদ্ধতির প্রতি তাদের বিতৃষ্ণা

জন্মেছিল ; কিন্তু পাশ্চাত্যের সভ্যতার যে দ্বার সে শাসনেই উন্মুক্ত হয়েছিল তার ফলশ্রুতি হিসেবে গণতান্ত্রিক মূল্যবোধের প্রতি আকর্ষণ ছিল দুর্বল। দ্বিতীয়তঃ দারিদ্র ও শতবর্ষব্যাপি ঔপনিবেশিক বঞ্চনার হাত থেকে মুক্তির পথ হিসেবে পরিকল্পনার আশ্রয়ের প্রতি আগ্রহ আকর্ষণ প্রতিভাত হয়েছিল। পরিকল্পনা শুধু উন্নয়নই নয় আধুনিক সভ্যতার চাবিকাঠি হিসেবে আদৃত হয়েছিল। পরিকল্পনা অল্পসময়ে তড়িত উন্নতির পথ বলে সমাদৃত হয়েছিল। তৃতীয়তঃ বিশ্বযুদ্ধ নিয়ন্ত্রণ ও পরিকল্পনাকে প্রয়োজন বলে ধারণা করতে শিখিয়েছিল। তারপরে বৈদেশিক সাহায্য দান ও গ্রহণের মাধ্যম হিসেবেও পরিকল্পনা সমাদর লাভ করেছে। চতুর্থতঃ জনসাধারণের রাজমুখীতার প্রেক্ষিতে রাষ্ট্র নিয়ন্ত্রণ নতুন জাতীয়তাবাদের প্রত্যক্ষরূপ হিসেবে গণ্য হয়েছে। এসব সত্ত্বেও অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের জন্ত পরিকল্পনার সাথে শাসক শ্রেণীর শ্রেণীচরিত্র যদিও বা মিলিয়ে পড়া যায় তবুও প্রায় আশ্চর্যজনকভাবে পরিকল্পনার সাথে শ্রেণীতে বহুধাবিভক্ত সমাজের সমন্বয়ী প্রচেষ্টার কোন পরিচয়ই প্রায় মেলেনা। কখনও কখনও উন্নয়ন ও সাম্যের কথা উঠেছে ; কখনও কখনও মাদ্রলিক রাষ্ট্রের ছায়াপাত ঘটেছে ; কখনও বা বিষম আরবণ্টনের সমস্যাও সোচ্চারে আলোচিত হয়েছে, কিন্তু পরিকল্পনার মাধ্যমে শ্রেণী সমন্বয়ের কোন চিন্তা চোখে পড়ে না। অনুন্নত দেশের অবস্থা তাদৃশ হলেও উন্নত দেশে বিশেষ করে ফ্রান্স ও স্ক্যানডেনেভিয়ার এচিভার প্রয়োগ সবিশেষ লক্ষ্যযোগ্য।

৩। পরিকল্পনা শ্রেণী সংগ্রামের ইতি টানতে পারে না, সেজন্য প্রয়োজন সামাজিক বিপ্লব বা বিবর্তন, কিন্তু পরিকল্পনা সোভিয়েট পন্থীদেশে এর নীতিমালার আশ্রয়ে ধনিক শ্রেণীস্বার্থের প্রতি আঘাত হানতে পারে তার প্রমাণও রয়েছে। এবং তাদৃশ পরিকল্পনার আশ্রয়ে উন্নয়ন ও রাষ্ট্রের স্বার্থে কর্মদক্ষ নতুন শ্রেণীর উদ্ভব ঘটতে পারে সে সম্ভাবনাও বিরল নয়। কিন্তু অনুন্নত দেশে শান্তিপূর্ণ সামাজিক বিবর্তনের আকাঙ্ক্ষা যারা রাখেন তাদের হাতিয়ার হিসাবে পরিকল্পনা বিভিন্ন সামাজিক শ্রেণীস্বার্থের কথাঞ্ঝি সমন্বয়ী রূপদান করতে পারে এমনি সম্ভাবনা তাদের পরিকল্পনার পূর্ণ প্রয়োগ লাভ করেনি।

৪। রাষ্ট্রীয় নীতিমালার সন্মিলিত প্রয়াসে ঋপদী ধনতন্ত্র আজ অনুপস্থিত ; আর পরিকল্পিত অর্থনীতি যদি শ্রেণীস্বার্থের সমন্বয়ী প্রকাশ হয় তাহলেত বঞ্চনার আশ্রয়ে গড়ে উঠা শ্রেণীসংঘাত এড়িয়ে শ্রেণীস্বার্থের সহঅবস্থান

হয়তো বা সম্ভব হয়ে উঠতে পারে। এজাতীয় অবস্থার সৃষ্টি করতে হলে শ্রেণীবিভাগ, শ্রেণীস্বার্থ, উন্নয়নের সাথে শ্রেণীস্বার্থের পারস্পরিকতা, শ্রেণীস্বার্থের অত্যধিক প্রাধান্য ও শ্রেণীসংঘাতের উন্নয়ন পরিপন্থী চরিত্রগুলো সম্ভবপর্যালোচনার প্রয়োজন; প্রয়োজন সকল শ্রেণীর মাঝে পরিকল্পনার প্রয়াসে উন্নয়নের সন্ধানে যুক্তিতর্ক, প্রকল্প, বিকল্প, সম্প্রদায়, প্রতিপাত্তের পূর্ণ পর্যালোচনা এবং নীতিমালা নির্ধারণ পদ্ধতিতে সকলশ্রেণীর উপস্থিতি। প্রয়োজন সকল শ্রেণীর জ্ঞান সুযোগের সাম্য আর সমাজের শ্রেণীতে শ্রেণীতে উত্তরণের অবাধ সুযোগ সৃষ্টি।

৫। বাংলাদেশে সমাজ রয়েছে। সামাজিক শ্রেণীবিভাগ আজও পূর্ণভাবে জীর্ণমানসিকতা কাটিয়ে উঠতে পারেনি। অর্থনৈতিক শ্রেণীবিভাগ স্ববির সামাজিক বিভাগকে সমর্থন করে তুলতে সীমিতভাবে সফল হচ্ছে। ফলে শ্রেণীস্বার্থ তীব্রভাবে অনুভূত হয়ে উঠেনি। এ ছাড়াও রয়েছে প্রস্ফুটিত মানবিকতার প্রভাব। সে কারণে পরিকল্পনার সামাজিক বিবর্তনের চিহ্ন প্রস্ফুটিত নয়; এর প্রয়োজনও পূর্ণভাবে স্বীকৃত নয়। উন্নয়নশীল দেশে কোন পরিকল্পনাই অর্থবহ হতে পারে না, যদি কেবলমাত্র অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের সমর্থই অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রয়াসই সেখানে একচ্ছত্র প্রাধান্য বিস্তার করে। অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন ব্যক্তিগত স্বার্থের বাইরে সামাজিক প্রক্রিয়ার নিবিষ্ট হলে সামাজিক প্রবাহমান অর্থের বাইরে তাকে সামাজিক বিবর্তনের মাঝে শ্রেণী সংঘাতের স্থলে শ্রেণীসম্মেলনের পথকে প্রশস্ত করে তুলতে হবে নীতিমালার বিভাগে। এসম্মেলনও পরিকল্পনার মৌল লক্ষ্য ও সন্ধান হওয়া প্রয়োজন বলে মনে করি।

উপসংহার

তাত্ত্বিক আলোচনা পরিহার করেছি তার অপপ্রয়োজনীয়তার জ্ঞান নয়, তথ্যের পরিবেশ এড়িয়েছি তার অপতুলতার জ্ঞান নয়; স্বল্প পরিসরে প্রাথমিক বিদ্যুতির সমাহার ঘটিয়েছে সুধীজনের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণের জ্ঞান, ব্যবহারিক প্রয়োজনের প্রারম্ভিক প্রয়োজনে। তাত্ত্বিক শুদ্ধতা, তথ্যের প্রতুলতা কোন ফলদায়কই হবে না, যদি না বিদ্যুতির পথ আমরা এড়িয়ে যেতে সমর্থ হই। তাই প্রয়োজন ও বিষয়, চিন্তা ও বিচিন্তা, অস্বার্থতা ও অসামর্থ্য এ নিবন্ধের আলোচ্য এ বিশ্বাসে যে এগুলোর সম্মেলনতা পরিকল্পনাকে কথাক্ষিণ গতিশীলতা দানে সমর্থ হবে।

PLANNING FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BANGLADESH

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I. Introduction

The Republic of Bangladesh has been founded on four principles of state policy—socialism, democracy, nationalism and secularism. True to the principles of the state policy, socialist transformation of the Bangladesh economy was planned within a democratic social order. But the actual working of the principles of socialist transformation inevitably led to a pattern of capitalist-colonialist exploitation within an authoritarian social order. Thus the socio-economic order actually obtained proved contrary to the desired goal of socialist transformation of the economy.

II. The Socio-economic Order for Development Planning

It should be noted, at the very outset of our discussion, that the present regime has gone back to affirm its faith in the four principles of state policy enunciated in the unamended constitution and summarized in the First Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh. This affirmation would seem to imply that the socialist transformation of our economy would take place within a democratic social order, and vice versa. The question is : Should we again repeat the story of the legendary regime that promised to lay golden eggs for us ?

The ultimate answer to this question must lie with the leadership presently in power. We academicians can at best delve into the polemics of workability of a bipolar socio-economic system based on the principles of socialism and democracy. Theoretically speaking, the bipolar system is likely to be full of potentials for reversing charges on the two poles of our state policy—sometimes turning democracy into the positive pole and socialism into the negative one, and vice versa. This is likely, to be particularly true of Bangladesh where the system may be controlled remotely from the main stations of a number of powers and superpowers interested in

the affairs of the country. Moreover, the recent experience of Chile and Bangladesh surely indicates that the bipolar system based on socialism and democracy is practically unworkable and pregnant with possibilities of collision between the opposite poles of ideology.

Under such circumstances, it may be a practical ideology to adopt a pragmatic approach to development planning in Bangladesh. For all intents and purposes, this approach would call for development planning for the ideology of an egalitarian democratic socio-economic order typical of a mixed economy which is essentially a compromise between the conflicting principles of pure socialism and pure democracy.

III. Shortcomings of Development Planning in a Mixed Economy

It must be pointed out, however, that development planning for a mixed economy within the constraints of short supply of capital and paucity of entrepreneurship calls for measures of economic incentives to the private sector of production. Such incentives are necessarily provided through direct and indirect protection and subsidy to the private sector. Attempt to foster a viable private sector generally creates strong forces leading to an unequalitarian distribution of income and wealth in the society and considerable misallocation of resources through the working of the market mechanism. A pragmatic approach to development planning may eventually become a source of dangers for democracy. It should not be forgotten that political power has long been used as a source of wealth and wealth as a source of political power in Bangladesh. During the past few years, guns were also added to the source of wealth. These are issues relating to distribution of income and wealth in the society. Unless adequate policy measures can be effectively employed to counteract the forces leading to unequal distribution of income and wealth, development planning within the frame of a mixed economy may end up with an unequalitarian capitalist-democratic order which reminds us about the Marxist prognosis of a capitalist process of development eventually giving way to violent transformation of the socio-economic order into dictatorship of the proletariat.

IV. The Need for a Viable Socio-economic Order

A viable socio-economic and socio-political order for development planning in Bangladesh needs to be based on total commitment of the leadership to scrupulous maintenance of law and order and security of life and property of all law-abiding citizens in the country, reducing the existing pyramids of economic and social power-structures to an egalitarian level and to creating solid bases for socio-economic opportunities for all classes of people in the society. It is necessary, therefore, to bring about total transformation of the society involving realistic reforms of the economic, social and political institutions and practices in the country, and also involving some major changes in attitudes, values, motivation and behaviour patterns of the people. These changes and reforms should be undertaken with a view to evolving a viable socio-political order, and a self-reliant and egalitarian socio-economic system.

V. Interdependence between Defence and Development.

Turning now to the broad problem of integrating socio-economic and socio-political development of Bangladesh, I would like to recount the wisdom of Adam Smith, father of the English Classical School of Political Economy, when he remarked that defence was better than opulence. Does this philosophy hold true of Bangladesh? To put the same question differently, should we sacrifice socio-economic development for the sake of defence? One way of answering this type of question is to pose another question like this one: Is there any necessary conflict between defence and opulence? So far as Bangladesh is concerned, the answer to this question is a definite "Now". The socio-economic development of Bangladesh must be planned in such a way as to reconcile any possible conflict between growth of opulence and strengthening of defence. As a matter of fact, we can neither sacrifice defence for the sake of opulence nor can we build our defence without pursuing the goal of socio-economic development. Defence and opulence are indivisible from this point of view, and this concept of defence must be reflected into our programmes of integrated rural development. Such a concept of total defence is highly desirable from the stand-point of socio-economic and socio-political stability of the country.

VI. Planning for Total Development

The question that naturally arises is: How to build this kind of total defence for Bangladesh? The answer to this question constitutes the heart of the process of socio-economic development of this country. Unfortunately we have no magic formula for satisfactory solutions of the problems involved. However, we must always try to arrive at approximate solutions. Let us first try to brush up our ideas about total defence. How much defence does Bangladesh need to avert the threat of aggression? No one can give any precise answer to this question. The ultimate answer is intricately reted to issue of domestic and foreign policies of Bangladesh *vis-a-vis* the global strategy of the super powers in the world. Left alone, no leadership in the country can think of defending it against external aggression. The geographical position of Bangladesh will, no doubt, force the leadership to pursue a policy of "friendship to all and malice to none". But it is precisely this geographical location which has subjected this country to a possible threat of foreign aggression, economic as well as non-economic. This is a reality which any leadership in Bangladesh must be prepared to accept and which must be made the guardian for any defence.....programme for our country.

The probability of external aggression against Bangladesh under the present leadership left completely alone may be counted at one hundred per cent, which implies that a policy of sullen neutrality with respect to the global strategy of the super powers in the world today will reduce our defence capability virtually to zero. A policy of active neutrality may slightly reduce the probability of external aggression, but it is unlikely to contribute significantly to our defence capability. Therefore, it follows from the foregoing discussion that a natural foreign policy is untenable from the viewpoint of the socio-political and socio-economic realities confronting Bangladesh. Switching of our foreign policy from any neutral position to a positive direction will surely decrease the probability of external aggression and increase the defence potentiality owing to inflow of aids and assistance received from friendly countries. Bangladesh can afford to switch from a neutral to a positive foreign policy provided that the net contribution of such a switching of policy to building our total

defence is sufficient to reduce the probability of external aggression to an absolute minimum and to pull our stagnating economy to the stage of self-sustaining growth. Presently, aggression against Bangladesh on economic and non-economic fronts have already exceeded the danger level, and it is probably directed towards forcing the leadership in power to accept the terms and conditions of some countries for normalization of their relations with our country. The leadership must, therefore, arrive at a momentous decision as to its choice of foreign policy and take up appropriate measures face the current economic aggression which is sure to prove as deadly as military action itself. It will be possible for the present leadership to resolve the conflict between defence and opulence only when switching of our domestic and foreign policies towards the axis of the powers and super-powers friendly to us is sufficient to avert all sorts of aggression, and the socio-economic benefits from such switching for exceeds the cost incurred on this account. So much about the socio-political aspect of our total defence. Let me now turn to the socio-economic aspects which constitute the main of development planning in any country.

VII. Need for Population and Manpower Policy

The process of socio-economic development needs to be visualized as essentially a race between the rate of output growth and the rate of population growth. Bangladesh experienced a high rate of population growth in the past and, given the present rate of growth, the population of the country may well exceed the figure of 15 crores by the beginning of the next century. The three per-cent rate of population growth estimated over the past years is too high to enable the country to give us a viable, self-reliant economy. This is because the rate of investment necessary to obtain a rate of output growth higher than the rate of population growth cannot be financed domestically, unless we are lucky enough to discover and exploit some valuable mineral resources which can be an important source of foreign exchange necessary to finance our development imports. Therefore, we need to reduce the rate of population growth drastically, and such a reduction will be desirable and advantageous, even when we have discovered and exploited additional resources. That is the way we can think of

raising our dismal living standard as it is now. At the same time, we must educate our existing manpower in the arts and sciences of socio-economic development. As a matter of fact, population education and human resource development must be treated as the key factor of our socio-economic planning.

VIII. Planning of Output Growth

Now let us turn to the other leg of the process of socio-economic development of Bangladesh, namely, the problem of obtaining a rate of output growth higher than the rate of population growth. The pressure of working population on the area of cultivable land has gone upto such an extent that there is considerable unemployment and under-employment in the rural sector of our economy. Moreover, the area of cultivable land is likely to decrease over time, unless the present leadership succeeds in achieving a satisfactory political solution to the problem arising from diversion of the Ganges water and the proposal of linking the flow of the Brahmaputra (Jumna) to that of the Ganges. This kind of development in the economic infrastructure of our neighbouring country will decrease the cropping intensity of the whole area of cultivable land and ultimately decrease the area of cultivable land in Bangladesh owing to a damaging rise in the salinity of the river water and scarcity of underground water in the country.

Modernization of techniques, with emphasis on application of high-yielding varieties of inputs (seeds, fertilizers, etc.), extension of facilities (credit, water and power, education and training, health and sanitation) and egalitarian redistribution of holdings through land forms can substantially increase the volume of agricultural output. Industrialization of rural areas under the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) should be looked upon as a major step towards modernization of our villages and counteracting so-called "backwash effects" of localized industrial development. Viewed from this standpoint, the programme of rural industrialization should not be confined to developing cottage and small industries in rural areas; location of modern industries in carefully selected rural areas needs to be regarded as the strategy for bridging existing gaps between the urban and rural living in terms of facilities and comforts. This kind of rural industrialization will eventually

lead to a revolutionary change in the attitudes, values, motivations and behaviour patterns of the rural masses of our population and in the accumulation of material and human capital throughout the country. The overhead costs of such a development may initially become high, but the proposed careful spreading of industrial units will eventually result in increasing return to the scale of activity under the IRD programme and creating world-wide interest in our development effort and in raising the level of the flow of loans, aids and assistance to our overall development. The consequential improvement of the transport and communication network will greatly increase the mobility of men, material and equipment, which will largely enhance the capability of the machinery engaged in maintenance of law and order and security of life and property and help eliminate existing differentials of prices between the urban and rural areas of our economy. Addition of a rural defence machinery to the existing organization of the IRDP can significantly contribute to an absolute maintenance of law and order and security of life and property in the rural areas.

Development on the scale proposed above will, no doubt, call for an amount of resources which cannot be procured domestically during a short period of a decade. We should, therefore, be prepared to accept foreign loans, aids and assistance on best possible terms and must utilize them as productively as we can. We must mobilize and exploit our resources as best as we can, allocate them as efficiently as we can and distribute our national income and wealth as equitably as possible. We must export our goods and services of human resources as much and as profitably as we can, avoid imports of non-essential goods and services as much as possible import essential consumption and development goods as cheaply as possible. We must protect our agriculturists against exploitation and our consumers against monopolistic and oligopolistic exploitation. And lastly, we must allow the private sector to play a definite role in our socio-economic development without undue governmental interference with the price mechanism and without sacrificing the principle of egalitarian distribution of income and wealth. All the measures need to be directed to free the economy from the spell of stagflation and to bring it back to the road leading to recovery and prosperity to be shared by all classes of people in our country.

IX. Policy measures for Controlling Stagflation

Unfortunately for the present leadership, it is inherited an economy, caught in a process for stagflation owing mainly, I suppose, to a phenomenal rise in the cost of production, distribution and management, which is inevitably led to a substantial expansion of the money supply in the country. It would be impossible to overcome this stagflation merely through any drastic contraction of the money supply, because the expansion was to some extent needed to match the rise in the costs. The real solution lies in substantial reductions in costs incurred on the production and marketing of output and on the management of the nationalized sectors of the economy. Two successive devaluations of Bangladesh currency and upward adjustments of prices of factor inputs at home and abroad have been mainly responsible for sharp rises in production, management and marketing costs. Any pressure for further devaluation of our currency must be ruled out and alternative arrangement be made to increase our export-based capacity to import. It is also necessary to fix an adjustable ceiling to the existing level of prices of input and output in short supply and to adjust the level of the ceiling whenever and wherever possible. The ultimate objective should be to free the economy from administrative control over supplies and prices of goods and factors of production. This objective may not be obtained easily and speedily, unless and until the supply position improves considerably. The scope for such relaxation of control should be kept under constant review.

Considerable reduction in production costs can be possible through technical innovations in the traditional sectors of production (agriculture, small-scale industries, etc.), leading to some substantial rise in the productivity of the factor inputs employed there. As long as technical innovations add more to the value than to the cost of the incremental output, it will be profitable to apply available knowledge and techniques to the process of production involving a maximum possible utilization of our manpower resource. Similar reduction in costs of management and marketing can be possible via introduction of technical innovations in the administration and management of industries and financial institutions, and in the organization of marketing (distribution) of input and

output involving considerable improvement in the transport and communication network. So much about the control of cost-push inflation. It is also necessary to exercise scrupulous control over the process of demand-pull inflation originating from financial mismanagement, administrative malpractices, speculative hoarding of goods and from smuggling of goods across the border.

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A MEMORANDUM ON DESIRABLE ECONOMIC POLICY FOR BANGLADESH: A NEW PRAGMATIC APPROACH

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1. Background and Characteristics

It is known all over the world now that the new country of Bangladesh not only falls in the group of the poorest countries but is also trouble-torn and problem-intensive because of its past historical background. A traumatic experience of the most brutal play of colonial militarism and wilful massive economic destruction accompanied the liberation of the country; yet the stamina and determination of the people kept the wheels of the economy on tolerably workable tracks. In the post-liberation period of 42 months when the social and economic wounds were still oozing blood, a tragic trend of misrule and economic mismanagement made observers feel that the Bangladesh economy was sinking at terrible speed. People have learnt with colossal costs at least two major lessons: (a) economic progress of a poor war-torn new country can be dangerously hindered by the absence of a concerted and consistent national effort on all fronts—political, social and economic; (b) if political leadership fails to provide the masterkey for opening up and for sustaining the forces of dynamism geared to the above objective, everything else fails and fails fatally.

The realities of the resulting present situation are naturally grim. Literally, there is no time to waste and no energy to dissipate in encountering the situation. Even there are no words to waste in discussions, seminars and debates. We have just to open our eyes and realise that we are in the midst of a new kind of war—war against poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, starvation and instability. The war is neither easy nor short. Alarms have been ringing against the enemies of poverty, unemployment and malnutrition all over the globe through UN bugles and are tending to have become a fact of the noisy

contemporary life. But starvation cannot be treated in the cold storage of glib philosophic talks and complacency. The war against starvation and economic instability (which produces political instability) is neither long term, nor short term but immediate emergency. This is an economic emergency for Bangladesh and the challenges of the emergency have to be met in that spirit, if survival with dignity is to be accorded its due highest overall priority. The nation has never failed in giving the right response to the demands of emergency and can be well-trusted for a correct response towards meeting the challenges of the present emergency, provided the correct leadership and guidance can be organised and institutionalised. And it needs a quick hard look all around for identification of priority problem-areas and systematic concerted action towards impact implementation.

The hard look will inevitably draw attention to a number of major characteristics of the present scene, and at least the following :

First, our land resources, although rich in quality, are too small in relation to the size of population; and the population is growing and will grow rapidly in the near future rendering the unhappy position more unhappy year after year before the theoretical optimism around untapped resources of gas and possibly oil is converted into a reality. *Second*, our agriculture is not only not modernised but still largely dependent on the vagaries of nature; irrigation for autumn and winter crops play a critical role on the margin towards maintenance of a safety-valve against serious famine conditions in the face of unpredictable natural disasters and politically helpless Farakka damage. *Third*, the modern sector of manufacturing industry instead of contributing positively to overall economic viability has become a luxurious liability with continuous drain of hard-earned government revenues in the name of subsidy; organisation, management and efficiency considerations cry aloud for a timely rescue. *Fourth*, the country's economy is greatly open to foreign influences in view of its dependence on uncontrollable uncertainties of foreign demand for the primary and traditional exports (jute and jute goods, tea, hides and leather) and an over-whelming dependence on essential imports, mostly financed by foreign aid

and loans; the resultant balance of payments deficits of the country continue to remain large and unbridgeable despite massive devaluation in the recent past. *Fifth*, wrong emphasis on distributive justice unrelated with production and efficiency has produced massive distortions in the meaning of economic progress and economic planning, giving rise to unattainable expectations about economic fruits of independence and to an abnormal attitude of taking any activity as 'money-machine'; wrong demonstration effects of the consumption habits and life-style of the past politicians compounded the problem beyond limits.

II. Where to Begin : the First Stage of Critical Transition

In an emergency situation, there is at least one advantage that people's attention can be drawn to considerations of priority as a must. Nobody will disagree that we do have serious limitations of resources—material and human skills—and we have to design our priorities carefully but quickly for using whatever resources we have in order to produce the right impact, an impact positively different from the past. Two things can constitute the components of the required basic strategy in this immediate economic war—(i) a quick selection of a few right priorities to guide the formulation and adoption of programmes and policies; and (ii) maintenance of an unfaltering faith in and ensuring the pursuit of a positive and forward-looking approach, however pragmatic that may be.

Turning to the issue of priorities, we must face the complicated difficult tasks as much squarely as feasible, particularly in view of the fact that many issues are multi-disciplinary while some political priorities are even pre-requisites to economic priorities. At the moment, we may think of the following eight as the top priorities deserving the earliest attention :

1. Removal of political uncertainty by planning and time-scheduling the establishment of a desirable form of popular democratic government in future in accordance with the traditions, lessons of recent past history and aspirations of the people.

2. Removal of insecurity of life and property with the fullest establishment of law and order including flawless administration of justice.
3. Rationalisation and strengthening of the administrative machinery towards motivating the administrative, technical and other personnel for positive contribution to national effort.
4. Rationalisation and reorganisation of the political parties for their needed constructive roles, especially in mobilising popular support and participation in the execution of high-priority programmes of national development like a national unity, control of anti-social activity, population control, food for work projects, rural multi-sectoral development. etc.
5. Provision of basic economic security to vulnerable sections of the people with the government-managed distribution of some selected necessities of life at reasonably low prices.
6. Adoption and expeditious execution of a suitable programme of economic stabilisation (based on rationalised policy framework and production-oriented development projects) in order to lay down and build the safe foundations of a self-sustaining economy to be followed up by appropriate longterm planning on progressively comprehensive basis.
7. Courageous introduction and implementation of selected major reforms required for overcoming the main obstacles to national unity and productive economic development, particularly in the area of education; development and use of man-power; wages policy and employment; housing policy etc.
8. Maintenance of political stability as an overall pre-requisite for successful efforts in national development including economic development.

After the November 7 Revolution of 1975, the new Government has demonstrated its zeal for stepping forward on such a path with a meaningful beginning in at least the first three types of activity. This is evident in the pronouncements about removal of political uncertainty through transfer of power to an elected

democratic government, in the adjustments carried out at the top levels of bureaucracy, fresh proposals of Pay and Services Commissions for civil as well as military personnel, permission of public discussion on the long-awaited recommendations of the old Education Commission, and in the uncompromised application of a severe Martial law approach to the problem of establishment of law and order. In addition, the new government has shown a positive interest in marking population control a national movement. Yet it is only a beginning, and a good beginning as far as these activities have proceeded. In some cases, the adage of 'well-begun is half-done' is heartening in the sense of wishing a successful completion of the rest. But in the case of socio-economic development, particularly at the crucial transition stage, things cannot be left half-done, nor can one feel sure that things begun will continue uninterrupted unless that is planned and executed in right spirit. Even execution does not go well without proper and adequate evaluation, supervision and ensuring.

The Present Economic Situation

Without going into a detailed analysis, broadly the present economic situation of the country presents the picture of a curious mixture of hope and despair, although for many hope should beged hope and eventually clear the clouds of despair. Domestic agricultural production has substantially improved and rice prices have very tangibly fallen, tending to relieve the alarming distress of the poor and middle income-groups. But to be realistic, this boon is markedly a result more of the mercy of nature rather than of any redical change in planning and policies during the year. Prices of coarse cloth required by the poorer section of society have also appreciably fallen because of the improvements in the distribution system for yarn. The distribution mechanism for a number of other essential goods has also been modified with the reduction of too many middlemen tending to produce some healthy effects of stability in supply and prices. Even so, some prices are still maintaining the rising trend. By and large, a large part of the observed steadiness in some manufactured goods (domestic and manufactured and imported) prices can well be a temporary feature supported by the fear of Martial Law regulations. And even that part of the trend has been

prejudiced recently by the government decisions of raising the prices of rice, wheat cooking oil and sugar towards reduction of subsidy given by the Government. The real zigsaw puzzle lies in the domestic industrial production sector. The nationalised industries with the paternalistic patronage of financing huge losses with subsidy are facing odd contradictions; excessive unused capacity combined with huge accumulation of stocks in the midst of clearly scarce conditions. In such a situation, tinkering with level of subsidy and encouragement of production are not likely to cut enough ice. Clearly, a positive departure from the past approach for breaking the vicious circle industry. Similarly, for agricultural production, it will be an ill-founded optimism to expect that nature will forget its own cycle and continue to be beneficent every year. The productivity efforts must be highly intensified as an important requirement of the new approach for building up safe margins of surplus as a cushion of self-sufficiency eventually to build additional surpluses for export expansion.

The New Positive and Forwardlooking Approach

Economic progress is not result of the economic forces alone. It is the result of both social and economic change. That involves organisational, institutional and policy changes that can move the whole society towards the achievement of its national objectives including the objective of raising the level of living of the people in general and of the poorer sections of the people in particular. It requires, in the environment of traditional stagnation, a dynamic force generated at strategic points for leading a general social movement under the guidance of the masterkey provided by political leadership. For a country like Bangladesh with its grim realities, we must be clear in our mind that great changes are not possible without social mobilisation and hence that should constitute our perspective. In that perspective, all eyes and minds must look forward and mutually persuade everybody to build up the bases of change, not to content with the meditation about the past records of glory and triumph. We need realism to be conscious of the grim realities; we need idealism to remain committed and dedicated to the cause of future achievement of solid progress towards freedom from want as justified by our self-reliance; and we need

retionalism to guide us along on that road to national progress (social and economic) and to guide more forcefully in the immediate present for enabling us to tide over the emergency during the critical transition. Emotions play a great role in social changes; our people have given repeated proof of this. Now it is time to prove that emotions are also valuable assets which can construct dams, bridges, canals, schools, hospitals and roads rather than fill the air with laudable words of the dictionary in seminars, conferences, tapecutting ceremonies and endless anniversaries. The path of pragmatism in the present context should not only combine the elements of realism, idealism and rationalism in a synthesis but control the unproductive use of emotions, however valuable such use may seem to be, when garbed in the various rich ornaments of arts and culture. The present trend of increasing patronage of arts and culture represents only relative absence of planned alternative avenues for the productive use of emotions. The thought of motivating rural people with fairs of population control indicates that there are alternatives.

Until the critical transition stage of emergency is successfully overcome, there is no moment to pause and think of anything but stabilisation of the economic foundations and actually build these foundations. Past experience of fooling with promises of socialism without caring about building the productive base for sustaining larger distribution remain the eye-opener. References to socialism in the neighbouring countries do not appear to be anything deeper than lipservice, except in the Indo-China group of countries where prolonged wars based on ideology have been fought and won resulting in very different kind of social and economic realism. In Bangladesh, there is no need to import any ideology simply because the flesh, blood or limbs of such ideology will not be adopted and assimilated by our people in their own. Our people will evolve their own ideology in course of time; we have only to let them do so without distraction. For that end also, the forwardlooking positive and pragmatic approach will provide trouble-free opportunities. We shall draw inspiration from the past; we shall study the present; and build the future along with its relevant ideology. But building the foundations of that future is now staring us

in the face in the immediate present. We must prove equal to this emergency national task.

III Some Basic Guidelines of Policy and Programme

As we have noted, the proposed positive forwardlooking approach for the present state of the Bangladesh economy has to be a synthesis of realism, idealism and rationalism transformed into pragmatism, but with a difference. That difference will be clear, on the one hand, by contrast with the Pakistan-style pragmatism and the old Bangladesh Planning Commission-style socialism coated pragmatism; and on the other, it should reflect itself in the time-saving guidance of informed common sense rather than sophistication. This commonsense demands that we take a serious note of the state of the economy, design and decide clear priorities in a logical order and apply all available resources (our own and foreign assistance) in fighting the identified economic enemies as an emergency with the single-minded purpose of building stability. Precisely, all eyes should see the relationship of any public and private expenditure proposal with the impact of stabilisation for determining meaningfulness.

The need is to establish and to ensure an orderly condition of the functioning of the basic economic processes: supply, demand and prices of goods in general, and of the basic necessities in particular; consumption, savings and investment; and the operation of the relevant policy framework as well as the relevant institutional framework. The emphasis has to shift from the usual development planning which is predominantly investment-planning to economic stabilisation planning which focuses on the totality of activities of which investment may be a minor part. Even this component of investment is to be conceived as a programme of rationalisation, consolidation and inescapable new investment for offsetting the depreciation of the economy to a reasonable extent. In fact, we are to plan the programme of economic stabilisation in a series until we complete this stage as a precondition for the normal kind of development planning on a five-year basis in peaceful background. This is a crucial precondition in the context of war damage and serious dislocation as has been amply demonstrated by the same approach.

to planning in South Korea after the Korean war and in Indonesia after the latter's national turmoil in the mid-sixties.

The Structural Elements of the Stabilisation Programme

Principal elements of a desired Stabilisation Programme are outlined below, by way of illustration :

A. *Resources Planning* : An economy cannot remain viable without pursuing the path of sound resources planning and fitting the country's Annual Plan of activities in it, and also fitting the formulation and implementation of the annual financial budget in the same. In the past, this was done in a nominal sense ; and when public spending went off the budget-tracks, no corrective action was taken, nor did proper action support the proposals of meeting the targets of mobilisation of domestic savings and of maintaining the required public savings. As a result, resources acquisition and spending in real terms never matched bringing about the holocaust of hyperinflation year after year and rendering the voluminous paper planning work ridiculously unreal. The country has to learn to live within available means, including foreign assistance but excluding the unreal means of undigestable deficit financing. Financial planning must correspond to the discipline of total resources planning. And in that logic, if no subsidies can be financed, that prescription must be accepted and used as proper medical care for the sick patient. Specifically, the new move of living within means should involve :

1. *Financially*—austerity in public spending on unproductive activities and enhanced public spending on productive activities within approximately balanced budgets ; encouragement of both public and private savings with budgetary policies ; management of money supply and credit with a view to protecting the economy from inflationary pressures ;
2. *Real Resource Flows*—increased agricultural and industrial production and marketed supplies of the right kind, supported by increased absorption of labour and minimal capital ; increased imported supplies of the right kind, mostly via foreign assistance and minimally with cash

foreign exchange ; utmost encouragement of exports ; import planning to support increased production and discouragement of inessential consumption ; supporting policy-framework in favour of private savings, investment and enterprise.

B. *General Policy-Framework* : Price mechanism is not trusted in the underdeveloped countries for producing the desired results because of serious imperfections in the market conditions. That gives the rationale for controlling the prices of both goods and factors of production. In fact, traditional Western economic theory does not fit in the current situation of socio-economic development in the poor developing countries. Controls become indispensable to deal with scarcities, imperfections, inflexibilities and inertia which are entrenched in the socio-economic and cultural traditions of these countries. Controls, whether positive or negative, are instruments of corrective action through intervention on the market mechanism ; artificial prices are maintained to provide relief and incentives—relief for sections of consumers and incentives to producers. But controls also produce corruption tending to develop the latter into a new kind of vicious circle, a network of passing money in various forms which create black markets and underground markets tending to defeat the very purpose or rationale of control by raising prices beyond economic reasoning. Because of the state of economy itself, controls and corruption enter into a marriage of convenience ; and anti-corruption drives intermittently touch on the fringe of the mammoth problem. In the long run, it is wiser to depend on controls only when indispensable, and that too more on indirect controls than direct. This becomes possible when maximum efforts are devoted to increasing supplies of goods by encouraging reasonably efficient domestic production and supplementing them through imports. The general policy-framework of this country should thus be geared to the above. This framework will include :—

1. *Agricultural Policy* : distribution of improved seeds, fertilisers and technical advice at local levels ; proper warehousing of fertilisers for such distribution ; observance of the necessary time-schedule ; maintenance of reasonable

prices of these inputs ; distribution of pumps and tube-wells on the basis farmer groups, villages or cooperatives with accompanying repair and maintenance services ; encouragement of regional crop pattern for ensuring overall increase in food and nonfood crop production ; encouragement of fisheries, poultry and livestock ; encouragement of fruit farming ; introduction of quality control and ensuring its enforcement on export crops ; special care for quality control, reasonable price and sustained supply in the case of jute at this critical stage.

2. *Industrial Policy* : encouragement of private enterprise ; new incentives for fuller utilisation of capacity ; encouragement of improvement of management skills ; investment proposals to be related to a rationale of rationalisation and consolidation of industry ; permission of public sector production only in areas where private enterprise is undesirable or uneconomic according to nationally-determined criteria ; new investment only in exceptional cases of joint venture in collaboration with foreign capital with commitment of foreign raw material component ; permission of competition between public and private enterprises in selected manufactured goods ; disposal of unsold stocks on an emergency basis for cleaning the desks and prevention of accumulation beyond set limits with exemplary disciplinary action against the management personnel ; clearing old debts through special ad-hoc measures and rationalisation of the cost-structure for the products of the continuing public Sector Corporations ; encouragement of rural industries as a part of rural development movement ; adoption of special projects for industrial raw material imports for fuller utilisation of existing capacity ;
3. *General Rationalisation Policy* : industrial rationalisation to be an integral part of an overall rationalisation policy covering all sectors of the economy, specially power, transportation, technical manpower, irrigation and water development ; consistent and production-oriented labour

policy and wages policy ; food subsidy policy ; pricing policy for agricultural inputs ; pricing policy for other industrial products ; export, import and commercial policies ; taxation policy ; credit policy ; foreign aid utilisation policy ; anti-smuggling policy ; special jute policy and jute goods marketing policy ; specific policies for encouraging exports, discouraging imports, encouraging savings and discouraging consumption ; rationalisation of the use of the Wage Earners' Scheme ;

4. *Conversion of the Swanirvar Movement into a National Movement of Self-Reliance* : influencing consumption habits at village level ; motivating for population control and adoption of modern techniques of farming ; rationalisation of planning priorities and policies—emphasis on commonsense planning rather than sophisticated model-oriented planning ; influencing the cultural pattern in the urban and rural areas towards production ; channeling of emotions for positive constructive activity.

C. *Organisational and Institutional Change*—Further adjustments in the administrative machinery of the government seem necessary for confronting the economic emergency, especially for ensuring the proposed rationalisations their implementation. And the institutional framework, existing and working, needs a real hard look for introducing changes for a rationalisation for reduction in recurring costs and improvement of effectiveness. This may include—

1. *Pay and Services* : The newly announced two separate Pay and Services Commissions dealing comprehensively with the settling of all issues relating to the most efficient use of manpower by the government including institutional arrangements for training, recruitment, evaluation of performance, promotion and reward ; non-financial benefits and financial fringe benefits ; foreign training ;
2. *Planning Commission* : Rationalisation of the existing structure in view of the shift in emphasis in planning from traditional sophisticated type to commonsense type (including ruralisation of development system) ;

3. *Education Commission* : Non-controversial ideas of educational reform to be implemented in order to render the education system functional and productive of the skills actually demanded by the employers (government and non-government) ; identification of the employable unemployed and the educated unemployed for the possible special assistance ; systematic encouragement of the outflow of the employable educated surplus demanded in the Middle East and other countries ;
4. *New institutional arrangement for relieving the problem of labour surplus* with systematic planning in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (maintaining continuous contact with potential foreign markets of labour) ; adequate safeguard against losing opportunities with false alarm of 'brain drain' ;
5. *Proposed new Commission for Industrial Rationalisation* : in addition to the interim policy changes indicated earlier ; it is imperative that a competent commission examine the industry sector thoroughly on an emergency basis to suggest rationalisation in policies and structural changes including de-nationalisation of the nationalised industries.

D. *Planning the Development Component*—The Annual plan each year has to be cast in the mould of an Economic Stabilisation Plan ; and the development component included must satisfy the conditions of the new rationale. Accordingly, the old on-going projects as well as the new proposals must be subjected to a searching new examination ; and serious efforts should be made to meet at least the following criteria :

1. A realistic reappraisal of the projects on the basis of current costs and expected future costs in view of assumptions about some tolerable degree of inflation-induced price rise must show quite favourable benefit/cost ratios so that a dependable ranking of priorities can be followed and priority lists can be prepared in order of preference or acceptability ;
2. Even for the priorities designed as above, an overriding immediate preference can be claimed by projects that

yield quick returns in terms of production of goods and use of optimum capacity ;

3. With the cooperation of foreign aid-givers, a reappraisal and reconsideration of the foreign aided projects should also give rise to a new list of priorities for them in view of agreed criteria, especially of net foreign exchange contribution and employment ;
4. Greater rationalisation of the use of foreign exchange (cash, foreign credits and Wage Earner Scheme) should ensure greater use of capacity in the operating projects before the claims of incomplete or new projects can be considered.

IV. Concluding Observations

In the foregoing analysis and discussion, I have sought to high-light the urgency of a commonsense type of pragmatic approach to the problem of confrontation with the economic enemies visible in the state of the economy and also drawn attention to some illustrative guidelines of the new approach in broad terms. These may only open up a host of detailed issues for examination and decision for practical formulation of policy and the follow-up action in many directions. But the crucial point is : if we can decide on the choice of approach, much of the probable undesirable wastage of time, energy and resources can be avoided well in advance and to our positive advantage. It is time to be resource-conscious and productivity-conscious in the national interest at this critical stage of political and economic transition. It is time to assign definitely lower priority to meditation about past achievements, be it cultural, linguistic and political, when pressing emergency problems of starvation, and economic instability are striking us on the face crying for priority. It is time to recognise that the claims for the value of culture and language in the national life of this country need no trumpeting simply because the claims have been recognised at all levels ; and what remains on that front is building new traditions of constructive contribution, a process of silent but sure long term evolution of the national genius. It is also time to appreciate that a large part of the efforts behind the activities

of trumpeting the past and commenting on how to trumpet better could have been more constructively devoted to national motivation to fighting the economic war we are very much in.

The national motivation needs everybody's effort in time, intellect, advice and leadership in the interest of creating a confidence in the future. The forward-looking approach suggested in this paper will yield big dividends, if that confidence is progressively created. It is to be noted without ambiguity that economic progress is only the end-result of the proper functioning of the economic and social forces. Asking the invisible economic forces to work a miracle in the environment of instability and poverty is asking for the moon. While the social system itself has to be lifted to higher level of meaningfulness for contribution to the same process along with the economic progress; sectarian outlook is just illogical. The miracle has to come from within the genius of the nation in the form of a positive forward-looking national movement for which the right beginnings must be made during this critical transition. Despite lack of good neighbourliness from India, we must make the most of our will and resources for setting the internal scene to order and positive progressive construction so that the image in vision may eventually become the image in reality. Simultaneously, of course, we must use our skills of diplomacy to win more and more friends in the world for helping us help ourselves within the framework of 'friendship for all and malice for none'. And for that the range of prospects has amply widened both in terms of the environment of foreign policy and in terms of the sunshine emerging out of the end of the tunnel of international economic recession.

CHANGING PATTERN OF TAX-STRUCTURE IN BANGLADESH

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Foundation of a Tax-Structure

The tax-structure should not only raise adequate resources for the public sector but the revenue should expand more than in proportion to the increase of national income so that the state can finance a continuously expanding programme of investment.¹ But framing of a tax-structure that will maximize attainment of the goals of the tax system is a highly complex task.

Design of a Tax-Structure

Two important segments of taxes are direct tax and indirect tax. Direct taxes are preferred on the grounds of equity and efficiency. But in an underdeveloped country like Bangladesh an important consideration is the aspect of indirect taxes like excise duties etc. because of its easy administration and rapid collection. In order to design tax-structure, care has to be given in the curbing of inflationary tendencies of the economy which is the basic purpose of taxation. But the curbing of inflation or avoidance of inflation would not ensure rapid economic growth in the country. As because, inflation is to be avoided not by cutting down investment, but rather by raising the rate of savings so that a high rate of investment may be sustained without undermining stability. Taxation, therefore, is to be looked upon as a powerful tool in the hands of the government for raising the ratio of savings to national income.² Recent trends in thinking for the design of tax-structure is in favour of insuring collective compulsory savings through taxation. Business savings also are

1. R. N. Bhargava, *India Public Finance*, (Bombay/Calcutta, 1970), p. 14.

2. Raja J. Chelliah, *Fiscal Policy in underdeveloped Countries, with special reference to India*, (London, 1959), p. 54.

not properly invested into agriculture and industry. They are used for speculative purposes and for investments in real estates. Taxation, therefore, remains as the only effective financial instrument for reducing private consumption and investment and transferring resources to the government for economic development.¹

The tax-structure has also a direct impact on investment policies and supply of money capital in the country. The most through empirical study of the effects of the tax-structure upon investment policies and supply of money capital in various forms has been made under the auspices of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration. The conclusion of the research stand thus :—

- (1) Bulk of equity capital comes from the higher income groups ; and accordingly, the effects of taxes on these groups are of primary importance.
- (2) the tax-structure has a definite effect upon the incentives of persons, especially in the higher income classes, in the undertaking of various investment programmes².

Tax-Structure Changes : Main Features

The main features of tax-structure changes in Bangladesh can best be explained under the following heads :

1. *New Bases of Taxation* : One of the most significant developments in the tax-structure of Bangladesh has been the extensive widening of the base of taxation and the induction of a number of new bases, viz., gifts and estates at death, wealth, expenditure, agriculture, sales etc. At the same time, it needs to be pointed out that the bases of various taxes have been constructed and provided a number of exemptions and deductions of taxes leaving a big loophole in the tax system of the country.

2. *Changing Attitudes in Tax-rate* : Personal tax-rate has also been changed in respect of earned income relief both from salaried and non-salaried source of earned income. Imposition of income tax change is shown below :

1. 'Taxation and Economic Development in Asian Countries', Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East, Vol. IV, No. 3, November, 1953, p. 3.
2. D. T. Smith, *Effects of Taxation : A study on Corporate financial Policy*, Boston, 1952.

Imposition of Income tax upto 1959	Imposition of Income tax after 1959
1. On total income ; total income=Total assessable income— Earned Income Relief (E. I. R.)	1. On taxable income ; Taxable income=Total Income — Allowances including E. I. R.
2. Maximum taxable limit was Tk. 6,666.67 (in case of salaried income group) Maximum taxable limit Tk. 6,250 (in case of non-salaried income groups)	2. Maximum taxable limit was Tk. 6,000 (Both for salaried and non-salaried income groups) This maximum limit was applicable upto the assessment year 1975-76. From 1976-77, this has been increased to Tk. 8,400.00

The rate-structure of all personal taxes should be progressive. It perhaps the easiest to manipulate ; it also produces the maximum demonstration effect as to the egalitarian intentions of the party in power.¹

3. *Complex rate* : Slab rate of tax and flat rate of tax sometimes make the rate-structure complicated in most of the years. When a flat rate is followed no consideration is given in the progressive taxation principle. The effective tax rates at different income levels have fluctuated throughout. No uniform pattern is visible as to their increase or decrease. Even if equity suggests a progressive tax-structure, it is no case, suggests the type of progression particularly the income tax rate-structure has possessed from year to year.²

4. Bangladesh has followed the British tradition of budget secrecy which prevents any effective pre-budget discussions.

The tax-structure in Bangladesh is erratic and unstable. Though one of the virtues of tax system is its flexibility, but

1. O. P. Chawla, *Loc. cit.* p. 220.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

the great defect is its ever changing character. Certainly this indicates lack of due thought and consideration before a fiscal measure is enacted by the government in the country.

5. *Poor Tax Administration* : The country requires a top-grade tax department to run the administration efficiently. The administrative personnels are not trained enough. They are not acquainted with the new sophisticated tax-structures. And these tax-structures are not properly designed for understanding easily.

6. *Tax Avoidance* : Tax evasion results in revenues lower than expected. This evasion sometimes forces the government to raise taxes further. And this process leads to more and more evasion of tax. This avoidance of tax cannot be completely eliminated unless gifts and bequests are treated as income. It can also be checked partially by the full integration of gift with income tax. The Ceylonese estate and gift tax laws could perhaps serve as a model.

7. *Accounting Records* : In our country many businessmen keep no records and books of accounts at all ; others maintain two or more sets. Prevalence of accounting records honestly and reliably maintained is an important condition for satisfactory collection of tax. Vigorous tax administration can do much to improve accounting standards if combined with an educational campaign.

8. *Limited Coverage* : Present coverage of income tax in Bangladesh is very limited. Moreover, the minimum exemption limit of taxable income from 1975-76 is fixed at taka 8,400.00 which is highly comparable with the average income in the country. Persons below this minimum level should also contribute to the national development.

In a series of cross-sectional studies based primarily on the United Nations' Statistics for a large number of countries both developed and under-developed it has been observed that there exists a basic difference in the revenue structure between these countries. Major conclusion particularly in case of taxes of these studies shows that indirect taxes are the predominant sources of revenue (in many cases their share is 75% to 90%)

Tax-Structure Trends in Bangladesh (Percentages of Total Tax Revenue)

Year	Customs	Excise	Income Tax	Sales Tax	Wealth Tax	Estate Duty	Other Tax
1964-65	5.88	13.29	36.19	44.64	—	—	—
1965-66	2.58	16.07	45.12	36.13	.10	—	—
1966-67	2.15	19.09	39.26	39.43	.05	.02	—
1967-68	1.47	23.08	47.81	27.48	.11	.05	—
1968-69	—	24.06	38.51	25.47	.11	.02	11.83
1969-70	.71	23.39	30.96	25.91	.07	—	18.96
1970-71	—	24.68	33.64	28.58	.04	—	13.06
1971-72	—	20.91	26.48	22.93	.03	—	29.65

Note : Rounding errors, if percentage do not add upto 100.

Source : Statistical Digest of Bangladesh, No. 8, 1972, 1970-71, Figures are from revised estimates
1971-72, " " " Budgeted estimates.

Contributions to National Exchequer (in percentage)

Period	Customs	Excise	Income Tax	Sales Tax	Land Revenue	Forest revenue	Post Office revenue	Registration	Railway gross earnings
1972-73	38.53	38.13	5.78	11.61	1.67	0.78	1.95	1.55	—
1973-74	39.36	26.02	5.79	13.32	2.08	1.06	.95	1.41	10.01
1974-75	32.50	31.00	9.69	12.28	2.34	1.01	.47	2.38	8.33

Source : Economic Indicator of Bangladesh : Vol. II, No. 11, November, 1975.
Planning Commission, Government of Bangladesh.

in low-income countries, and revenue from direct taxes increases in importance as *per capita* income rises.¹

The tax-structure in Bangladesh has not been excessive on the part of the industries at least. As the government allows the industries with the facilities of tax-holiday benefit and other tax-exemptions. The tax-structure trends in Bangladesh show that about 70% contributions to the total tax revenue of the government come from indirect taxes. And this trend of contribution has been increasing day by day.

Problems arising from taxation rest on the question of incidence. As more revenue comes from indirect taxes which can easily be shifted to the consumers. And ultimately the consumers have to bear the incidence of these taxes. Therefore, the industrialists' view in respect of high tax-structure retarding the growth and development of industries and investment carries no importance as incidence of all those taxes is on the consumers. Moreover, tax-concessions, liberal depreciation allowances, and tax evasion have reduced the incidence of taxation in industry.

Increasing Contributions—level of Excise Taxes

Without the imposition of excise taxes the price of a commodity is low. Excises provide a device whereby society may discourage the use of a product that is considered contrary to the best interests of the community as a whole, without outright prohibition of its use². The tax on liquor is the best example in this case. From 1964-65 onward, the contributions of excise to the total tax revenue increases in its upward trend. But in the year 1971-72, it has shown its decreasing trend. This probably may be due to abnormalcy prevailed within the country. But the picture in the year 1972-73, the largest contribution to the National Exchequer came from the excise taxes. As suggested by the then Taxation Enquiry Committee indigenous industries which have developed under the protective

1. Mr. Abdur Rab, "Resources for Economic Development : Excise Taxation in Developing Countries", Third Five Year Plan and other papers, (Rawalpindi, 1965), p. 135-144.
2. John F. Due, *loc. cit.* p. 380.

wall of high import duties and quantitative restrictions must be taxed in order to replace the customs revenue on imports. Moreover, in Bangladesh if, the customs duties and excise duties are ad valorem in nature, it will improve the ability of the government to check inflationary or deflationary tendencies in the economy through the adoption of tax-structure changes in the country.

Proposal for Consumption Tax-Structure :

Raja J. Chelliah states, "when we look upon commodity taxation as a weapon for promoting economic growth, its justification lies in the fact that it has a tendency to restrain consumption."¹ Or in the words of John F. Due, "the tax-structure must reduce private consumption... .. Thus, the tax-structure must be designed to strike the portion of income spent on consumption."² Some economists' arguments show that consumption tax would not have any impact on the accumulation of capital formation in a country. This view is also expressed by Nicholas Kaldar about the neutral effect of expenditure tax. And accordingly, the replacement of an income tax by expenditure tax will increase savings.³ Kaldar has proposed the adoption of an expenditure tax regarding the savings, consumption choice; hence, the path of capital accumulation.⁴

Bangladesh is interested in the promotion of savings and curbing un-necessary consumption. So we should be interested in an expenditure tax. But in order to implement this tax system, the administrative machinery should be competent enough. Realizing the potential difficulties in administering the expenditure tax system, for example, Kaldar proposed this tax to be used in partial replacement of the surtax in the U. K. and the super tax (additional income tax on higher-income brackets) in India.⁵ The important attribute of an expenditure tax is not only that it exempts savings but also that it taxes dis-savings. This

1. Raja J. Chelliah, *loc. cit.* p. 86.

2. John F. Due, *loc. cit.* p. 33.

3. Osvaldo H. Schenone, "A Dynamic Analysis of Taxation", *The American Economic Review*, (March, 1975), p. 101.

4. N. Kaldar, *An Expenditure Tax*, London, 1955.

5. O. p. Chawla, *loc. cit.* p. 146.

is particularly useful, and applicable to the high-income groups of the society. The investment atmosphere in the society will not be disturbed. This has been clearly seen in a survey conducted by Mr. D. T. Lakdawala¹ that though this type of tax is hard hit, it does not discourage savings and ultimately the reward for savings will get greatly enlarged.

There seems to be a great merit in fixing a combined maximum income and wealth tax rate which leaves some incentive with the people to earn, save and invest. This may be regarded as a way to promote a fast rate of economic growth. And the road to more revenue and more equity seems to lie through economic development which a simpler and less harsh tax-structure can bring about to a great extent.

1. D. T. Lakdawala, *Taxation and the Plan*, (Bombay, 1956), p. 160.

A CRITICAL GLANCE AT PLANNING IN BANGLADESH

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I. Introduction

With the break-up of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh there came about a great change in the socio-political atmosphere of this country. In keeping with the mood of the time the First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh was launched with one of its basic aims as "Development through Socialism." The plan, no doubt, reflects a much greater pro-people concern than was seen in the plans of the Pakistani days. As one takes a casual glance through the pages of this plan one surely gets the impression that much of it is designed to achieve a more equitable distribution of income. One is then inclined to be satisfied and take no further critical look.

II. Heavy Leaning on Foreign Exchange

I, for one, tend to see that the basic thinking behind this plan is hardly any different from that during the past. The point is easily seen if we focus our analysis on the external sector.

We find that the export earnings are hoped to provide 48% of the total development outlay. Foreign aid is expected to finance a large 39.5%. So, in effect, the whole development plan leans on the hope of acquiring foreign exchange through both trade and aid. The question is why this stress on trade and aid. Let us take the case of trade first. Historically speaking, for a long time in the past the idea grew up that trade was beneficial to both trading partners. So a natural tendency to increase trade has always been there. But of a more recent birth is the concept that development can be transmitted through trade. It is argued; if a developing country trades with a developed country, development will "Spread"

or "Spill Over" or "be Transmitted" to the former from the latter. In the same vein the concept of a Foreign Trade Multiplier (FTM) was built up. Using this concept, FTM models were built up. Such models focus the point that the overall growth consists of the domestic sector growth and the external sector growth. The hitch lies in the view that the growth of the external sector can take place exogenously and then cause a one-way feedback to the domestic sector. The "Staple Exports" approach was surely put forward to voice this view. Our Five Year Plan is clearly based on this view. Jute is overwhelmingly the staple export.

The reason for the stress on aid is that it offers (in the language of Harry Johnson) a "soft option", to both the donor and the recipient. The donor can evade the increasingly insistent demand from the developing countries for better terms of trade and the recipient can postpone the painful decision of making the big sacrifice to overcome the "savings constraint." I feel that the concept of a foreign exchange constraint has led to undermining the importance of this savings constraint. Without this concept we would have learnt that the only constraint which binds us is the savings one. Then we would have looked only to ourselves for the solution to the problem of our development. Because we accepted the idea that the foreign exchange constraint is a binding one and also that foreign and domestic resources are perfect substitutes, the political will to come to grips with the savings constraint did not show as much strength as it may have otherwise done. To raise savings in a low *per capita* income country like ours, the assets and income of the rich section of the community have got to be tapped. Since economic and political levers are controlled by this group, it is obviously difficult to take measures which will affect them.

III. Implicit Model in the Planner's Mind

Thus we find that though the planners realized the need for a socialistic development they could not take a radical approach. The approach is as tradition bound as in the past. That they had the following model of development in their mind is pretty obvious.

Our standard of living is dismally low. So it has to be improved fast and at a considerably high rate per year. The need is more so because the population growth rate is going to remain high for a long time yet. Thus to achieve a high growth rate, a high rate of investment became a constraint. The capital output ratio was also assumed to be a structural constraint. The saving ability of the economy, as has been just said, was also taken to be a non-negotiable variable. So the only flexible parameters were thought to be the export earnings and foreign aid. Now the question is why was this view taken? Is it not based on an implicit assumption of the intrinsic good of the technology which is supposed to be imported with the foreign exchange acquired through trade and aid? I talk directly about the importing of a technology because I think the technology is grafted into the capital equipment. When we import some capital equipment, even if it is of an intermediate type, we also really import the technology associated with that. In the plan we find that such capital equipment is the single most important item of import after foodgrains. Further, the assumption of the capital output ratio to be a structural constant reflects that the concept of capital in the planner's mind was a rigid one. If capital had been given a flexible definition, the assumption of capital output ratio being fixed would not have been made. The fixed coefficient input-output model would not have been the base of the plan. This is not to say that this model is useless for planning. It is to say that our planners took the merits of the imported technology for granted and so did not hesitate to accept the constancy of the capital output ratio as a constraint.

There is no reason to be surprised by finding that our planners are so inclined in favour of the foreign technology. The inclination may even be sub-conscious. The exposure to the concepts of free enterprise by reading the text-books and works of authors who belong to this school, definitely has its role in moulding the thinking. Our planners were brought up in this western tradition, (the free enterprise school). So it is no wonder that there exists the tendency to accept an western idea without a critical look. Here I like to point out another example of how the western economic literature harms us. I think the

phrase "Vicious Circle of Poverty", from which the less developed countries are said to suffer, is wilfully coined to breed an air of hopelessness. The people of the less developed countries are told that they are poor because they are poor. So they can never hope to generate enough savings and as such must look to external sources for the solution of their problem of development. One who has read this phrase and the analysis behind this coinage at an early age, surely fails to make a critical evaluation. He rather accepts it and there it remains with him, killing any optimism he may have had.

However, one must acknowledge that the planner was often really constrained. For example, the industrial structure had to be saved even if it was often inefficient because much capital had already been sunk there in the past. But one thing is quite clear. Although the planners did make some sincere efforts to bring about a more equitable distribution system, they did not pay adequate attention to the production side. Agriculture, where the lion's share of the GDP is produced, is not planned to take up even the assemblance of a socialistic order. In industry, although the ownership is largely public, the production relations have not changed in line with the mode of socialistic production. In fact our vision about what that mode should be in our social context is not yet clear. The problem is actually social. Economists often tend to shrug their shoulders and say that they have no direct role there. This takes us to the most important part of this paper to which it has been building up so far.

IV. Politicalisation of Planning

For planning to be really a socialistic one the planner must be totally politically involved besides being involved as a technical economist. In other words, the plan must be a politico-economic one rather than being simply an economic one. One basic truth must be learnt by heart by such planners. Mr. X's problems and solution, thereof, are best known to Mr. X himself. Once this is realised the tendency to plan on behalf of the people will not be there. The planning approach will then be decentralized. The Central Planning Authority will only play the role of critically coordinating the village level micro plans and fit them into the overall plan. The overall plan will, to a very

large degree, be shaped and influenced by the micro plans. To do even this much the Central Planners will have to have a sense of belonging with the people. The Planner who belongs to the elitist class can never plan for the welfare of the common people, no matter how sincerely he tries. This is because by birth and by training there is a vast gap between him and the people for whom he is trying to plan. In fact, the very concept of development is understood differently by him and the common people. Each class or group really has its own view of what constitutes development. This is why the Marxists stress so greatly on a classless society. If a classless society is established, then the interests of the entire population become one and the same and the plan for development then becomes a plan for everyone. Thus, we reach the inevitable threshold of decision that for planning to be really socialistic, we have to have a classless society in the first place. The degree of classlessness advocated is by no means total. The formation of a fully classless society is essentially a very long term affair. We cannot leave the economy to take its own course till such a totally classless society is established. What I am saying is that the society has got to be only relatively more classless than it is now. The planning body and executive must learn to identify their interests with those of the people for whom the plan is meant.

V. Declassification.

I do not want to go too deeply into the mechanism of how this is to be done. I shall only touch, very roughly, some salient features. An easy theoretical solution is to eliminate the minority classes so that we are left with only one class. But, that of course is a heinous idea. The more pragmatic approach is to try to declass the various classes. The process is a purely political one. Initially, a group of dedicated workers must be found who will take up the task of "preaching" the necessity of declassification. The principle of declassification can be termed as a "soft option" in the field of social change. The reason why I advocate this principle is humanitarian. The anti-people groups should be given a chance to reform themselves if they are willing. The question of any other method of removing the inter-class clashes of interest need come only if the preaching work

fails. Points of view may be there which will say that there is enough example in history on the basis of which we can straightway discard the "soft option" approach. But I like repeat that the humanitarian consideration must be strong. I must point out that the attitudes, conducts and personal characters of this pioneering group will very greatly determine whether the declassification movement will be successful or not. It should be understood that the work of declassification is much more sophisticated and needs far more mature handling than that of revolution.

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON MONETARY AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

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It is a tragic irony that after 4 years of independence, we have come to occupy the lowest place among the nations of the world, as far as *per capita* income is concerned. We have the highest density of population with an annual increase at $2\frac{1}{2}\%$. Our gross national product now is lower than in the 1969-70 and *per capita* income has come down by about 20%. The price index has gone up by 450% over the 1969-70 level. Compared with the price level before the 2nd World War, the present price level is more than 35 times. I am quoting these figures just to high-light the sufferings of the Wage Earners, Landless labourers and all fixed-income group people, who constitute more than 50% of the entire population of the country. The fate of those who are unemployed and under-employed can better be imagined than described. Their number is more than 80 (eighty) lacs and is steadily on the increase. On an average 11 persons live on the income of 1 person whose *per capita* income is also very low. As against this, 2 or 3 persons at the most, live on the income of one person in most of the advanced countries of the West. The deficit in 1973-74 in our balance of payment was stated to be Tk. 900/- (Taka nine hundred crores) Crores. After the devaluation in May '75 the deficit must have gone up. This has resulted in monetary instability. Our production of goods and services and our exports are still much below the 1969-70 level.

The position as depicted above is dismal & grim but this should not dishearten us. We have before us the example of Japan, a country which received no economic aid from foreign sources in the early stages of development since 1880, but still it reached a high stage of development by 1939. We have to remember that Allah helps those who help themselves.

Now I turn to some basic problems of economic development :—

1. *The Political Framework*—Economic Development cannot be carried out in a political vacuum.

2. Next in importance is the administrative machinery through which Government policy will be formulated and implemented. The present machinery is out-dated, it has to be streamlined so as to make it an effective instrument of service to the people and not an engine of harassment and persecution. We cannot run a bullock cart with a jet engine and, therefore, we must reform the administration to make it economic and efficient and suitable to the needs of a modern society.

All extravagant expenditure in furnishing and decorating Government Officers and maintaining un-necessary transport must be eliminated. All surplus officers and staff must be diverted to the education directorate for use in spreading literacy among the people. A proper work study or job analysis must be made so as to avoid waste of Government money. All members of the Government and senior officers must set examples of plain living and high thinking so that lower officials and the public in general may emulate them.

3. The population problem has to be tackled on an urgent footing. The existing measures have not brought about any substantial impact on the rural people who constitute 90% of the total population. The question of taking legislative measures for compelling the people of all classes to take to family planning must, therefore, be seriously considered.

4. The existing system of education encourage the production of thousands of graduates who have no prospect of any gainful employment. It passes comprehension how the Government can be a party to the subsidisation of the education of 3rd Division students in colleges and universities at the cost of the people most of whose children will never go to these institutions. So as an immediate step a policy decision has to be taken enforced by which (i) Spread of Primary Education is to be encouraged at all costs (ii) standard of Secondary Education is to be raised substantially (iii) free or subsidised education is to be imparted in Colleges and Universities to all those who by their

marit, are fit to receive higher education and whose services would be required by the economy of the country in the public and private sectors. The rest of the students who desire to have higher education in Colleges and Universities must pay the actual cost of such education which at the present level of prices will be Tk. 200/-to Tk. 300/-per month.

5. The criterion for placing any industry in public or private sector should be the relative advantage and the benefit likely to accrue to the consumers, labourers or the economy as a whole. Our decision should be based on utility and pragmatism and not on any ideology or pat theory. Even if Government participation in major industries is to be retained, this can be done by Government participation in the equity and entrusting the management to the private sector under Government supervision as has been done in Egypt.

6. The transport and power sectors of our economy are in a mess and unless these are remodelled and set right, no improvement in the economy is possible as these are the most essential economic overheads.

7. *Trade and Commerce* : Manifold ills from which the economy suffers by the activity of unscrupulous internal traders and external traders are known to all. These must be removed and the system so revised as to ensure supply of all essential commodities at reasonable prices to all and marketing facilities at fair prices provided to the producers of commodities like jute and rice and small manufactures.

8. A nation wide housing scheme must be taken up by which at least one semi-pucca room is available for every family in rural and urban areas in 10 years time.

9. Last but not the least important is employment for able-bodied people willing to work and earn their lively-hood. We must dispel the illusion that by industrialisation we can solve the problem of unemployment because for creating employment for one worker in a modern industry at least 10,000 dollars will be required. So the only way is to take to intensive cultivation and allied occupations which can employ large number of people with small investments and also increase production and to set up small industries to manufacture consumer goods required in the

country. Large scale industries should be confined to basic industries where for technological reasons it is not possible to manufacture by hand and hand-methods.

Now I come to the subject of monetary stability and the balance of payment and its impact on economic development. The magical recovery of the post-war economy of Germany and Japan was possible only because of monetary stability. The political and social upheavals in China 1949 and in Indonesia 1957 were caused by hyper-inflation. Great Britain after the war, took schemes of social security without caring to recoupe the damage caused to the economy with the consequence that the pound today is equal to 1.80 in place of 2.80 dollars in 1946. If this be the position in the worlds first industrialised country, can easily appreciate the plight of a poor country like ours which in the wake of war of 1971 embarked on whole sale nationalisation and adopted grandiose schemes of rehabilitation and social welfare without caring to ensure that there were actual resources to meet the cost. The currency in circulation went up from 300 to 400 crores. Scarcity of goods and services coupled with deficit financing led to hyper-inflation in which there is hardly any incentive or capacity to save and invest. The sufferings of the people in an inflationary economy has been expressed nicely by Mr. Raja Gopalachari, former Governor General of India in his saying 'Inflation is the cruelest form of taxation because its impact falls most heavily on those classes of people who are in the least position to bear the burden.'

Our currency was devalued twice by 66%, 60% in relation to pound which in itself have devalued by 25% in relation to dollar. The market price of our taka is 1 equal to 26 taka. From the above discussion it is evident that by industrialisation we cannot correct the imbalance in our balance of payment position. Nor can we continue to depend on foreign assistance for all time to come. It was as early as 1946 when the idea of planned Economic Development was being mooted for the time in this sub-continent, I pointed out that in an agricultural country like ours we can progress only by building up from below. I suggested that the entire country must be divided into a number of more or less

self-sufficient economic units which should also coincide with the administrative unit.

Our balance of payment position continues to be unfavourable to the extent of about one thousand crores taka per annum. The present earning of about taka 500 crores in foreign exchange cannot cover the import cost of a few major items like crude oil, wheat, cotton and cotton yarn.

It has now been recognised even by the World Bank that industrialisation is not the solution of the problems of under-developed countries add, therefore, the bank is giving more assistance for development of rural economy. Accordingly, if we can increase our agricultural production of rice and jute, this can revolutionise rural economy, increase our export and provide employment to lacs of unemployed people.

The scheme envisages utilisation of one crore acres of land out of 2.35 crore acres plus 20 lac acres of haor land for the production of 2 crore tons of rice and 60 lac bales of jute. If we can grow IRRI paddy in winter on one crore acre of land during the period November to April, we can get two crore tons of rice.

So far as financing of scheme is concerned, the foreign exchange & technical know-how can be had from rich friendly countries. So far as actual implementation is concerned there may be variety of modes and methods. To me it appears that the job should be entrusted to Foreign Private Companies who in co-operation with firms specialising in farming and production of agricultural inputs can operate the scheme initially say for ten years. In the haor land large blocks of land are available for commercial farming. Even without disturbing the existing boundaries and the ownership we can introduce modern cultivation by setting up a joint venture in each village as done in Chittagong and some other districts by which the produce of the land will be shared between the (i) owners of the land, (ii) the labourers and (iii) the managing companies supplying the inputs and technical and managerial know-how in an agreed ratio. The present owners of land can easily be allowed the quota they would normally get from one

crop for the land they give ; they may be allowed even 25% extra or 1/3rd of the produced whichever they prefer. The labourers will be paid their due wages plus bonus if there is a profit and the rest will go to the agency implementing the scheme. It is for the Government to regulate their profits. Any amount of profit above a certain percentage will be siphoned off to the Government Revenue. In selecting farm labour preference will be given to the present owner of the land taken for intensive cultivation.

The scheme in the first instance should be introduced in district in each division and gradually spread all over the country in 4 or 5 years. If the scheme can be successfully implemented the following benefits will accrue, about 20 lac people will get employment in various operations connected with the operation of the scheme and in handling and marketing the extra amount of paddy in addition to solving our foreign exchange difficulty.

As pointed out earlier we can get two crore tons of rice by cultivating a single crop of IRRI on one crore acre of land. Even if we get 1½ crore tons we can retain 50 lac tons for home consumption and export 1 crore ton and earn \$ 200 crores=Taka 2,800 crores per annum. If the annual requirement of foreign exchange for importing fertilizers, pumps, oil, etc. and for payment of profits to the foreign company comes to Taka 800 crores, there will still remain 2,000 crores taka out of which we can pay back the initial cap debt of one thousand crore taka in 5 to 6 years time at instalments of two hundred crore taka per annum. This will leave us a net balance of taka 1800 crores in exchange.

The position can be further improved if we can grow 60 lacs bales of jute on 10 lac acres of land by intensive cultivation during the period March to June every year. This will yield taka 300 crore in Foreign Exchange. The rest of the country can easily produce 40 lac bales of jute by traditional method and this jute can be used in our Jute Mills and the jute goods exported which will fetch another taka 400 crore in foreign exchange because the price of jute goods is normally double of that of raw jute. Thus total earnings of foreign exchange from export of jute and jute goods will amount to taka 700 crore in place of the present average of taka 350

crore per annum. The export of 60 lac bales of raw jute and 40 lac bales of jute goods totaling 100 lac bales will be only 50% of the total world requirement of 200 bales of jute goods as against 80% in 48-49 when the world requirement was only 90 lac bales.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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Political economy, as is understood in the Marxian sense, refers to the process of interaction of productive-forces and production-relations in an economy.¹ The productive forces are a social, and not a natural, category. Given the means of production, determined by the level of technology, productive-forces would imply the application of labour, both accumulated and present, to production activities. The relations among different groups of people in the process of production are denoted as production-relations.

Productive-forces and production-relations interact on each other. This, of course, does not mean that their relationship is always harmonious. The harmony is particularly missing in a society with built-in inequalities in social and economic opportunities. Production-relations, instead of acting as agents of development of productive-forces would in such cases "turn into their fetter."² Unless shaken off by deliberate efforts on the part of productive-forces, these will lead to misery and stagnation.

Agrarian relations in the region to which Bangladesh belongs reveal to a large extent the manner of interaction of propuctive-forces and production-relations in the rural sector. These agrarian relations may be both intra-territorial and extra-territorial.

1. Some are inclined to think of Marxian political economy as an analysis of the dialectics in the growth and ultimate collapse of capitalism. (see, for example, Thomas T. Sekine : UnoRiron : A Japanese contribution to Marxian political economy ; *The Journal of Economic Literature*, September, 1975). This is, however, too narrow a view to do justice to the range of Marxian scheme.

2. Marl Marx : *Selected Works of Karl Marx and F. Engels*, Vol. I, Moscow, PP. 362-63.

Intra-territorial relations are confined within the physical limits of the village areas. Extra-territorial relationships are contracted by the village people with outside agencies. Both of them, however, affect the material well-being and, general, the over-all way of life of the rural population.

In this paper we propose to trace the development of the pattern of agrarian relationships and also to see their impact on the efforts for rural development in Bangladesh. The 'pattern' evolves through a historical process. A close look at it would require us to look back into history, and history is expected to lead us back into the present time. Part I of this paper, therefore, attempts a brief historical survey of the relationships developed in the rural economy of this region. Part II devotes itself to an analysis of existing relationships. Part III will venture a study of policies. It will examine their prospects and constraints in relation to agrarian relations and will try to find their bearing on rural development.

I

1. It has to be admitted first that no historical study of the region, now known as Bangladesh, can be done in isolation without caring to look into the interests of the ruling population which for most of the time remained outsiders. Bangladesh had fallen into a subcontinental pattern as early as in the Maurya period, dating back into the 4th century B. C. (Mauryan empire lasted from 322 to 184 B. C.) and had remained so for most of the centuries. The nerve-centre of actions resulting in transformations in production-relations had almost always been located outside this region. A study of agrarian relations in Bangladesh will, therefore, not be complete without any reference to the actions that originated in those centres. Following this, we have got to qualify the proposition relating to self-sufficiency and independence of Bengali villages. If we are allowed to state at the outset some of our findings from history, we cannot but concede that the proposition of self-sufficiency of Bengali villages was only partially true, that of independence, never true.

There have been very little change in the means of production since the time of the Mauryas. The plough and the bullock

of the pre-Christian vintage have been in use with little modification for almost the same set of essential crops. This means that productive-forces have remained over centuries more or less invariant. Production-relations, however, have undergone some qualitative changes.

2. The unit of administration during the Mauryan period was *Janapada*. The *Janapada* lands were of two types. Those paying *Rashtra* taxes and those remaining under direct supervision and control of the crown.³ The latter were known as *Sita* lands. The state during the Mauryan period happened to be the greatest land-clearing agency, greatest land-owner and the greatest producer of goods.⁴ It was a bureaucratic state with a grand design of bureaucratic functionaries stretched to the level of activities for rural administration. That the villages were not left to themselves becomes obvious from the principles for the extraction of rural surplus by the king's men. Kautilya, in his *Arthashastra*, one of the earliest books on Political Economy, opined that those king's men appointed for rural administration were politically more important. This is not surprising in view of the fact that in a highly bureaucratised revenue economy,⁵ it was agriculture that could provide necessary surplus.

For *rashtra* lands, the king's major tax was fixed at 'one-sixth' of the harvest. In addition, there were taxes for army rations, for water works (dams, canals, reservoirs) supplied by the state and also a few others like one on orchards and another one as compensation for damage that might have been done by herds on crops.⁶

The king's authority was more complete on the *Sita* lands. Kautilya prescribes that settlements on those lands should consist mostly of Sudra peasants and other lower class people who, he

3. D. D. Kosambi : *The culture and civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, Vikas Publishing House, p. 148.

4. Ibid., 146.

5. Hicks defines non-market economy as a Revenue Economy in which a 'surplus' of food and other necessities is extracted from cultivators and used to provide sustenance for public servants. J. R. Hicks : *A Theory of Economic History*, Oxford, Paperbacks, P. 23-24.

6. D. D. Kosambi : *op. cit.*, p. 149.

thinks, are easy prey to exploitation. This is necessary, as, he writes, from the helplessness of the villages and the exclusive preoccupation of men with their fields stems the growth of revenue for the royal treasury, of the supply of forced labour (*vishti*), grain, oil and other liquid produce.⁷ These settlements of Sudra families were often forcibly made from the other areas, usually overcrowded, of the king's own domains. Each of these settlement units was a village. It used to have a population of between 100 and 500 peasant families. The peasants did not have the liberty to desert their respective settlements or to opt out of cultivation. The right to land was assigned for life only to the holder. Normally it could not be transferred. The right could, however, be withdrawn if the land was not properly cultivated. The administrative headquarters were there for every 10, 200, 400 and 800 villages to keep a close watch over the activities of Sudra peasants.

Taxes on *Sita* lands were generally fixed at between one-third and one-fifth of the produce.⁸ The higher rate was charged for lands irrigated by the state. The system of share-cropping was probably introduced in this region during that time. Some of the crown lands used to be leased out to the farmers on half-share basis—precisely the practice very much in vogue still in Bangladesh, but with a notable difference: the state, and not any other private citizen was the land-holder to lease out land during the period of the Mauryas, while in more recent times ownership of land has been vested in a set of intermediaries.

Land could also be assigned for cultivation to those who could contribute nothing but their physical labour.⁹ In such cases appropriation by the king could go as high as three-fourths of the crops produced. The womenfolk in those labour households were required to do the grinding and husking of grains to be taken away as 'king's-share' by his men. There was also the system of hired labour, usually engaged in state farms, managed by the king's officials. In addition, there were penal slaves who were to serve out their sentences or fines as bonded labour on the soil.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Kosambi: *op. cit.*, p. 150.

9. *Ibid.*

The distinction between the *rastra* and *sita* lands disappeared soon after the period of the Mauryas. The traditional 'king's share' was fixed at one-sixth of the produce. But in the meantime, there emerged a new class of intermediaries, the landlords, who prevailed upon the tenant farmers to make them pay at a rate which was in many cases higher than the previous *Sita* rate. The difference between that and the 'king's one-sixth' used to be appropriated by the landlord as his own share. The state mechanism, as Kosambi writes, "had as its basis the new class of intermediate landowners, not uniform in structure but with rights clearly recognised in practice and with special obligations to support a state which had then become their state, though outwardly the same absolute monarchy".¹⁰

A question that may reasonably be asked is why from a vantage point during the Mauryas, or, some four centuries later, during the Guptas, there could not be effected a real economic breakthrough. There had been a centralised government with a very efficient bureaucracy having its network spread deep into the countryside. Technology was up to date in relation to time; craftsmanship of the artisans was superb and trade expansion was taking place. In spite of all the economy tended to stagnate.

The answer will have to be sought in the orientation of the ruling class, the level of consciousness of the productive-forces and also, a very important factor, often overlooked, the objective condition relating to space. The economy was a peculiar mixture of 'custom' and 'command',¹¹ both geared to the interest of the ruling group, which could thrive in that situation only on the surplus, extracted from agriculture. In addition to the command, exercised through bureaucracy, there did evolve the custom of caste system which was made use of for subordinating, in the name of social balance, the people belonging to the lower classes of the society. The priest class arrogated upon themselves the power and authority to supervise the material and spiritual well-being of the masses who were destined to confinement in their respective caste-occupational categories. All the

10. D. D. Kosambi : *op. cit.*, p. 152.

11. J. R. Hicks : *A Theory of Economic History*, Oxford paperback ; pp. 8-24.

elements in the ruling clique, more often than not, are conservative in nature. They are generally afraid of any innovation which might throw up new challenges and upset their interest base. The situation was no different during the period of the Mauryas and after. The ruling class, finding that their prosperity was tagged with the surplus to be obtained from agriculture, forced the Sudra peasants into perpetual bondage with that occupation and did not allow any innovation to take place either in agriculture or in any other sphere of activities.

The consciousness of the productive-forces also could not be transformed on to a higher plane. It was deliberately kept 'closed' at a low level. The social masters taught about re-birth and the *karma*-cycle which became integrated in the thought process of the masses. Instead of trying to improve their positions in the lives they lived, they gave premium to the prospects of future lives, they expected to come back to, after death, and, in the process, surrendered to the wiles of preachers and priests.

Another thing that can not be ignored is the possibility of finding almost an unending stretch of empty space for settling in. The country was vast. There were still large open spaces without human habitation. The peasants in distress could always try to escape into new lands or to run away into forests where they could build their huts and live food-gatherers' life. Economic breakthrough with no urge from within is almost an impossibility. The mercantile expansion with Buddhism did not find much of an echo in the economic behaviour of rural peasants who did not feel threatened at all in their situation, partially because of the special condition of their existence.¹²

3. The Moslem rule in India did not bring any relief to the peasant community. On the contrary, identifiable marks of feudalism became more and more visible and exploitation became more ruthless than ever before. Inequalities in the distribution of income continued to increase. Almost the whole amount of the peasant's surplus was being appropriated by the ruler and his henchmen.

12. Jataka stories reveal that Buddhism also made peace with existing agrarian relations.

Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) of the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526) decreed the fixation of land revenue at half the produce on every holding to be levied separately on every cultivator. Although the rate was not held static at that level by his successors, yet, according to Irfan Habib, the eminent historian, "there is no reason to believe that the standard of one-half was ever substantially altered by them".¹³ Moreover, there cropped up other feudal intermediaries to cut out a share for themselves from the peasant's output.

The Sultans introduced the *iqta* system. The appointed administrators of the Sultan were empowered to levy land revenue on the assigned territories known as *iqta's*. The *iqta*-holders (known as *Muktis*) during the Sultanate emerged as the major class of landed proprietors in this region. The *iqta's* were frequently transferred from one person to another. Consequently the *iqta*-holders, instead of trying to make any improvement in agriculture were more keen to make full use of their tenure to squeeze out as much wealth as possible from their properties. There were, however, attempts, particularly under the Khaljis and the early Tughlaqs to curb the power of the *muktis* by way of appointment of officers for collection of revenues. This resulted in large scale disaffection among a section of the ruling class during the period of Firuz Tughlaq who ultimately yielded to the pressure of the officers and made the appointments to the *iqta's* almost permanent and semi-hereditary. The amount to be paid by the *iqta*-holders to the treasury was made more or less fixed on the basis of an estimate of expected revenue from the property.¹⁴

Resources had continuously been drained out of villages in the form of revenues to the *iqta*-holders. This helped development of towns and business-centres in the classic manner as theorised by Hicks.¹⁵ The production of cash-crops for the market in lieu of coarse food-crops for the poor was encouraged. But the benefit of it at that time, as it is today, could not be reaped

13. Irfan Habib: *Landed Property in Pre-British India*, in *Indian Society: Historical Probing*. In Memory of D. D. Kosambi, edited by R. S. People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1974, p. 288.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-298.

15. Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-41.

by the peasant population. Whatever be the produce, they had to remain content with the bare minimum for their subsistence.

The Mughal rule was established in India with the conquest by Babar in 1526. The empire was consolidated during the period of Akbar (1556-1605) and it remained stable till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707.

Like their predecessors, the Mughal rulers also continued to exploit the peasantry. Land-revenue was being estimated in cash on the basis of the valuation of one-third of the peasant's produce. But the actual demand on the peasants continued to be much more.

The Mughals introduced the *Jagir* system which was similar to the *iqta* system of the Sultans. The *jagirdars*, as a rule, were transferred from one place to another. They could also get promotions which amounted to getting bigger areas under their control.¹⁶ Like the *Mukti's*, the *jagirdars* also did not have any lasting interest in the improvement of the territory under their command, nor did the improvement of the territory under their command, nor did the productive-forces have any incentive to improve, for, in this period also they had to part with most of the surplus they could produce.

The Mughal ruling clique was a small group, consisting of men in higher bureaucracy appointed by the emperor. Even though appointments in principle were not hereditary, yet, in practice, they were influenced to a great extent by the family background of persons concerned. Consequently, members of the ruling group were often found to be related to one another. Concentration of wealth among few but related families became the pattern for that time.

In addition to the imperial officers of the ruling clique, there emerged another type of exploiters of the local variety. They were composed of members of the subjugated rural aristocracy and other dominant elements within the villages. By the time the Mughals came on the scene, their functions took a definite shape and a single designation, *Zamindar*, was attributed to them. 'With all its varieties', Irfan Habib writes, '*Zamindari*

16. Irfan Habib : *op. cit.*, pp. 301-330.

may, in essence, be described as a right superior to that of the peasants, and originating, in the main, independently of the existing imperial power. It implied a claim to a share in the produce of the soil which was completely distinct from, although it might be laid side by side with the land revenue. This claim took many forms. It might consist of a cess, levied in kind or cash, on the cultivator, or it might be made up of the difference between the Zamindar's actual collection of land revenue from the peasants and the amount assessed by the state; or it might be compounded by the authorities for a definite share, either out of the land revenue or by allotment of revenue-free land'.¹⁷ The share of the surplus appropriated by the Zamindars was subordinate to that of the imperial functionaries. But his presence could always be felt on the village scene. The rulers and the Zamindars sometimes formed among themselves a classic game theoretic relationship, each trying to snatch away as much advantage as possible at the cost of the other. Both tried to use peasantry as a strategic tool for reaching their respective ends. There were occasions when the Zamindars could wrest sizeable autonomy from the Mughal rulers. This had happened in the then Bengal as well.¹⁸ Common peasantry, however, were subject to oppression by the revenue officials and Zamindars alike. Descriptions of such oppressions can be obtained in the Chandimangal of Kavikankan Mukundaram.¹⁹

The Zamindaris under the Mughals could be inherited and also bought and sold. This resulted in frequent break up and transfer of ownerships. Transactions often took place between men belonging to different castes and creeds. But the tenancy rights of the peasants, it seems, were well protected by the rulers. The *pattas*, guaranteeing tenancy rights used to be given to the peasants by the officials on behalf of the imperial government.²⁰ No local Zamindar or any other being had any

17. Irfan Habib : *op. cit.*, pp. 309-310.

18. Particularly famous is the story of twelve landlords (*Bara Bhuiyan*) of Bengal during the reign of Akbar.

19. Kavikankan Chandi, Part I, Calcutta University, 1938 ; see specially pp. 135, 202, 342.

20. M. R. Tarafdar : *Hasain Shahi Bengal, a Socio-political study*. Asiatic Society, Dacca, 1965 ; p. 137. Also see, Kavikankan Chandi, *ibid*, p. 335.

authority to dishonour them. The peasants were probably required under obligation to cultivate their lands. This was necessary for ensuring regular supply of land revenue to the government. But still the process of pauperisation of small peasants could not be checked. The increasing pressure of revenue demand, the machinations of Zamindars, the bondage to money-lenders and, to some extent, the tendency to commercialise agriculture in its initial phase (something like the so-called 'green revolution' today) led to a continuous increase in their misery.

It is a matter of open conjecture as to whether the process of commercialisation and expansion of the market with the possibility of an economic breakthrough got a severe setback with the coming of the British to the sub-continent. The fact remains that new commercial centres, towns and cities were sprouting up during the later phase of the Mughal rule. For meeting the demands of the Mughal nobilities artisans and craftsmen were brought from outside and settled in those towns for producing required commodities. Market for its expansion would have necessitated creation of demands in the countryside which might have forced a development of agriculture as well. But this was not to be. The Britishers came and destroyed the possibilities, if any, of industrial growth from within. Money circulation in the economy was drastically reduced. Many of the commercial centres were closed down. Crafts and industries were forced out of operation. Marx was probably less than fair when, referring to the situation in this region, he talked of barbarian Asiatic mode of production.²¹ Perhaps the fund of knowledge of History available to him at that time was not adequate.

The permanent settlement of 1793 introduced in this region a new dimension to exploitation. That is colonialism. The purpose of the foreign rulers was to run the administration, maintain stability and suck out as much resources as possible without caring at all for the health of the subjugated economy.

A completely new class of Zamindars emerged on the scene. They were given permanent proprietary rights on land in exchange

21. Karl Marx : Capital, Vol. I (Kerr ed.) pp. 391-394. Also see his Articles India.

for collection and regular payment of fixed revenue to the treasury. The peasants could no longer claim any proprietary rights on land. They were left completely at the mercy of the landlords who could choose to evict them almost at will. Any improvement in production relations was made impossible by the change in the relations of landtenure. Rack-renting by the landlords and lack of any form of legal protection whatsoever to the tenants could only leave the rural economy to rot and suffer. It is true that there had been quite a few cases of significant peasant uprisings during that period in this region.²² But the production-relations forced the productive-forces to remain underdeveloped. So their thoughts could not be given right social perspective; their actions often lacked proper sense of direction. The intoxication of religion on a number of occasions blurred their vision and lured them into collective self-defeating adventures.

II

The British rulers left the sub-continent in 1947. The Zamindari system was abolished in 1950 in the region of Bangladesh. The actual land-holding peasants became direct tenants of the Government. They were given permanent, heritable rights in their lands with the power to transfer or sell their landed properties. A ceiling on landed properties was fixed at 100 *bighas* (33.3 acres) per owner (this was, however, later raised to 375 *bighas* in 1961, but was again brought back to 100 *bighas* after the liberation of the country in 1971). The government was expected to take over all lands in excess of the ceiling and to re-distribute them among smaller farmers, each having less than 3 acres of holding on payment of a rate arbitrarily fixed, known as *Salami*. The Government acquired all rent-collecting rights. It could not be fixed at a rate of more than one-tenth of the value of the annual gross output on the land.²³ After liberation, rent on land up to 25 *bighas* was abolished.

22. For detailed study of these revolts and uprisings, see Suprokar Roy : *Bharater Krisak Vidroha O Ganatantrik Sangram* (2nd edition) DNBA Brother, Calcutta, 1972.

23. Abu Abdullah : *Land Reform and Agrarian Change in Bangladesh*, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, Mimeographed, 1973, pp.25-27.

Land reforms in Bangladesh have not yet had the required redistributive virtue, nor could they initiate any positive change in productive-forces. Land ceiling has been kept too high to release much of excess land for acquisition by the state. Only a small percentage of whatever could be acquired has been re-distributed; and that re-distribution also could help only those who have at least some land to live on.²⁴

Land reforms have, no doubt, wiped out the Zamindars; but in their place they have nurtured to strength the class of surplus farmers, known as *Jotedars* who have emerged in recent times as the most powerful exploiting element in rural Bangladesh. These *jotedars* are, of course, not a new class. Even during the Mauryan period, there was the class of surplus farmers, known as *Gahapatis* who used to have some control over ordinary peasants through their ability to lend crops in times of distress.²⁵ This became the basis of their practice of usury which has continued ever since in the village life everywhere in the subcontinent.

The number of Muslim *jotedars* in Bangladesh prior to 1947 could be compared favourably with that of their Hindu counterparts.²⁶ With the large scale departure of the Hindu landed interests, Muslim *jotedars* started emerging as the dominant group in rural Bangladesh. Their grip over the rural poor is tightened through their greater bargaining power in leasing out land, lending money at exorbitant rates of interest, purchasing crops from poor farmers or compelling them to repay crop-loans at post-harvest low prices and selling or lending crops during pre-harvest period at scarcity prices. Moreover, they often take advantage of distress selling of property made by the poor, and force down the prices of agricultural labour through their greater control over demand in the rural labour market.

The *jotedars* of Bangladesh were not slow to make full use of the opportunity. It is, therefore, not surprising that by the sixties a large chunk of social, economic and political power was being consolidated in their hands. This was reflected in

24. Abu Abdullah : op cit. pp. 30-35.

25. Irfan Habib, op cit, p. 273.

26. Abu Abdullah, *ibid.*, p. 39.

the revision of land-ceiling law, their control of the institution of Basic Democracy and their hold over the government funds for rural-works-programmes. Their greed and exploitation took such an extreme shape that the rural masses, in the wake of the great political uprising of 1969 felt free to explode in a faceless fury of retribution against those identified oppressors in the society. But the action of the village people was not well organised, nor was it directed to a positive end. The net result for them has, therefore, been bitter and frustrating. The people hoped that the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 would bring about an end to their suffering. But the class basis of the party in power was a severe constraint to any serious action for social transformation. Moreover, their pursuance of self-interest amounted to no greater good to the society. In order to amass quick fortune many of them resorted to unethical practices and plundering of properties. The expectant people on the countryside, being disgusted, voted back to office the old *jotedar* clique in the Union Council election of 1973. The productive-forces lost an opportunity of revolutionary changes through their lack of proper orientation, training and organisation.

The situation has been made more complicated by the attempts of forces of international economic imperialism to penetrate into this region. It is to their interest to keep the economy of an underdeveloped country in a state of perpetual dependence, to see to it that such an economy remains continuously primary-raw-material-producing and capital and finished-goods importing and, as a result, always submitting to terms of trade maintained to the advantage of developed nations. This helps them not only to have political and economic control over those poorer regions, but also to beat back recession and ensure stability in the growth process of their own economies. They try to influence and also to subvert the development efforts of the weaker nations, sometimes through direct interference and usually by working through various international agencies.²⁷ In those areas they back that type of regimes which serve their purpose and design

27. For a detailed study see (1) Teresa Hayter : *Aid as Imperialism*, Penguin Books, London, 1971 ; (2) Cheryl Payer : *The Debit Trap*, Penguin Books, London.

to oust those which attempt to assert some independence.²⁸ Generally their backing goes to groups of vested interests, who, being vulnerable intrinsically for their parasitic existence, invite outside support for perpetuating their undeserved gains. Bangladesh, with the social and economic structure that she has, is likely to find it extremely difficult to thwart the schemes of neo-colonial powers.

III

We have seen that the traditional economy of Bangladesh has its roots deep into a past that is more than two thousand years old. The mechanism of exploitation is also traditional. Caste system, whether existing or not, has evolved an attitude among the peasants and the masters, which is still reflected in the behavioral pattern of the population. The level of consciousness of the productive-forces does not seem to be any better than what it has been over the centuries.

Maningful development, in the circumstances, may be thought of only if there is an improvement in production technology along with a change in the exploitative relations in production. An improvement in production technology is expected to transform productive-forces and introduce a new dimension to their expectations.

But an improved technology alone will not be enough. This is particularly so, when its supply is inadequate. In such cases it is likely to accelerate the process not of real economic development, but of economic polarisation. This has been experienced in many of the developing countries. Bangladesh is no exception to that. It has been observed that in most of the cases only the big and well-to-do farmers can afford to use new technology whose supply in the market is controlled to a large extent by the imperialistic forces outside. Since the supply of the new technology is bound to be scarce, small farmers, in most of the cases, can not get an opportunity to make any use of that.

28. Disturbing reports of C. I. A. involvements in ousting popular governments in Latin America and their interference in domestic political affairs in Italy are being found in newspapers quite frequently in recent months.

In Bangladesh the annual use of fertilizer is 320 thousand tons. This means that approximately 12 percent of the cropped areas can make proper use of that input. Only 8 percent of the total area under cultivation, i. e. about 2.60 million acres have been brought under H-Y-V rice and the percentage of irrigated area in relation to the total cultivated area is 8.4.²⁹ Given such scarcity in the supply of vital inputs, one can very well imagine who the people may be to derive benefit from them. The bigger farmers, having greater social and economic power, have been monopolising the use of modern inputs which are bringing them immediate benefits of big jumps in their net incomes. Income inequalities in that part of the rural sector, where modern inputs have made an entry, have, therefore, been on the increase.

Drastic land reforms to be supplemented by institutional changes for effecting new agrarian relations free from exploitation becomes imperative for continuous development of the rural economy. This has been the policy applied in China, but not so in Bangladesh. The much talked about experiment with Comilla Co-operatives has completely ignored the issue of distributive justice. There has been no effort in it to break the traditional relationships in agriculture. It has at its focus the rural elites like village headmen, prosperous farmers and men of religious profession, all of whom have vested interest in the continuation of the traditional system. It is, therefore, no wonder that it has widened the gap between the better-off and the worse-off in the community. While on the one hand, a few farmers are becoming affluent, the vast majority of peasants are being impoverished at a rate, much faster than ever before.

It is to be remembered that development is not merely an accounting process, it is more a political process that historically determined. It encompasses the entire society which is a living object having a past continued into the present, to be projected into the future. Micro-regional planning, in this

29. Quoted in Dr. K. F. Jalal, Dr. Raisuddin Ahmed and Mr. Shazir Uddin Ahmed : *Tubewell irrigation : A report based on the visit of Bangladesh study team to India* ; Bangladesh Planning Commission and Agricultural Development Corporation, Jan., 1974.

context, with no thought whatsoever to changes in production-relations in the broad social framework is bound to prove futile.³⁰

What is then to be done? And who are the people to do that? The architects of the First Five Year Plan of Bangladesh made recommendations for vigorous land reforms with drastic reduction to the ceiling of landholdings. They also prescribed the creation of cadres for agriculture. Both these proposals fell through, not because they were wrong, but because the party in power had neither the acumen, nor the inclination to have them done. The productive-forces in agriculture also are used to a dependency relationship which has largely contributed to the formation of their present level of consciousness. It will require an effort to pull them out of that morass. The much publicised 'Swanirvar' movement is not expected to be the right solution to the problem. Even some top officials, promoting the movement, have privately confessed (they do not dare do it in public) that it is more a law-and-order gimmick than anything else.

The solution lies in organising productive-forces into a consolidated body, raising their level of collective consciousness and transforming agrarian relations by way of resolving contradictions in the present system and introducing new exploitation-free rural institutions. But it is easier said than done. And it would be wrong, and perhaps a crime, to look for a magic solution. The only thing that can be indicated is that the solution will have to emerge from within the society taken as a whole and it will have to be effected by the leadership and participation of productive-forces actively involved in the creation of values in that society.

30. See particularly the research findings of Dr. M. A. Hamid, Economics Department, Rajshahi University. 1975.

LAND, POWER & VIOLENCE IN BARISAL VILLAGES

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I. Introduction

1. We are explicitly arguing the case for a micro-level understanding of the concept of political economy. This involves the inter-relationship of economic formation at village level with external communities and the machineries of state. It further involves an understanding of the process by which economic and political factors interact to determine the power-structure of rural Bangladesh and the consequences for resource allocation which arise thereof.

2. As a case study for discussion we will attempt to analyse the process of acquisition and control of land by a group of people involving three villages in Barisal. While no claims leading to un-warranted generalization are being made, we hope to demonstrate the following general points from this particular micro-level illustration.

- (a) Ownership of land, particularly new or 'char' land is a major focus of rural contention and politics. Given Searcity of land, this has made explicit and implicit violence endemic.
- (b) Common group interests in these situations give rise to some form of group collaboration to maintain common economic and political interests. These may be seen as the incipient bases of class-consciousness.
- (c) Within such groups there are leaders and followers (or patrons and clients). The *Patrons* recruit and retain group following through a mixture of persuasive and coercive measures.
- (d) These abilities include, on the hand, close connections with the machineries of state and an ability to influence

the pattern of state sanctions, acknowledgements, resources as well as

- (e) The ability to organize and make use of selective extra-legal violence in a private capacity.

3. These contentions are by no means novel. Almost every 'reformist' or 'radical' study has expressed the same views on the politico-economic processes of rural Bangladesh. Our contribution, if any, lies in making available case study materials for the analysis and assessment of such contentions. The material is based on the study of villages in the deltaic regions of Barisal by members of the Village Study Group, Dacca, based at the Dacca University and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies.

4. Lastly, Since our pre-occupation has been with getting a group of the operational reality, we have deliberately desisted from stating our findings within a pre-determined theoretical framework comprising a class notion of society. It hoped that 'facts' have been stated in a sufficiently 'neutral' way to be amenable to all subsequent theoretical approaches.

II. The Conflict over Char Meghna

1. We are concerned with three villages in the deltaic region of Barisal. These are definitionally notorious for a high level of river activity which brings in its wake the destruction of landed wealth through erosion as well as the creation of new land ('char land') through the emergence of new stretches of sand and clay, legal norms and property rights are sufficiently complex and imprecise to give rise to endemic disagreements regarding the locational identity of a new *char* (in terms of ownership) when it arises in the same location as a previously eroded stretch.

2. In the Hijla thana, a village called Char Meghna was eroded by the river Shahbajpur (the local name for Meghna) around 1937. An adjacent village, Char Panibaga was, however, only partially affected. Many of the destitute families of Char Meghna went looking for land in the new *chars* further south. A group of about 25 families from Char Meghna applied for and were allotted '*khas*' land on lease in the village Char Shamraj in the extreme South-east coast of the island Bhola.

3. These families settled down in Char Shamraj and became part of that community by joining some of the seven "shamaj" groups existing in that village. One of the families had a son, Nasir Ali Shikdar, who grew politically influential and at one stage not only commanded a 'shamaj' of his own within the village but also held the elected office of Vice-Chairman of the local Char Madras Union.

4. Several years ago, river action led to the re-emergence of a stretch of 'charland' in the erstwhile vicinity of the eroded Char Meghna. Immediately claims were laid upon it by the group of families who had settled in Char Shamraj. However, not unsurprisingly, they found that the villagers of Char Panibaga had also laid claim to the new 'char.' Nasir Ali Shikdar, whose ancestors had no undue social significance in the Char Meghna of earlier times, was deputed by the group of families in Char Shamraj to go and establish their rights. For example, one claimant, Maniruzzaman Majhi, provided Shikdar with Tk. 480 for recovering 3.87 acres of lost land. Others paid similarly in proportion to the size of their claims. Most of the group were what one might term as small or medium peasants. As in the tradition of village contracts, all these agreements were oral, hence undocumented. Shikdar was obviously chosen because of his personal standing, his formidable political career at village level and most importantly because of his acquired ability to influence machineries of state and functionaries in his own favour by an assorted mixture of inducements ranging from bribes to political pressures.

5. The claimant villagers of Char Panibaga organized themselves similarly. Contention between the opposing parties provoked violent clashes leading to two murders. Legal cases were lodged which went up to the Dacca High Court. After six years of litigation, a judgement was made that the new 'char' was indeed Char Meghna.

6. The straightforward consequences of this should have been that the claims of the individual families from Char Shamraj on their previous village would have received priority from the land revenue department in terms of leasing and allotment. But Shikdar and his co-leaders had other ideas. By some mixture of persuasion and manipulation, Shikdar got the new Char

Meghna allotted on lease to a co-operative comprising of himself and his clientele. He presumably persuaded the families from Char Shamraj that this particular arrangement would be more beneficial to them in terms of state-sponsored resource flows. At the same time the officials of the revenue department concerned with the allotment decision could also have been bribed or given some form of material incentives. That all this is unlikely to be unduly speculative is based on the calculation of economic gains to Shikdar and his henchmen as well as the testimony of some of those villagers such as Maniruzzaman Majhi who were his initial financiers in the contention for Char Meghna.

7. The economic and political consequences have been as follows. Shikdar himself became the Vice-Chairman of the co-operative, while the Chairman was a henchmen of his. Char Meghna had 480 acres of arable land. The executive of the co-operative, i.e. Shikdar and his friends, controlled the allocation and use of land under the co-operative arrangements. Those persons such as Maniruzzaman Majhi were now given the land from co-operative under share-cropping arrangements. Shikdar himself, for example, receives (through dubious mechanisms thwarting the rules of the co-operative) the crop-share of 29 peasants which comes to 1500 maunds of IRRI paddy annually, which at Tk. 60 per maund (1973-75 local price) is valued at Tk. 90,000.

8. We can also calculate the net cropshare profit accruing to the group of people who control the co-operative. Assuming modest yields for two seasons, each acre gives about 60 mds. of paddy which comes to Tk. 3,600's worth with the above price. Since all cultivation costs are born by the share-cropper, the 'co-operative' receives Tk. 1,800 worth of paddy from each acre, assuming that output is shared on a 1:1 basis. For 480 acres, this means an income of Tk. 8,64,000 for the "co-operative" annually. That the stakes are high is obvious. It is also understandable why the bribing and/or manipulation of state functionaries through material incentives can be seen as a viable business proposition for the determined operator.

9. Understandably enough the affluence of Shikdar at their cost is resented by the farmers who once financed him to

re-establish their individual claims to land they originally owned. Interestingly enough, whenever they have displeased Shikdar and his friends, their crop-sharing arrangements have been terminated by the 'co-operative'. But this has not been the only means of stifling the voice of this group of largely small and medium farmers. True to the traditions of rural Barisal, Shikdar and his friends retain a private army of twelve 'Lathiyals', i. e. strong-arm men wielding bamboo rods or worse, and available for physical intimidation whenever necessary.

10. Retaining 'lathiyals' is expensive. An agricultural labourer retained for the whole year expects Tk. 800 cash, in addition to food and other provisions. A 'lathiyal' is likely to be somewhat better provided and his annual cost may be broken down as follows :

Cash income	Tk. 1,000
Food (Tk. 5 per day)	Tk. 1,800
Clothes/Miscellaneous	Tk. 200
	<hr/>
	Tk. 3,000

At this rate 12 'lathiyals' cost Tk. 36,000 annually ; and for 'policing' a 'co-operative' of 480 acres, this comes to about Tk. 75 per acre per-annum. Given that the 'co-operatives' earnings from each acre is Tk. 1,800 per annum, this too may be seen as a worthwhile and feasible cost item.

11. The calculations above are based on general opinions of the villagers and our own observations of quantitative factors such as yields and prices. While the figures may be somewhat speculative, it may be seen to be the most definitive statement which can be made from a world of unacknowledged information about which informants tend to be naturally unreliable and secretive.

12. The case study above illustrates the mobilization of group interests for a particular economic goal. The prevalent complexities of social structure determined that the group would be a conglomerate (in the nature of a village faction), where the leader mobilized support on the basis of a stated common interest when it came in conflict with his own.

III. CONCLUSION

13. A case study on the lines of the above may not have the merit of being generally relevant but it does serve to demonstrate the close and intricate links between economic and political process. As stated in the introduction, some general implications may be drawn from this somewhat special case.

14. (i) The unholy alliance of village level patrons with corruptible elements in the state machinery seem to be the major prop for creating and perpetuating unequal ownership of wealth and the consequential existence of exploitative relationships in the countryside.

15. (ii) Within the village communities patrons recruit and organize their followers in terms of a stated group interest which may be made subservient whenever it comes in conflict with an interest which is the patron's own.

16. (iii) Followers within the group may well be aware of these processes and yet be unable to offer any opposition, since the state of their own material deprivation makes them unconditionally dependant on their patrons.

17. (iv) This acquiescence to the 'ruling order' of patrons etc. is often enforced up by the presence of private armies and/or an ability to inflict selective extra-legal violence by patrons on dissidents.

18. (v) The existence of factional division among the exploited and the threat of selective violence and intimidation are sufficient reasons for preventing the mobilization of the exploited sections and stratas in their own interests. This has long-run implications for the rural society of Bangladesh. In particular, it implies the differential development of class-consciousness—the co-existence of a highly shrewd and adaptive ruling class with large numbers of unorganized and possibly intimidated peasantry.

19. (vi) This basic 'gravitational' feature in the power-structure of rural society tends to invariably infiltrate whatever institutions of rural development that are brought in to the scene. Often this has the result of magnifying the power of a group of individuals, e. g., when such a group gains control of a relief committee or a co-operative. It would be both native and unforgivable

if policy-makers were to make the comfortable assumption that things were not thus, but otherwise.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

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Bangladesh typically symbolises the integration into the world system of the countries which have become underdeveloped providing the social base for the principal social contradiction provoking the urge for independent national development on the one hand, but on the other, it has restricted, for these countries, the path to a full capitalist development which could be the historical solution of the problem of accumulation, a pre-condition for the next stage of social development which is inevitably nothing but socialism. We should not be oblivious of the fact that this major contradiction of our system is not basic contradiction which presents itself in the form of conflict between the level of development of the productive-forces and the retarding forces of the forms of social organisation. The major contradiction is left without any social basis in the absence of the basic one. The former only explains the turning point; the latter shows the essence of the system in the last resort.

Thus, the by-passing of the system spreads over a more or less long historical period which may be called a 'transition period'. It is the gestation gap between two stages of historical evolution, capitalism and socialism. Samir Amin defines transition as "the gradual passage, under given specific historical conditions—those of today's periphery, already integrated into the world system and shaped as a dependent periphery—from the dependent capitalist development model to a self-centred national development model culminating in socialism which supersedes capitalism, "In the light of proper historical perspective, Bangladesh economy can properly be understood and analysed and appropriate policy measures can be suggested in terms of this transition concept.

The specific transition strategies are by definition 'self-reliant strategies.' Thus self-reliance should have its roots at various

levels, democratically respecting the real social groups constituting the nation : the village, the nation and the state. The politico-historic circumstances may prevail upon a particular country to implement the most rudimentary forms of this transition strategy in the short-run which then again should be designed to fit in a long run perspective. We learn from the example of Vietnam, a small country under the most difficult conditions of war—that a self-reliance strategy may be the first effective stage of transition.

In the following discussion on rural development in Bangladesh it will be discernible that in the last 25 years we followed an externally oriented development model which demonstrated a sort of 'miracle' in the social overheads and light industries sector with a lagging agriculture only succeeded in generating specific characteristics of underdevelopment (growing internal inequalities and econosequent distortion of resource allocation, marginalisation and dependence ect). Instead of an expected reduction in underdevelopment, this is becoming more and more market.

By all connotations of the term, rural development in Bangladesh is in essence transformation of agriculture. Transformation of agriculture has important implications for the economy of Bangladesh. The predominant contribution of the agricultural sector in the GNP indicates that unless a high growth-rate is achieved in this sector, the overall growth-rate cannot be expected to be an encouraging figure. It is most just this arithmetic of growth-rate that makes agriculture so important. Industrial expansion itself depends on agriculture in several respects. Agricultural raw materials enter many industries : jute textiles use raw jute, sugar needs sugar-cane and so on. Industrialisation depends on agriculture for food-supply. Bangladesh cannot have a smooth course for industrialisation, unless it can attain self-sufficiency in food and close the food-gap in immediate near future. In Bangladesh where there is a sizable surplus labour in agriculture, rural development is a key factor in preventing an overflow of population to the cities in a futile search for employment. But the political significance of rural development is far more important than its economic justification. Government in an agricultural country like Bangladesh cannot hope to draw the attention of the rural masses in a national effort for economic development,

if it does not take these programmes to the rural areas. Political parties also should not forget that without sufficient mass-base in the rural areas, their exercise in siezer for power will go invain. They cannot also aspire to continue in power without creating confidence in the minds of the rural masses that they are genuinely striving for rural development through augmenting material and cultural well-being. In political terms, those who can win the peasantry will win Bangladesh.

During the last 25 years, Bangladesh stuck to the path of dependent development within the framework of the world system in its effort for rural development. The philosophy behind this development strategy has been the negation of the continued existence of classes and class struggle in rural Bangladesh. Little or no attention was paid to the problem of production-relations. This means that the system of ownership, of management and the system of distribution were never considered to have vital implications on production and growth of agriculture in general. On the contrary, for the policy makers, rural development connoted manipulating the forces of production only (capital equipment, technology and working skills.) Although a little progress has been achieved in these respects, the net result achieved trifled insignificant under the retarding impact of backward and antiquated production relations. Thus, no expectacular success can be achieved on the rural front unless our productive-forces are liberated from the shackles of feudal or semi-feudal production-relations.

To the extent that poverty stems from the structure and organisation of rural society and from the nature of production which emerges from this structure, we must have an insight into the workings of the village society. This will evolve a study of property relations in the village and their interaction with other social forces. In this regard an examination of the measures to change old production-relations, specially in terms of land legislation will be helpful to understand how much the productive-forces are liberated in the rural Bangladesh. In 1950, the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act abolished the permanent settlement, and brought the cultivating tenants directly under the state. All rights in land between the cultivator and the state were abolished. Over 3 million rent receiving interests were abolished which included

50,000 proprietors. A half-hearted ceiling legislation was made, the ceiling on total landholding was set at 100 *bighas*. In 1961, under Ayub Khan, the ceiling was raised to 375 *bighas*. The amount of excess land thus made available for redistribution was 163,741 acres—an insignificant fraction of the total net cropped area of around 20 million acres. According to 1961 figures for landless labourers, each landless labourer would get about 0.07 acres of land, if it were at all distributed amongst them. Prohibitory rates of *Salami*, in fact, barred the landless labourers from being allotted with the excess land. Only 40 percent of the land thus available was fit for cultivation. Thus the redistributive impact of the Act was negligible. According to Doreen Warriner's criterion, this can not be given the name reform at all. It can best be called a revenue reform which centralized a portion of agriculture surplus in the hand of the government. After the abolition of *zamindari*, a new class of surplus farmers gradually emerged into social, political and economic prominence in rural Bangladesh.

The intent, extent and direction of the land legislation of 1950 can be analysed in terms of the class nature of the Pakistan-movement whose main driving force was the muslim comprador bourgeoisie organized within Muslim League. The offensive of the Muslim League movement was directed against the hindu bourgeoisie and the hindu feudal lords with a view to replacing their class exploitation with their own in the muslim majority areas of India which constituted Pakistan in 1947. In their conflict with the hindu capitalists and landlords, they over-whelmingly succeeded in enlisting the support of the muslim peasantry through their agitation against the hindu zaminders and money lenders in the communal line. The comprador bourgeoisie as a class is neither anti-feudal nor anti-imperialist, rather they strive to perpetuate their class rule through an alliance with the remnants of feudalism and imperialism. The 1950 land-legislation merely exemplifies the class limitations of such a bourgeoisie. Yuri V. Gankovsky writes in *The Social Structure of Society in the People's Republic of Bangladesh*, "The agrarian reforms of the 1950's inflicted serious losses on these social groups, who were parasitizing on the agricultural production, undermining the very conditions of their existence. Almost all the hindu zaminders and sublessees emigrated to India, and the Muslims settled down

in the towns of East Bengal. The latter continue to preserve the remnants of their traditional authority, and still enjoy some influence in the backward rural regions. In the 1960's opposition sentiments were powerfull among them, and they took part in the Bengal movement, serving on its right flank ; many of them supported the Awami League," (*Asian Survey* : March, 1974, Berkeley, California)

If one accepts Gankovsky's that the 1950 act dealt a severe blow to a particular rural parasitic class, one need not be contended with that alone. One has to see whether this class had been replaced with a lesser parasitic class or not. Abu Abdullah contends that the new class of surplus farmers that emerged after the 1950 legislation "took over many of the exploitative functions of the *zamindars* and money lenders. They failed to perform a productive function." (Abu Abdullah: *Land Reform and Agrarian Change in Bangladesh*, Nov. 23, 1973).

The East Pakistan *Bargadar's* bill, 1957, limits the rent at 50%, if all inputs are supplied by the landowner and at one third in all other cases. Even today, the bill is not enforced in the majority of the cases. 50-50 share is widely practiced in *Aus* and *Amon* crops, with all inputs supplied by the *Bargadar*. In some areas of Irri-Boro crop, the landowner pays half of inputs to get half of the produce. Therefore, most of the land legislations have remained paper-works in the Dacca secretariate.

Post Bangladesh enactments also met with similar tragic results as the earlier ones. In terms of equity and efficiency these legislations had not been significant in terms of over-all impact. The main provisions, under P.O. 96 and 98 are (i) families holding 25 *bighas* (about 8.25 acres) or less are exempted from payment of land revenue, and (ii) the maximum amount of land retainable by a family has been refixed at the original ceiling of 100 *bighas*. It has been estimated that 76,712 acres of land will be available for redistribution. The system of *salami* has also been abolished. It is now doubtful whether the excess land was leased to the genuine landless or poor peasants inspite of the abolition of the *salami* system. This scepticism has a genuine ground in the fact that the vast multitude of the landless and poor peasants in Bangladesh are helpless in context to the

scheming of the surplus farmers and the land owners who held enormous power in the rural Bangladesh through their links with the ruling political lobbys. It is interesting to note that the Awami League land legislation was in no way superior to 1950 legislation of the Muslim League which also fixed the land ceiling at 100 *bighas* of land. This only gives a stronger foundation to Gankovsky's observations that muslim feudal elements who enjoys traditional authority in the rural areas took part in the Bangladesh movement serving as its right flank and supported Awami League. Awami League itself evolved out of Muslim League. So far vested interest in land is concerned, the major component of the Awami League leadership is hardly distinguishable from the Muslim League. As a matter of fact, the class composition of almost all the parliamentary political parties is more or less similar. Therefore, once vested with power, they will behave the same way as their predecessors did so far the land question is concerned.

Bangladesh stands as a paradigm of mass poverty in the Third world. Its problem of hunger, disease, inadequate employment and slow growth in the face of accelerating population have been compounded by endemic shortages and inequalities of consumption of virtually every resource available in the society. The reluctance of the various regimes in the past to intervene into the social, political and economic matrix of the village society wherein the genesis of poverty and inequality resides accounts for this grim situation to a considerable extent. All indices of inequality and poverty indicate a very serious situation for Bangladesh. Degree of income inequality is quite high in rural and urban areas. The situation seem to have deteriorated between 1960's and 1970's. This is also quite consistent with the movement in real wages. What is really alarming is the proportion of and absolute number below the bread-line. In 1973-74, as many as an estimated 54 million people in rural areas lived below the 'bread-line'. In terms of *per capita* real income the position of the poor peasants on the one hand, and tenant farmers and labourers on the other hand is precarious. While the first group enjoyed a level of Tk. 495 only, the corresponding figure for the landless and the wage labourers were Tk. 345 and taka 320 respectively.

The object poverty of the landless labourers and poor peasants is the outcome of the interaction of the forces that have been operating historically in Bangladesh for a long time. These forces operate mainly through cumulative causations in which an increasingly greater number of people get alienated from productive assets and resource allocation mechanism. These groups of people are the worst victims of the productive asset decaying process, because they have the last resistance power. This is the inevitability of a class ridden society. They are the dominated majority in the hierarchial structure of the society sharply stratified by class differentials. They are the victims of unequal distribution of productive assets, political power and a set of policies pursued by the dominant class at all levels which tend to turn their condition from bad to worse.

The degree of inequality in landholding (both operational and ownership) over the time is one of the measures for the degree of income inequality and the process of alienation. In Bangladesh 69.3% of the farm households belong to the small farm group i.e. than 2.5 acre group, but their share of the total farms and farm area is roughly 25 per cent only. Over time this group gained in both total farms and farm area; the proportion of middle farmers declined but their share in the total farm area increased and for large farmer group both shares declined. This scenario is the product of many interacting forces such as (a) subdivision and fragmentation of holdings (b) disintegration of the traditional joint family system (c) transfer of land from our hand to another either representing normal economic transaction or the impact of growing pauperization process turned acute by the money lenders and declining *per capita* income. Traditionally, the institution of Share-cropping had an equalizing effect on the distribution of landholding. But in the recent years, share-cropping has been yielding place to pure tenancy, although their combined share has increased. there are also reasons and evidences to believe that the number and proportion of the landless agricultural labourers are also on the increase. A question and answer session in the National Assembly on 29th June, 1973 revealed the member of landless peasant families to be 2.6 million. The figure for the same according to 1960 census of agriculture was 1 lakh. If a single

peasant family consists in average 5 members, the total number of landless population is 13 million. The annual rate in the growth of landless population thus comes to 2.6 per cent. The same phenomenon is also confirmed by the report of the National Preparatory Committee of the U.N. conference on Human settlement. The report reveals urban population of Bangladesh has increased by 137.61 per cent from 1961 to 1974. The report further indicates that in 1961, the urban population constituted only 5.2% of the total population of which 13.65% came from the rural areas. In 1974 when the total urban population rose to 8% of the total national population, it was found that 39.36% have shifted from rural to urban areas. The growing alienation of the rural masses from land and other productive assets explains this rural-urban migration of population.

The past policies of deliberate deterioration in the rural-urban terms of trade, absence of minimum wage rate guarantee for the rural workers, non-utilization of the employment potentials in the rural areas (in Rene Dumont's words, so much work to do so many men without work) denial of the institutional sources of credit for the landless and poor peasants, absence of poor peasants and landless workers organization to withstand the exploitative machination of the evil gentry in the rural society and above all rich peasant oriented rural development policy of the government account for the predicament of the rural poor. If the overall policy orientation of the rural development against these unfortunate millions is not changed, the situation is bound to turn graver in the days to come. Such grim facts of the Bangladesh society as observed in the predicament of the landless labourers and poor peasantry encapsulate the general crisis pervading the third world today, where the manifest failure of the past policies to solve the problems of mass poverty has brought about powerful demand for reappraisal of the prevailing policies themselves.

The major political initiatives through which the problem of rural poverty was sought to be confronted in the past were the institution of Basic Democracies, the co-operative scheme and the present swanirvar movement. I call them political initiatives because the programmes came from the topmost national leadership. The character of the programmes and their implications themselves

are positive indicators of the class character of the national leadership and their world outlook.

Ayub Khan introduced the system of Basic Democracies which shaped the destinies of the people of Bangladesh for a decade long period. The union councils were the lowest echelon of the five tier basic democracies system. These were entrusted with the task of agricultural, industrial and community development, promotion and development of the co-operative movement rural industries, horticulture, livestock and fisheries. Some impressive works were done by these union councils, no doubt, in terms of million tons of earthwork, miles of roads and culverts were built, apart from the possible gain of management and technical skills gained by the rural people. But overwhelming evidences are there that quite a proportion of money and resources had gone to the Basic democrats for gaining political support for the ruling regime and the benefit accrued to the loyal B.D. members and the officials largely to the exclusion of what intended for raising of agricultural productivity and ameliorating the condition of the rural masses. Moreover, the institution of Basic Democracies were controlled by the rich landowners and wealthy section of the rural society. The domination of the rural political scene by the wealthy class has been revealed by Rashiduzzaman's study on local councils which is indicated in the table below :—

No. of Chairman	Income Range				
	Below Tk. 1000	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	above 4000
84 elected in 1961	76.9	12.2	7.3	1.2	2.4
3675 elected in 1965	2.18	7.51	14.28	14.91	61.12

Source : Rashiduzzaman, M., *Politics and Administration in the Local Councils : A study of Union and District in East Pakistan* : Oxford University Press, Dacca, 1968.

This table is positive indicator of the process of wealthy farmers gaining ground in rural society in Bangladesh. There is no reason to believe that the process has been halted at least. Any up to date survey may reveal a more sharpened process. After all, this is the rule of the game in a class society. When the rural political scene is dominated by the privileged and the

wealthy stratum, the resource allocation mechanism also remains at the control of this section of the rural society. Therefore, the orientation of the rural works programme biased towards the surplus farmers is also explained by the nature of the political institution designed for it. The major share of the money allotted for rural works programme was spent on road building. Because, the road allows the rich farmer to carry his surplus to the market. This was how best the P. L. 480 funds which was major source of finance for rural works programme could be spent. It can always be natural for the prevailing aid strategies to encourage a specific pattern of rural development which links up the backward periphery in the chains of a market economy with the world system. The alternative mass oriented rural development programme would have emphasized more on nutritional, educational, health, senitational requirements and the general augmentation of productivity.

Among the list of programmes for rural development of nationwide significance comes the Swanirvor movement in the last. So far its positive programme aspect is concerned nothing else has taken any concrete shape except its top heavy bureaucratic organizational set up. Uptill now most of the acitivities of this movement has remained concentrated within the campaign and motivation aspect. Scors of swanirvor camps have been organised through the length and breadth of the country. We do not yet know who are the people that participate in these camps. Are they white colored rural gentry? What initiative has been taken to involve the real men behind the plough—the landless labourers and the poor peasants? How to mobilize them? Is the movement going to organize them at the grass root level against the evil designs and resistance of the rural evil gentry? How does it propose to create employment oportunities for the unemployed in the rural areas? How does it hope to accomodate the man behind the plough in the rural power structure? Does it feel any necessity to evolve new institutional set up for the majority in the rural society? If not, what is the alternative ahead for enthusing the masses who really matter? Does it bear any significant distinction from the programmes in the past such as the Crash programme, grow more food compaign and the green revolution etc? The nomenclature given for the movement sounds

strangely similar to the Chinese slogan of 'self-reliance'. Are the organizers of the movement thinking creatively in the line keeping Bangladesh situation in view? The Chinese have given full emphasis on resolving contradictions generating continuously among the classes and have placed politics at the command post. What concrete and positive steps can be taken to liberate the productive-forces in rural Bangladesh? The main stimuli behind the Chinese 'self-reliance' was the confidence of the Chinese masses that they were working for their own benefit and the purpose of 'serving the people' provided the moral incentive. And that is what they call command of politics over economics. In China poverty was a positive factor for development. Because poverty gave rise to the desire for change. That desire would not have been there, unless the people felt that would go to their benefit. In our situation at the moment, we have a unique opportunity that have been provided by the national political development i. e. the politics of safe-guarding national independence. Should not Swamirvor utilize this historic opportunity to mobilize the masses to built up a self-reliant economy to withstand foreign aggression and interference? Can we not learn anything from Vietnam, a small country faced with the challenge of aggression from one of the mighty superpowers? These are a few of the many dimensions through which the Swamirvor movement can be extended. Swamirvor has already raised many questions? If proper answer cannot be given through positive actions the confidence gap will widen only. If anything other than 'from the masses and by the masses approach' is taken, there shall be enough grounds to call it American wine in a Chinese bottle'. Which means the movement will soon lose its momentum if it has any. A day will come when the authorities concerned will feel it expedient to opt for a new nomenclature as happened in the past so far other programmes for rural development are concerned.

The Comilla experiment in co-operative farming aimed at helping the middle peasants under the aegis of IRDP for defence against the exploitation of the new kulaks has already added some biting teeth of exploitation to another emerging strata of kulaks in the rural social structure. Although, a proper evaluation of this spoonfed-type rural development programme may produce a discouraging result, the apparent success in terms of the dissemination of improved crop practices, expansion of small

scale irrigation and provision for credit looks impressive. IRDP has no doubt some positive organisational and ideological lacunae which is very likely to produce compounded repercussion, if repeated on a national scale. Its most fundamental weakness is that it affords no direct benefit to the landless or poor peasants. Some indirect benefits in terms of more regular employment, of course, accrue to them. But this benefit may very well melt down in long run when the peasants proprietors will opt for mechanisation provoked by rising labour-cost. IRDP believes in "training and development of leadership at the village and thana levels is a precondition to the growth of viable people's organization. The programme is expected to have a favourable effect in income distribution." But it also admits, the programme will not directly improve the lot of landless labourers or of families with extremely small plot of lands." But, why then so much of energy and wealth have been concentrated to develop a kulak dominated rural economy which does not comprise more than 20-25% of the rural population.

The foregoing analysis of the political economy of rural development exhibits a process of dependent development strategy for rural development pursued in the last 25 years. Paul A. Barau maintains, "whether these will be meat in the kitchen is never decided in the kitchen Nor is the fate of agriculture in capitalism ever decided in agriculture. Economic, political and social process unfold outside agriculture and in particular the accumulation of capital and evolution of the capitalist class . . . become with the onset of capitalism the prime movers of historical development." To understand what shape will be taken by the rural development policies in future is already evident from the revision of the investment policy which is very much similar to the Pakistan model in the first decade of development. Such development strategy has already met the culminating point elsewhere in the world created by its own inner contradiction. This strategy of dependent development can only delay the inevitable crisis and never avoid it. Therefore, a new look and renewed appraisal is required for our development philosophy. For agriculture and rural development in general the philosophy of production and revolutionization of the production-relation seems to be the only course open for Bangladesh.

CONDITION OF RURAL POOR : A CASE STUDY OF BANGLADESH

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&

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I. Introduction

Bangladesh perhaps occupies the bottom position among the under-developed countries in the world in consideration of *per-capita* income, dependency ratio, average assets per man and average level of living of rural people. The above assumption becomes clear if the rural people of Bangladesh be ranked in ascending order in respect of any one of the characteristics stated below :

- i) Ownership of farm assets,
- ii) Level of poverty,
- iii) Income *per-capita*,
- iv) Number of dependents per working member.

Our main object of this study is to see the real condition of the rural people by judging them on the basis of the characteristics mentioned above and also to find the possible measures, which can be taken for the improvement of the living condition of the rural people in real term.

In section II the nature of data on which the study is based is explained and the variables which are mostly used in the text are defined. In section III, some characteristics of sample farms are presented to see the real position of the rural people. Section IV presents the conclusion and some possible measures for the improvement of the level of the rural people.

II. Methodology

During the out-break of famine in the year 1974 in Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies conducted a survey to assess the long term consequences of the famine.

Eight villages from different districts were selected for this purpose of which four were in famine affected areas and the other four were in non-famine areas. These areas are:

- i) Village Ramna, P. S. Chilmari, District Rangpur.
- ii) Village Gaorarang, P. S. Sunamgonj, District Sylhet.
- iii) Village Kogaria, P. S. Gabindagonj, District Rangpur.
- iv) Village Kellakata, P. S. Dewangonj, District Mymensingh.
- v) Village Nazipur, P. S. Baophal, District Patuakhali.
- vi) Village Laskarpur, P. S. Kulaura, District Sylhet.
- vii) Village Komorpur, P. S. Satkhira, District Khulna.
- viii) Village Charbaniari, P.S. Bagerhat, District Khulna.

Of these, first four are famine affected areas and the remaining four are non-famine or surplus areas.

Comprehensive data on different aspects of 1,774 farm households were collected for the agricultural year 1973-74. All the farms were then arranged in an ascending array according to operational holding and then households were classified according to (i) tenurial status (ii) size class of operational holding (iii) size of household (iv) number of earners (v) major occupation and employment status (vi) size of income (vii) size of ownership of total farm assets (viii) indebtedness (ix) transfer of assets and (x) level of poverty.

Total family income is partitioned into eight components. These are income from crop production, share rent, livestock, poultry, forestry & fishery, wage labour, cart/boats, trade and business, salaries and others.

To identify the rural people living below the minimum subsistence level, the value of per adult requirement of food items per annum available in rural areas, were calculated on the basis of 1973-74 prices, reported by the heads of the families and the Directorate of Marketing Government of the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh. The poverty level income was calculated for different areas using respective prices of the same commodity in the same time period.

Definitions & Measurement of variables

Tenurial Status: By Tenurial status, households are classified into four groups i.e., (i) owner farmer, (ii) owner-cum-tenant farmer, (iii) tenant farmer and (iv) labourers.

Owner Farmer ; The households own cultivable land other than homesteaded.

Owner-cum-Tenant Farmer :—The households own cultivable land plus cultivable land rented-in other than homesteaded.

Tenant Farmer :—The households do not own any cultivable land but rented-in cultivable land.

Labour :—The households neither own nor rented-in any cultivable land.

Earners or Working Member :—Self-employment of household members in farming, casual and permanent labour, household works, trade and business, service, fishing, transport and other works by which the household members are economically benefited.

Total Income :—Net income from crop production plus income from livestock, poultry, fishery, forestry, wage labour, trade and business, transport, service and other sources.

Occupation and Employment Status

It can be understood in two senses (i) major occupation of the chief earner (ii) major source of earning of the members of households.

But in our study we classified the households into six classes by occupation and employment status (i) farmers (ii) wage earners (iii) trade and business (iv) transport owners (v) salary earners (vi) others. (on the basis of major source of earning.)

Poverty Line

The amount of money needed to buy only minimum required consumption of food items per adult per annum in rural areas is expressed in 1973-74 prices. The following commodities are considered as main food items in rural areas of Bangladesh ; Rice (coarse) wheat, Potato, Sugar/Gur, Pulses (Masoor), Vegetables, Fish, (Chingri), Meat (Beef), Milk, (Cow), Fats and oil (Mustard), Fruits (Banana).

The value of *per capita* consumption in rural areas was Tk. 250 in the year 1966, but in 1973-74 it was found Tk. 923 per adult ; since an average person is usually taken as equal to 0.80 adult unit, the minimum diet for an average

person in rural areas cost Tk. 735 per annum i. e. Tk. 2.00 per day in 1973-74 prices. Average person is defined as the ratio of total adult unit and total population.

Total Farm Assests

Total farm assets owned by the household is calculated on the basis of following assumptions :

- i) Value of land = (cultivable land + 2x homstead) x average moral price.
- ii) Average normal price is expressed in 1974-75 prices.
- iii) Other farm assets owned by the rural people includes the value of bullocks, cows, ploughs, carts, boats and rickshaws in 1974-75 prices.
- iv) Total farm assets = Value of land + value of other farm assets.

Assets-Man Ratio

Assets-man ratio is defined as a ratio of total assets and total population.

Adult Unit : In calculating adult units the following weights were given to the different members of the household in respect of age and sex.

Male (on and above 10 years) = 1.0

Female (on and above 10 years) = 0.9

Children (below 10 years) = 0.5.

Dependency Ratio :—It is defined as the number of dependents per working member.

i. e. $\text{Dependency Ratio} = \frac{\text{Total number of population}}{\text{Total number of working members in the population.}}$

III. Analysis

In Table 1, data on *per-capita* income of the rural households by poverty level and by tenurial status, occupation and employment are presented.

From this table it is found that the *per-capita* income of the people living below poverty level is Tk. 341.00. It is significantly different from the poverty income, which is Tk. 735.00

for an average person. It is also found from Table 1 that the condition of the people belonging to labour class by tenurial status and the people belonging to wage labourers, transport owners and other class by occupation and employment status, who are living below poverty level is more acute if their respective income *per-capita* be compared with the income at poverty level. Thus we can say that the standard of living of the people living below poverty line is very low ; on the other hand, the standard of living of the rural people living above poverty line is comparatively high. The level of living of the people in the class of tenant farmers (892 *per-capita*) and wage labourers (867 *per-capita*) above poverty level is not significantly different. The economic condition of the owner farmers and that of the transport owners above poverty line is found to be better than other groups in their respective classes.

To raise the average income of the people below poverty line up to poverty level, it will have to be increased by another 115 per cent on an average.

In Tables 2 and 3 data are presented on the respective distribution of population and income of rural households by the level of poverty and by tenurial status, occupation and employment status.

From Tables 2 and 3 we find that the distribution of population and income is very unequal. Only 20.56 percent people living above poverty level are enjoying 49.42 percent of the total income, whereas the rest 79.44 percent population living below that level are enjoying only 50.58 per cent of the total income.

From these tables it is also found that the major portion of the rural people are owner farmers (i. e 54.88 per cent) earning 63.31 percent of total income. Only 25 percent of the owner farmers are earning 55 percent of their (of the owner farmers class) income and the remaining 75 percent are sharing the rest (45 percent).

The labourers class, representing 16.20 percent of the rural population is earning 10.51 percent of total income, Of these, only 9 percent are living above poverty level and earning 11 percent of total income, and the remaining 91 percent who fall below poverty line have to fight with famine for survival.

Owner-cum-tenant farmers and tenant farmers are representing respectively 24.80 percent and 4.12 percent of total population and their respective shares in the total income are 24.06 percent and 3.13 percent ; and the people living above poverty level within each of these two classes representing 21 percent and 10 percent respectively enjoy 44 percent and 21 percent of total income.

In terms of occupation and employment, Tables 2 and 3 indicate that the farmers representing 63.44 percent of total population is earning 70.05 percent of total income. The relative proportions of people within farmers, above and below poverty level, are 25 percent and 75 percent and their relative shares of income are 54 percent and 46 percent respectively.

Wage earners representing 18.81 percent of total population are earning only 11.40 percent of total income. As compared with other groups, the proportion of people living below poverty level within wage earners class is very high.

Dependency ratios by poverty level of rural households, tenurial status and occupation and employment status are presented in Table 4.

Dependency ratio of the people above poverty level (3.19) does not differ significantly from that of the people below poverty level (3.62) (Table 4), but the difference is quite obvious if we take income per working member (below poverty level Tk. 1,234 and above poverty level Tk. 4,102) in our consideration.

Analysing Table 5, we can state that the very small bulk of rural people (21 percent) above poverty level possessing 32.24 percent of total farm assets can hardly employ others (79 percent) living below poverty level. The employment opportunity is very limited in rural areas. However, it is although some employment is available on only seasonal basis. This results in a huge surplus labour during off season, which is why the condition of the wage earners is very painful.

IV. Concluding Remarks

To take any major decision about the people one must know the condition of the locality, the available resources that can be utilised optimally and the job opportunities as well as the occupational structure of the people.

Generally, people living in the rural areas face serious economic hardship before harvesting their main crops. During this transition period the Government agencies concerned with development works can undertake various development programmes, suitable for that locality as well as for the period to provide fuller employment to rural labourers.

The land development work, in the initial phase and the increased absorptive capacity of agriculture, when the development potential of land has been improved should provide fuller employment to rural labourers and of a large number of technical personnels. The second and third round effect of this kind of rural development work on the other sectors of the economy could generate more employment and self-sustained growth all around. In this connection the development potential of Haor areas can be specifically mentioned.

In low lying areas deep water broadcast amon can be cultivated and during boro period a sizeable proportion of amon land can be brought under boro crops by mechanised process of irrigation. This will improve employment absorptive capacity.

By forming co-operative societies in various sectors of rural areas surplus farm and non-farm labour reserve may be employed. In Bangladesh, co-operative cottage industries, poultry firms, fishery farms, etc. can be established to remove under employment and disguised un-employment in rural areas.

Free education upto certain level, the provision of scholarships for the talented to pursue vocational and higher training, Provision of drinking water, sanitation, public health facilities, slum clearance, etc. will create an environment for the expansion of employment opportunities.

Table 1
Income Per-Capita by Level of Poverty and by Tenurial Status,
Occupation and Employment Status

(Tk. in 73-74 Prices)

Household Types	Income above Poverty Level	Income below Poverty Level
1. Tenurial Status		
Owner Farmer	1,389	349
Owner-cum-Tenant Farmer	1,117	365
Tenant Farmer	892	355
Labourer	1,021	283

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2. Occupation and Employment

Status

Farmers	1,302	360
Wage Earners	867	285
Trade and Business	1,709	317
Transport Owners	2,160	298
Salary Earners	1,168	398
Others	1,217	206
TOTAL	1,287	341

Table 2

**Percentage Distribution of Population by Level of Poverty and
by Tenurial Status, Occupation and Employment Status**

Household Types	% of Popula- tion above Poverty Level	% of Popula- tion below Poverty Level	Total
1. Tenurial Status			
Owner Farmer	13.66 (25)	41.22 (75)	54.88
Owner-cum-Tenant Farmer	5.09 (21)	19.71 (79)	24.80
Tenant Farmer	0.40 (10)	3.72 (90)	4.12
Labourer	1.41 (9)	14.79 (91)	16.20
2. Occupation & Employment Status			
Farmer	15.56 (25)	47.88 (75)	63.44
Wage Earners	1.26 (7)	17.55 (93)	18.81
Trade & Business	1.28 (17)	6.37 (83)	7.65
Transport Owners	0.04 (11)	0.31 (89)	0.35
Salary Earners	2.26 (26)	6.29 (74)	8.55
Others	0.17 (14)	1.04 (86)	1.21
TOTAL :—	20.56	79.44	100.00

Figures within the parentheses are relative proportion in percentage.

TABLE 3
Percentage Distribution of Income by Level of Poverty, by
Tenurial Status, Occupation & Employment Status

Household Types	% of Income above Poverty Level	% of Income below Poverty Level	Total
1. Tenurial Status			
Owner Farmer	35.45 (55)	28.86 (45)	64.31
Owner-cum-Tenant Farmer	10.63 (44)	13.43 (56)	24.06
Tenant Farmer	0.66 (21)	2.47 (79)	3.13
Labourer	2.69 (26)	7.82 (74)	10.51
2. Occupation & Employment Status			
Farmers	37.86 (54)	32.19 (46)	70.05
Wage Earners	2.04 (18)	9.36 (82)	11.40
Trade & Business	4.07 (52)	3.78 (48)	7.85
Transport Owners	0.14 (45)	0.17 (55)	0.31
Salary Earners	4.93 (51)	4.68 (49)	9.61
Others	0.38 (49)	0.40 (51)	0.78
Total :—	49.42	50.58	100.00

Figures within the parentheses are relative proportion in percentage.

TABLE 4
Dependency Ratio by Level of Poverty and by Tenorial
Status, Occupation and Employment Status

Household Type	Dependency Ratio above Poverty Level	Dependency Ratio Below Poverty Level
1. Tenorial Status		
Owner Farmer	3.24	4.06
Owner-Cum-Tenant Farmer	3.45	3.31
Tenant Farmer	3.21	2.80
Labourer	2.22	3.28
2. Occupation and Employment Status		
Farmers	3.31	3.66
Wage Earners	2.20	3.42
Trade & Business	3.63	3.73
Transport Owners	2.00	4.38
Salary Earners	3.00	3.93
Others	2.38	2.81
Total :—	3.19	3.62

Table 5
Size of Assets per Capita and Distribution of Total Farm Assets by
Level of Poverty and by Tenorial, Status, Occupation and Employment

Household Types	No. of Household.	No. of Population	Total Farm Assets (in Tk.)	Size of Assets Per-Capita (in Tk.)	% Distribution of Total Farm Assets
1. Tenorial Status.					
Owner Farm					
* (a)	249	1,553	5,650,223	3,638	24.03
* (b)	693	4,685	11,000,485	2,348	46.79
Owner-Cum- Tenant Farmer					
(a)	82	579	1,841,822	3,181	7.83
(b)	292	2,240	4,302,574	1,921	18.30
Tenant Farmer					
(a)	10	45	36,646	814	0.16
(b)	69	423	245,999	582	1.05
Labour					
(a)	40	160	51,172	320	0.22
(b)	339	1,681	379,643	226	1.61

2. Occupation & Employment						
Farmers	(a)	281	1,769	6,719,103	3,798	28.58
	(b)	778	5,442	12,804,706	2,353	54.47
Wage Earners	(a)	30	143	81,825	572	0.35
	(b)	367	1,995	1,252,590	628	5.33
Trade & Business	(a)	26	145	307,257	2,119	1.31
	(b)	125	724	712,783	985	3.03
Transport Owners	(a)	2	4	296	74	0.00
	(b)	5	35	50,163	1,433	0.21
Salary Earners	(a)	38	257	460,578	1,792	1.96
	(b)	91	715	1,049,910	644	4.47
Others	(a)	4	19	10,804	569	0.05
	(b)	27	118	58,549	496	0.25
Total	(a)	381	2,337	7,579,863	3,243	32.24
	(b)	1,393	9,029	15,928,701	1,753	67.76
Grand Total		1,774	11,366	23,508,564	2,068	100.00

* (a) Indicates above poverty level.

* (b) Indicates below poverty level.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RURAL BANGLADESH

Analysis of the rural class structure and the question of social change

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Abstract

The paper seeks to analyze the prevailing class structure in the rural society of Bangladesh using mainly the principal criterion of the pattern of ownership of the land-holding. Then the paper analyzes the historical trends to comment on the pre-dominance of a particular type of mode production *vis-a-vis* objective forces of history.

The second part goes to set the strategy for social change based on the identification of the predominant forces of history. It then raises the question of the necessity of under-taking full bourgeois democratic revolution or finishing the unfinished task of the bourgeois democratic revolution if there be any in order to step into the stage of socialist revolution.

2. Class analysis on the basis of pattern of landownership

There being no dependable current data in this field of the rural study we will have to depend on the outmoded and official informations supplied by—

- i) Government of East Pakistan, Bureau of statistics, 'master Survey of Agriculture,' Seventh round (2nd phase), 1968;
- ii) Govt. of Pakistan, Agricultural census organisation, 'Pakistan census of Agriculture', 1960, Vol—1

and the limited village survey conducted by the BIDS in late 1974. Of course, these informations reveal only a moderate picture of the rural class structure.

For the sake of simplicity one may find three different classes in the rural society viz. small, mediums and large farmers other than

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the bulk of landless rural poor. The dividing lines, subject to variation over time and across regions, may usually be taken to be 2.5 acres and 7.5 acres. The basis for such classification may be justified on the point that within each class, there seems to exist a harmony of interests rather than the conflict, in contrast to the contradictions in between the classes. A tendency for such identity or conflict of interests may be noticed when they come face to face with an attempt of any drastic reform (say land reform) that might affect their class position. They react mostly as a class rather individual in such situations.

Bangladesh farmholdings and Farm areas : The percentage distribution of farms and farm areas may be studied from the following table :—

Table—1

Size (in acres)	Farm (%)			Area (%)		
	1960	1968	1974	1960	1968	1974
Less than 0.5	13	12	32	1	1	2
0.5—1.0	11	13	9	2	3	3
1.0—2.5	27	32	25	13	17	19
2.5—5.0	26	26	22	26	30	34
5.0—7.5	12	9	7	19	18	19
7.5—12.5	7	5	3	19	15	13
12.5 & above	4	3	1	20	16	11

Source : Mentioned as above.

It is clear from table—1 that majority of farms belong to less than 2.5 acres groups with total landholding varying from 16% to 28%. More than 25% of the farms are less than 1 (one) acre and their share in the total holding is 6% and less. On the contrary, only about 10% and less of the farms own 7.5 acres and above but their share lies between 26% and 39%. Using the Master's survey of 1968 alone, we see that 79% of the total farm holding of the villages is owned by the middle and rich peasants (i. e. owning more than 2.5 acres) who comprise only 43% of the total farm holdings area where as small peasants (owning less than 2.5 acres of land) own only 21% of the farm area.

This brings out the glaring skewness of the distribution of the property in rural Bangladesh.

As for the tenural arrangements, three broad categories may be observed from the table below viz. owner farms, owner-cum-tenant farms and tenant farms, (using 1960 Agriculture census data) :

Table—11

Bangladesh : Land Tenure arrangements :

Types of the tenural arrangements	Average size of the farms (1960)	percentage of farms (1960)
Owner-Farms	3.1	61
Owner-cum-Tenant farms	4.3	37
Tenant farms	2.4	2
Total	3.5	100

Farm Area (Percentage)
(1960)

Owner operated	82
Tenant operated	18
i) Cash	2
ii) Share Cropped	16

Source : Agriculture census, 1960.

As per 1960's Agricultural census, owner farms accounted for 61% of the total farms, owner-cum-tenant farms 37% and pure tenant farms—only 2%. In terms of area operated, only 18% were tenant operated of which 16% being share-cropped. Classes of rural society as defined basing both on property relations and tenural arrangement have the tendency to form two moderately distinct groups the 'dominating' and 'dominated'. Usually rich and the upper middle class peasants comprise the dominating group and extract surplus from the dominated groups comprising of small peasants and landless agricultural labours by dint of their dominance founded by their favourable property relations and the associated socio-political positions as manifested through their kinships, access to socio-political power, local and urban centres of administration and command over social and economic staying power.

The forms and mechanism of the extraction of surplus (i. e. the exploitation) may be identified as follows :—

i) Extraction from rental on land and/or draft power and implement and the hiring of labour. As evidenced from the table—11, as per 1960's agriculture census, 2% of the farm area was under the pure tenancy a system with fixed rents, the farms here were operated on the basis of family labour for own consumption.

ii) Extraction of the surplus through share-rental, money landing (i. e. realization of interest in Cash and Kind), forward sale and purchase of crops taking advantage of the peak and lean seasonal price differentials, overpricing of inputs in scarcity period, under-selling of productive assets in distressing situation (e. g. famine, riots etc.).

iii) Depressing the wages of agricultural labours (as they are not organised under trade unions) to the sub-sistence level, misuse of the command over economic staying power (e. g. Arbitrary price fixation of operational and reserve capital).

iv) Malpractices and corruption by the dominated group with the association of the other members of the same group, local and urban elites and members of the administration (e. g. black marketing of agricultural inputs, food grains in alliance with the ration dealers etc.).

v) Exploitation by virtue of the socio-political positions :

a) A rich peasant is usually a 'samaj' chief with a large number of followers tied up with him for property relationship, tenural relationship, kinship etc. He has an easy access to political and administrative quarters. He often plays the role of an agents and takes good share for him Thus—

i) He very often makes auction of disputed lands of the small peasants conspiring with the *Tahsilders* and grabs it by being the highest bidder.

ii) Similar links with the O/C, C/O, Lawyers etc. open up new roads of exploitation for him.

iii) He often takes bribe for partial judgement in the village 'SALISH'.

(b) A rich peasant is very often elected as the Chairman/Member of the Union Council, or nominated as the Chairman/Member of the Relief Committee, Agricultural Co-operatives etc. In all these positions, he is at his liberty to misappropriate funds (i. e. revenue collected and Works Programme and Relief Fund etc.) and misuse his socio-administrative position.

(c) A dominant peasant is usually chosen to be the 'care taker' of the mosque or the distinguished agent of a religious 'Peer'. He never fails to take his share from the funds raised from poor peasants in alliance with the *Imam* or some other 'sub-Matbars'.

(d) As a secretary of the Educational Institution, he misappropriates income from the landed property belonging to the school/College or takes commission from the Govt. Grants in alliance with the Headmaster, Principal or local officials.

This is clear from the above discussion that an acute form of exploitation is going on in the rural Bangladesh in the forms of inter class transfer of the surplus. Dominated class is the victim of such exploitation. With certain amount of qualification, one can safely conclude that the surplus value is paid by the dominated class in the form of labour. So 'Labour' is being exploited by feudal relations (i.e. the dependency-dominance relations) and capital (both domestic and international). Bureaucratic exploitation is also noteworthy the exploitation is very complex and subtle and it is very difficult to reveal the actual mechanism of exploitation. But this is true that labour is overwhelmingly exploited by other factors of production and the origin of the process of such exploitation dates back to the antiquity. As such labour has lost its spontaneity and creativity along with its inherent collective spirit due to these bondages noteworthy. And here lies the explanation of the present state of under-development of the rural society of Bangladesh.

3. The State of the mode of Production

A close examination of the forms and mechanisms of expropriation of the surplus from the dominated class by the dominating one reveals a mixed picture. The items (i), v(a-iii), v(c) and v(d) of the above fall under Feudal production relations. The

items (ii), v(a) i, ii) v (b) etc. fall under the semifeudal type of production-relations. The rest fall under capitalist mode of production both domestic i.e (iii) and international-iv, v (b). The qualification 'semi' here does not mean half but the embryonic presence of the next higher stage i.e. capitalism within the feudal relations.

Once the existing modes of production identified, one must attach weight to different types of prevailing production-relations to find the ascendancy of a particular one. This is very vital for a political strategist. And here we enter into the current debate : which type of the mode of production is most dominant? Analysts like Abu Abdullah (i) and Dr. Akhlaqur Rahman (ii) argue that production-relations of rural Bangladesh are more capitalistic rather than semi-feudal and the penetration of capitalism in rural society is significantly predominant. But according to another group of analysts the penetration of capital is limited and the dominant mode of production is semi feudal (12) along with a strong component of international mercantile capitalism penetrating through foreign aid, banking, transport and other foreign private investments. According to this group of analysts the manifestations of the feudal relations are noticed in the cultures, beliefs and individualistic outlooks in different activities of our people, the absence of investible surplus in our rural economy and increased dependence on foreign capital.

A generalization as regards the pre-dominance of a particular type of mode of production should be done, however, with some reservations due to the following reasons :

a) No rigorous survey has yet been conducted embracing all aspects of rural i.e. econological, sociological, ethnic, anthropological etc. which could be used as the basic data for quantification of the extraction of the surplus. Unless such studies and subsequent quantifications are made, one should not be over-enthusiastic to give any undue ascendancy to any of the modes of production.

b) All villages of Bangladesh are not similar and they do not have similar social expressions. Village Zingira which is near to Dacca will have certainly a different state of social development than that of remote village in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

c) Exploitation is very complex and not that between different classes. Keeping in mind these limitations, one should go for assigning absolute ascendancy to any type of mode of production.

4. Analysing the Historical Trends of the Mode of Production :

In absence of an accepted quantitative expression of the exact position of the rural mode of production and the consequent extraction of the surplus from the dominated class, one may like to make historical insight to find the historic trends and then comments on the possible state of the mode of production for an objective analysis of the rural social classes and the historical forces working over time.

The early rural society of Bangladesh composed essentially of isolated and self-contained villages. Their production system was very simple and primitive. And much of the sluggishness and under-development of the early rural society according to Mark (9), had direct co-relation to this simplicity of this production-relation. They were developing in their own style without any outside interference. Domestic feudalism was thus growing on these rural bases. But this spontaneous formation of domestic feudalism had been abruptly disturbed since early 12th century by a centrally superimposed state feudalism of Turkish, Afgan and Moghal rulers. The rent collectors and administrative agents of the central Govt. sometimes came in conflict with the local feudal chiefs. In such cases of conflict, people always stood for domestic feudal lords whose exploitation was not that harsh. During the last phase of decaying Moghal rule, there emerged a middle class bourgeoisies (mostly commercial) around whom the rural poor clustered. A situation was developing when modern technology could penetrate into rural society. But the 'middle class', could not make use of this historic opportunity of developing local capitalism due to their lack of connection with production. In the meantime the death signal of the Moghal rule could correctly be read by their agents and hence most of the subadars, Zamindars etc. revolted against the central rule. Local feudal lords joined their hands with them and base of feudalism was better consolidated.

Middle class in the formative stage of bourgeoisie were easily overpowered by the feudal class due to their inherent weakness :

- i) They had feudal mercantile background.
- ii) They did'nt come across European type renaissance.

So feudalism remained in rural Bangladesh. Again when the possibility of an organised national revolution of the bourgeoisie with the alliance of the peasants and workers was flickering, the emergence of British rule again hampered that normal growth. The British rule, being more interested in their commercial transaction, better co-operated with the feudal class to suppress the spontaneous growth of local capitalism that might complete with their capitalist products. As such feudalism further consolidated in rural Bangladesh. The consolidation of feudalism (in Bangladesh context it is defined as a type of culture and society where landownership is the basis of political and economic power (ECONOMIC HISTORY REVIEW-XVIII 1948) not only facilitated British colonialists to exploit directly in alliance with the Zamindars (given permanent status after permanent settlement in 1973 through rent collection and '*Neel Chash*' etc) but also made vulnerable grounds for the penetration of foreign capital. The village chiefs mostly rich peasants continued to serve Zamindars (who in turn served foreign capitalists) by forming an invincible social pyramid with the help of their favourable economic power, political influences and the social command deriving from the kinship. The roots of feudal production relations continued to serve overtime. The so-called national bourgeoisie (with feudal backgrounds) played the role of '*parasites*' rather than their historically assigned progressive role. Thus rather than co-operating with the peasants who were making sporadic upsurge, the bourgeoisie compromised with the colonial power to perpetuate the same process of exploitation by the international capital in the name of political independence in 1947. In fact, where there developed some contradictions between the Hindu and Muslim Zamindars, the so-called national bourgeois were used by the Muslim Zamindars to fight for independence. Zamindars did not come to the pictures only to deceive people who were aware of their exploitation. As such capitalism could not develop in the natural process and the feudal relations continued to survive.

The 1950 Act of the abolition of Zamindari system (which was more or less a political stunt to get support from the small and middle peasants) did not bring any structural change in the rural society. With a land ceiling of 33 acres of land, one cannot expect a drastic change in the rural social pyramid. But this had certainly some other effects. The Act vastly affected the Hindu Zamindars and rich peasants, who better left the country in early fifties. The excess land went to the rich Muslim peasants and a few urban based bourgeois, bourgeois (mostly petty and commercial) who had illusive connection with the administration. The rich and middle peasants and other urban gentry with rural roots, got hold of the 'commanding heights' of the rural economy. They continued to expropriate surplus like the feudal lords but did not have real attraction for the improvement of the cultivable land. They rather chose to be better agents of international mercantile capitalists. Of them, came out the comprador bourgeois who were earning profits without much affinity for or having connection with the actual system of production. The rich peasants of North Bengal are better examples of such class. This classes later developed fast and made use of the working class for their ends. We will come to that later. In the meantime, the rural status-quo remained as it is until Ayub Khan emerged in our national scene who only further consolidated the historic forces existing in rural economy. The military bourocratic complex, with the direct patronage of the foreign capital made better grounds for feudal and international capitalist exploitation. Ayub Khan raised the land ceiling upto 100 acres from that of 33 acres so that rich peasants could be better consolidated. Simultaneously the gates of the national economy were opened to the Foreign Capital, Foreign Aid, Transport, Banking, Trade over-invoicing of imports etc., which began to penetrate mostly through the 'parasite' class (who have good links with the administration rather than production). Not only that Ayub's favour to the *BASIC DEMOCRATS* further consolidated the political and administrative footholes of the rich & middle peasants. The blank cheques given to the Basic Democrats as regards handling of huge fund, agricultural inputs, credit etc., made them grab a huge unearned surplus which they again invested in land buying

and consumed in conspicuous consumption. Hence local capitalism could not grow out of the rural investible surplus.

So throughout the Pakistan period, we see the attempts to maintain the historic statusquo to perpetuate double exploitation (i) local feudal (ii) foreign capitalist.

Interestingly enough, the story is not much different in independent Bangladesh. The struggle for emancipation of the masses that was developing on its own in absence of a committed progressive leadership as (the communist and left forces fail to rise upto the occasion), was abruptly taken over by the comprador bourgeois of Bangladesh (who could not compete with the West Pakistan comprador class as state power was always in their favour) and led the independence movement for their own purpose. The motives became clear when the "parasites" simply transferred the centre of 'international capitalism' and plundered the national wealth by putting those at the helm of production who had no connection with production. They too did not disturb the balance of the rural statusquo as reflected in their hypocrisy in the name of land reform with a ceiling of 100 *bighas*. Alamgir makes the points more pinpointing. The ruling elite was successful in using the plea for post-war reconstruction for pushing off any pressure for making fundamental structural changes in the village society which would disturb the statusquo too much. The national leadership basically continues to be urban based and the link with the village society exists through some local members of the parliament or local party leaders who belong to the relatively large landed interest groups and exercise influence in the local power structure through their agents drawn mostly again from large farmer and middle farmer groups (2). Thus extraction of surplus from the dominated groups both by local feudal/semi-feudal relations and international capital continued even after independence. Although, such exploitations were going on there were few remarkable achievements on the part of the working mass, viz,

- i) People have achieved certain democratic rights though their participation to the independence struggle, mostly of which were again snatched away later.

- ii) Nationalization : Some of the key industries were nationalised (under whatever historic circumstances) and worker's participation in their management cannot be ignored.
- iii) That the people are important and nothing can be done leaving them aside is felt by all who ever came to power. They have to make certain public commitments unlike Franco regime.

Of course, these achievements were often misinterpreted and their qualities sometimes were degraded.

The recent changes in the national politics also seem to have not disturbed the historic balance of domestic and foreign exploitation. Nothing has been done to break the rural statusquo or the international capitalist dependency relations. In fact the power bases of the rural rich are further consolidated through the deceptive means like popular '*Shawnirvar*' movement, Population Control through material incentives, with the foreign pattings and capital keeping the social relations as it is. Besides, the process of denationalization, invitation of foreign capital under liberalized investment policies, the inflow of foreign capital in Food for works programmes and the introduction of modern inputs etc, are simple indicators of the presence of foreign capital in Bangladesh. And all these exploitations, both domestic and international are being consolidated day by day.

Hence studying the historical trends, one is tempted to conclude that feudal mode of production in more sophisticated forms (which may be taken as semi-feudal) has historically been persisting in rural Bangladesh under the direct and indirect patronage of international capitalism. Hence role of foreign capital seems to be very decisive.

But this should not mislead one to whole scale generalization and assign absolute ascendancy to any one of the mixed modes of production. The penetration of capital from international sources has not only maintained the feudal relations, but also dismantled them wherever necessary to make room for development of capitalist mode of production. The introduction of HYV technology is a point in question. The tendency of the rural people is no doubt towards use of modern technologies, but

most of them being at below poverty line, cannot opt for that. This is true that a tendency is there towards capitalist mode of production and a fast process of disintegration of the rural feudal relations is on progress. But the vices of the age-old feudal cultures and exploitation are with-holding the process. Here again an analyst must be cautious enough about his limitations regarding quantification of exploitation, heterogeneity of rural economy, socio-anthropological variations and the shrewdness of exploitation, because on the correct assessment of these historic forces existing in the rural society, will depend the setting of desirable strategy for social change.

5. The Question of Social Change

Once the objective forces of history i. e. the state of the modes of production along with the ascendancy of the dominant one, are clearly identified it becomes easier for a political leadership committed for a social change to set an appropriate strategy.

From our analysis of the rural class structure, we have seen that considerable controversy still prevails as to the exact situation of these historical objective forces. While a group say that the capitalist mode of production is dominating the rural society, the other find age-old feudal exploitation still persists in the changed framework of semi-feudal mode of production in alliance with neo-colonial forces of international capitalism. And for that matter controversy also evolves round the setting of strategy.

Whatever may be the controversy, this is true that in a situation like that any piecemeal efforts for social change will definitely fail as there will be stiff resistance from the dominating groups who will be backed by international comprador capital. Hence a 'big push' or a 'critical minimum political efforts' is a historical necessity to gain ground in the face of resistance from both within and outside. This dialectical process of social change should be so organised that it dismantles all the impediments to change and at the same time temper the people to consolidated the emerging social relations in a systematic framework for ultimate liberation of the labour from all kinds of subjugation in order to bring back its spontaneity and collective spirit which is

so vital for social progress. The process of social change should be so chosen that the emerging changes must give birth to the desired institutions and cultures for accommodating continuous new changes and at the same time combat the forces of resistance that might reappear and regroup to inhibit the social change. So the process should be continuous and must make those (for whom the struggle is to be waged) conscious about this contradiction before finally stepping into that struggle.

6. The Strategy

Those who define that capitalist mode of production is predominating the society, obviously go for outright political strategy of socialist revolution.

But those who believe that semi-feudalism and neo-colonialism dominated the socio-economic scene, go for a two phase strategy:

(a) The first phase of bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat (i. e. the communist party) with the alliance of the national bourgeois, petty bourgeois intellectuals and people from other walks of life to uproot the semi-feudal and neo-colonial exploitation. This will actually be transitional stage of new democratic 'ante-chamber of socialism' where preparation will be made for the introduction of the socialism. This, they want to do under the communist party's leadership and under the banner of 'United Front' comprising of remolded or semi-remolded bourgeois intellectuals, businessmen, experts and, of course, the peasants and the workers in the frontline. Through this revolution, they want to seize power and ultimately go for (b) socialist revolution.

Both the strategies discussed as above seem to have certain type of bias developed due to the over emphasis on theory rather than practice and undue tendency towards superimposition of the blue-print of revolutions from other societies. As such, there remain some dangers of over and under stressing of some objective forces of history, which may again create confusion among the mass and the left forces. And the present situations are in no way contradicting that apprehension. This is true that there still prevail feudal, semi-feudal and even pre-feudal modes of production in significant proportion. This is also true

that capitalist production is fast overpowering the earlier modes of production. Hence an outright socialist revolution without going through a certain preparatory stage will be as dangerous as one which wants to go for a prolonged bourgeois democratic revolution knowing fully the comprador class characters of our bourgeois devoid of any revolutionary character including its origin. In fact the later strategy ignores the following realities :—

- (i) That there were some achievements on the part of the progressive forces in the form of certain democratic achievements during the last 'comprador bourgeoisie' led national revolution during their active participation in that war. That there were some achievements of that kind are well understood when we see that whoever comes to power makes certain public commitments (say talking about in election Labour policy, right of expressions etc.)
- (ii) The denationalization of key industries (vz., Adamjee Ltd.) may not be possible under any circumstances, speaks well about the prevailing strength of the left forces.
- (iii) The demonstration of the co-operation of the people and the armed forces on 7th November in Dacca streets, cannot be ignored by any quarter, what I want to mean by bringing all these into picture is that, one need not wait for the long and bitter full bourgeois democratic revolution on the ground that our 'bourgeois' will not play the progressive role as expected due to their comprador nature and links with the international capital, (not to speak of their origin) and there have already been some achievement in this front.

So ultimately we are face to face with the question as to how far the task of bourgeois democratic revolution has been finished or yet to be finished or whether we are in the primary stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution. On this will really depend the strategy of future progressive revolution for social change.

From the analysis one may be convinced that there had been a truncated bourgeois democratic revolution in Bangladesh. And accepting the fact that most of the bourgeois due to their class character and origin will usually co-operate with the

international capitalism, and they have limited potentialities to serve the progressive purpose, the committed leadership can go for a socialist revolution with a prephase of finishing the unfinished tasks of bourgeois revolution at the same time consolidating forces of change for ultimate socialist reconstruction. This strategy would not be a historically wrong approach if we can grasp the underlying truth of Lenin's saying that there is no chinese wall in between the bourgeois democratic revolution and socialist revolution. Socialist revolution can easily accomodate the slogans and programmes of that unfinished tasks of bourgeois Democratic Revolution. The actual strategy will infact be evolved in the field out of practice and involvement depending on the prevailing objective forces of history. And that is what the scientific approach for social change is expected to be.

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SELF-RELIANT RURAL BANGLADESH- PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

A case study of Swanirvar Movement

M. A. CHASHI

Introduction

The paper attempts to describe the basic philosophy and approach of the Swanirvar movement. It touches briefly on various local efforts at self-reliance development made within the country leading to the launching of the National Swanirvar Movement in September, 1975. It outlines the decisions taken in the first (Sept. 1975) and the second (Jan. 1976) National Conferences. It describes briefly the activities of a series of work camps held in a village in each thana in the country to demonstrate the objectives of Swanirvar programme.

The paper also analyses the basic strategies adopted by the Swanirvar Movement to achieve its objectives.

It concludes that the Swanirvar movement still is in an experimental stage & that is too early to make any assessment of the results. There is an increasing enthusiasm amongst a widening circle of motivated people (both officials and non-officials) in achieving the goals of the movement. Perhaps, in this lies a hope that Rural Bangladesh may find a self-reliant path for its own development.

The goal both overall and individual self-sufficiency

The word "Swanirvar" in Bengali means self-reliant or dependent on one's own self. In the context of the Swanirvar Movement, the term has been used in its broadest sense, meaning self-sufficiency in income on the part of the nation as a whole, as well as self-sufficiency at each level of society starting from home base to the national level. To be more precise, an overall national self-sufficiency is not the sole goal as even after the attainment of such goal a large segment of people, individually or area-wise, may continue to depend on others or on the

economy as a whole. The programme stands to make each family, each village, each union, each thana, each sub-division, each district, and the nation self-sufficient. The goal is to try to make as far as possible all these strata self-reliant in every aspect of their need.

But taking into consideration the present constraints, the initial aim is to achieve self-sufficiency in food by increasing production while reducing population growth simultaneously. This is to be achieved through greater community awareness, involvement and participation in its own development process.

Better use of scarce resources

The basic philosophy which dominates the programme is an awareness that at this stage of national development the resources are limited, supply of inputs for production is scarce, their availability is often neither adequate nor timely; too much reliance on outside help is not wise as it seldom comes in the hour of need nor is it consistent with the prestige and honour of an independent nation. In the circumstances, the people are to gird up their liens and strive for higher yields by better management of the available resources. This does not mean that serious and effective endeavours to procure increased inputs or to augment other facilities should be given up. While pursuits for all these will be carried on with full vigour, their absence or inadequacy cannot deter the efforts towards higher production. So the basic thrust of the programme is to bring forth all the latent resources inherent in man and nature by conscious, intelligent, rigorous and co-operative efforts and to put them to full and judicious use by better management. Elimination of waste at all levels of production is another vital aim. World-wide experience in farm management tends to suggest that it is possible to increase yield by better management even under situations of input constraints. So the programme emphasises better management of input and not its mere increase.

Evaluation of Swanirvar movement from below

This programme did not originate as a grandiose scheme emanating from the top. Its origin was humble. Like any movement, it evolved in different places at different times to

give shape to nation's search for a self-respecting road to development. Certain landmarks in its evaluation can be mentioned.

Even before the liberation of the country, while the political battle for independence was being fought, some attempts had been made to experiment with local models for economic development through self-reliant efforts.

(a) The Comilla Model (1961)

One such attempt was made in BARD, Comilla, in the sixties under the leadership of Dr. Akhtar Hamid Khan. A model for integrated rural development was designed there for developing local institutions as well as a machinery for a partnership between the officials and the local people in the task of development. The vision was to modernise the rural areas around a self-reliant and self-regulated two tier co-operative programme.

(b) The Rangunia Replication (1967)

This model was replicated in Rangunia when an attempt at 'turning the beggars hands into those of a worker' was made in Rangunia Thana of Chittagong District as early as November, 1967.

A flood had destroyed crops in that area. The people instead of extending their hands for relief, decided to introduce the Comilla programme on the basis of self-reliance and started a well organised recropping programme in the now-famous Gumai Beel area where the partnership between the officials and the people in this self-reliant task was successfully demonstrated.

(c) Roumani effort (1971)

Similar though less spectacular attempt was made in 1971 in Roumani Thana of Rangpur district which was free from the clutches of the Pakistan Army during the liberation war. A rural development effort with almost no outside resource had been initiated there during that period.

(d) Rangpur Swanirvar Karmasuchi (1973)

More intensively organised and sustained efforts were launched in May, 1937 in Rangpur district under the leadership of a local DAFO and his wife. This movement for total village development on self-reliant basis has given birth to outstanding swanirvar villages

like Kujipukur and Batashan Durgapur in Rangpur district. It developed village organisations and Committees which were different from the Comilla model.

(e) Chittagong District self-sufficiency Programme (Jan. 1974)

A district-wide thrust for self-reliant development was first made in Chittagong on January 10, 1974 when a programme called 'Sonali Shaw' of the Golden Hundred was launched.

The aim was to wipe out the food deficit of the district and eventually turn it into a surplus area and thus to boost up *per capita* family income and generate more employment in the area.

(f) Comilla Sabuj-Flood recovery programme (Aug. 1974)

7. Around the middle of 1974 a devastating flood engulfed the country and caused extensive damage to the crops. This crisis led the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) Comilla, alongwith local leaders and social workers to chalk out a rehabilitation scheme on the lines of Chittagong programme for the flood affected people in Comilla. This project was named 'Sabuj'.

(g) Other District Programme (1974-75)

The launching of the Comilla Project drew immediate attention of neighbouring areas and similar projects started coming up in district after district. As a result, programmes like Sufala Noakhali, Shyamal Sylhet, Urbara Mymensingh, Swarnasheela Chittagong Hill Tracts, Swabalambai Faridpur, Unnata Kushtia, Swayamber Jessore, Agrani Rajshahi, Swanirvar Dacca, Samridha Khulna, etc. came into existence.

All the projects were functioning more or less in an isolated manner. In view of their success and the enthusiasm which they had generated it was felt that all these programmes should be co-ordinated and integrated under a well knit national umbrella.

First National Swanirvar Conference (Sept. 1975)

Thus following a National Conference on 24-25 Sept. 1975, a Swanirvar National Movement was launched and a six tier

organisational structure for the movement came into existence. At the apex of the structure is the National Committee of Swanirvar Bangladesh, which is responsible for devising ways and means of co-ordinating and accelerating the pace of the programme. The other tiers are located at village, union, thana, sub-division and district levels. Each tier has a committee of its own and each aims at attaining self-sufficiency in its area. Areas which have already become self-sufficient are to attempt increasing the yield further and achieve surplus.

Work Camps

To demonstrate the objectives of the movement, work camps have been held at least in one village in each thana of this country. On such occasions officials and non-officials from national level downwards live in a village for a period of 2-3 days.

The officials and non-officials visitors and villagers develop a closer understanding of each other's role in the task of development as they work together even for brief period in various village projects. The projects generally include preparation of seed beds, harvesting of paddy, fish cultivation, cleaning the ponds, weeding of field cultivating vegetables, construction of cattle, bridges and roads, clearing the jungle, vaccination of poultry and participation in adult education and family planning drives, etc.

Second Swanirvar Conference (Jan. 1976)

In order to consolidate the experiences gained in the work camps a Second National Conference of Swanirvar Bangladesh was held in January, 1976. The Conference took the stock of the experience gained so far and suggested future strategy which include interalia (a) emphasis on making co-operative as a basic tool of Swanirvar, (b) organising the Swanirvar movement on non-political and non-partisan basis and (c) necessity of preparing executing a comprehensive village development plan at the village level and thus evolve a model for local planning and for participation by local people and the local experts in its formulation and execution.

Basic objectives of Swanirvar

The Swanirvar Bangladesh programme, therefore, envisages a sustained national effort to make the country self-sufficient (and

ultimately surplus) in food production and also self-reliant in all other sectors of economy. It also aims at a planned population for Bangladesh so that population growth does not set at naught the production and growth in the economic sectors. It aims at fostering community responsibility for ensuring better distribution of the production so that each individual household can become self-reliant and self-sufficient in its income. It also brings into limelight the nations desire to be on its own and to reduce its dependence on external assistance.

Its central focus is on the rural sector and the initial thrust is to create an awareness amongst the rural people about the development possibilities of their individual rural area on the basis of their own resources, supplemented by proper utilisation of under-utilised or unutilised resources, physical and human, official and non-official. It attempts to reduce wastage of such resources through a committed co-ordination mechanism of officials and non-officials at different levels.

Strategies of Swanirvar

The strategies of Swanirvar movement are as follows :—

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| Spirit of Nationhood. | 1. To arouse consciousness about one's nationhood and a sense of pride for one's community. |
| Systemised channeling of the spirit. | 2. To introduce a system for channeling this spirit into constructive lines for self-development. |
| Self-reliant attitude. | 3. To develop a self-reliant attitude through identification and utilisation of un-used, under-used and ill-used local resources (both physical and human, official and non-official) and to reduce wastage due to overlapping and lack of co-ordination. |
| Matching principle. | 4. To develop a matching principle in development. |
| Local planning machinery. | 5. To develop a local planning machinery by use of village planning models for total development to benefit all classes of people in the village. |

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| Role of informal leaders. | 6. To assist the elected and formal leaders of the community, the sharpening of the role in village committees of informal rural leadership like teachers, co-operators, youth workers, women workers, religious leaders, small farmers and landless representatives etc, in the task of development. |
| Integration of local institutions. | 7. To bring all local institutions and all classes and groups of people into an integrative functioning by identification of a common purpose for all in the working of the village Committee. |
| Committed Co-ordination machinery. | 8. To develop an intensive and committed co-ordination machinery at National, district, and subdivision, thana, union and village level through Swanirvar Committees consisting of official and non-officials at each level. |
| Role of officials as 'committed citizen'. | 9. To emphasise the additional role of officials as 'committed citizens' of the country. |
| Horizontal & vertical Co-ordination. | 10. To develop an effective horizontal and vertical coordination system among officials through better understanding and rapport among officials of different departments and also among senior and junior officials of the same department during the course of participation in work camps and in Swanirvar committee work. |
| Rapport between people & officials. | 11. To bring about better rapport between the Government officials and the local people through common partnership in development tasks, through Committee systems and holding of periodical work camps and thereby counteract the elitist attitude generated by our past educational & social systems. |
| Two-way supervision machinery. | 12. To develop a regular and mutually reinforcing supervision machinery through 'one step down' approach of the official wing and 'one step up' approach of the non-official wing of Swanirvar. |

- Local training system. 13. To develop a local training system through participation in joint planning for indentifying common goals and objective and in executing them.
- Local link carde. 14. To develop a link carde of motivated and trained workers at village level specialising in various fields from among :
(a) women (b) out-of-school youth (c) students (d) teachers and (e) co-operators.
- Internal security system. 15. To develop an internal security system through self-controlled village defence mechanism.
- Internal justice system. 16. To develop an internal justice system through village justice committee.
- Towards a model :- 17. To develop, in due course, a model of decentralised and democratic administration and village self-government through total participation of all classes of people in their own development attempting to achieve the twin objective of growth and distributive justice.
- Village self-Government.

Conclusion

The Swanirvar movement is still very much in an experimental stage. Over the past few years, the spirit of self-reliance among the people was manifested in the growth of the movement. The organisational format that has evolved is still undergoing experimentation in the fields.

The Government has announced its support to the movement as a manifestation of its commitment to the goals of Swanirvar. The seven Academic institutions who have been appointed as evaluators of the programme are doing an excellent job of recording the failures and success of the movement at various levels.

It is too early to make any assessment of the results of the movement either in quatitative or qualitative terms. All that can be said is that there is an increasing enthusiasm amongst a widening circle of motivated people (both officials and non-officials) in achieving the goals of the movement. Perhaps in this lies a hope that Rural Bangladesh may find a self-reliant path for its own development.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR SELF-RELIANT BANGLADESH

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I

Self-Reliance

Initial thrust of the self-reliance programmes on raising foodgrain production is understandable. The galloping food-deficit forces the nation to go around the world every year with beggar's bowl for the barest physical survival. It is the most degrading thing that can happen to a nation worth its salt. Adoption of the strategy for attaining food self-sufficiency is only (1) a recognition of the urgency to halt the fast deteriorating economic and political situation arising out of the food shortage, (2) a recognition of the primacy of agriculture in the economy and (3) an appreciation of the potentiality of agriculture, given the resource endowment and the available technology, to expand its production at a relatively fast rate at a nominal or no opportunity cost.

But because of this sharp focus on foodgrain production a general impression has been created in almost all circles that the self-reliance is just another name for food autarky. To view these two terms as synonymous is very damaging to the philosophy of self-reliance. In the present context of the Bangladesh economy food self-sufficiency may be a necessary condition for economic self-reliance, but it is by no means a sufficient condition. Self-reliance is a much more comprehensive and pregnant a concept than simple fulfillment of biological need. Self-reliance covers the whole gamut of ideas contained in what is generally referred to as "economic development". However, these ideas are expressed in a more expressive, action-oriented and direct manner by 'self-reliance'. It is suggestive of deliberate action and of recognition to [the importance of human element and contribution of individuals.

Essentially, self-reliance signifies the nation's struggle to liberate itself from economic dependence, both *international* and

intranational. It puts the accent on using one's own resources in every possible way to generate more resources of one's own. Psychologically and politically it aims at restoring the individual to his full human dignity.

Self-reliant nation is a meaningless concept unless it also means self-reliant households. Without freeing the bulk of the people within the nation from the economic bondage of the economically dominant class national self-reliance cannot be sustained, even if achieved at all, in the face of internal and external political ramifications.

Any discussion on self-reliance must take place within the conceptual framework outlined above.

Self-Reliant Rural Bangladesh

Conventional analytical economics is inadequate to analyse issues and problems of peasant economy of the type prevailing in Bangladesh. Planners and theorists trained in the distinguished western graduate schools, quickly persuade themselves to the idea that progress and prosperity depend on the fast build up of the urbanised industrial centres worthy of the name of 'modern sector'. This sector, they argue, will soon generate so much go-power within itself that it will burst into an expansion which will force the sleepy countryside to shake-off the inertia of the age-old stagnation.

In a predominantly rural society, the process of urbanised industrialisation takes place only at hair-thin margin of the society. No matter how much the process is speeded up, the bulk of the society is destined to remain out of the reach of the process for generations. Then also there is the question of undesirable socio-political consequences of this process.

Distinctions between the urban and the rural societies are so fundamental that any attempt to ignore them will lead to disastrous results. A predominantly urbanised society represents a high level of economic integration—any disturbance in one corner of the economy quickly transmits its effects to other parts. On the other hand, a rural society has a molecular structure; it is a society composed of numerous inward-looking, socially hierarchical, economically self-centred, small communities. These

communities are highly clannish, almost tribal, in their social conduct when it comes to dealing with the world external to themselves. Economic activities for each community are localised. Level of economic inter-dependence among the communities is very low. While urban societies function on the basis of impersonal, fast-adjusting economic relationships, all affairs of rural societies are governed by rigid social values and norms.

Policies and institutions designed for urban societies cannot work the same way in the rural areas as they do in the urban areas. Programmes launched by the national government for the rural areas mostly run around because of the failure to appreciate the rural society and its psyche. From their circumscribed existence the villagers view the national government as a remote ruler who yields to flattery, and is too rich and generous to pay attention to any details in money-matters. They make it a compelling occupation to outsmart the government in every way for fun and profit. Being honest with the government on any matter is regarded as a sure sign of imbecility. With the past performances of the government in terms of its policies, programmes, institutions for and dealings with the villagers, they perhaps have come to trust their own assessment of the government.

Out of the realisation of the weaknesses of the conventional approach to rural economic change and also under the pressure of dire necessity in the wake of devastating floods of 1974, a new phenomenon started taking shape in Bangladesh. Instead of waiting for the national government to design plans, local leadership began taking confident steps on their own to design their own plans and implement them to make their areas self-reliant. Implicitly or explicitly they all wanted to transform the beggars 'extending arms into confident productive hands' of a hard-working nation. Successes of some of these programmes were striking.

Encouraged by these spontaneous local efforts national programme of "Shawnirvor Bangladesh" emerged. Taking the lead from its predecessors it took a vow to break away from the conventional folds in its content and approach. It concentrated its operation in the rural areas and urged people to do everything they possibly could with whatever they had without waiting for any assistance from the government to make their areas self-reliant.

Institutional Vacuum

Whatever shawnirvor activities are going on today their full impact is lost to the communities and the nation because of an institutional vacuum. No adequate institutional framework has as yet emerged to translate the intense national desire for self-reliance into appropriate action. Ad-hoc Shawnirvor Committees, which have been formed to do the job, are devoid of any political and organisational chemistry that can make them jell.

Present top-down approach to generate support and action at the grass-root will be self-defeating unless immediate and determined efforts are made to make the body-politic at the village level accept the concept of self reliance and come forward to translate it into its own language of action. Self-reliance will continue to elude us as long as the national government along tries to do all the doing for achieving it. Government machinery cannot make the people self-reliant, only people can make themselves self-reliant if they so wish. Strong commitment from the national level is, of course, a fundamental condition for successful implementation of self-reliance programmes, but the people are the ultimate agents to make things happen.

Bureaucratic approach to rural economic change tacitly assumes that the rural people are passive, fatalistic, uninterested and incapable of undertaking activities to change their lives, and, therefore, need constant prodding, supervision, and spoon-feeding. While this view does not do justice to the reality, the opposite view that the rural people are fully capable and willing to change their lives if only the bureaucrats would leave them alone, is equally unreal. The second view refuses to analyse the class-structure of the rural society and exploitative process within it. Central intervention through institutional designs, legislations and appropriate policy measures must take place to keep the exploiting class under check and let the dispossessed class have a fighting change to free themselves from the instruments of exploitation.

Self-Reliance through Self-Determination

The foremost consideration in an institutional design for self-reliance should be that it allows individuals to realise that they have the effective power to affect the desired changes in their

lives. It needs to be underscored that self-reliance can come only through self-determination. It is true for communities as much as it is true for nations.

Often mentions are made about the concern for people's participation in self-reliance programmes. Mere participation is not enough for making a programme people's own programme. Self-determination involves more than participation it means total identification of the people with the entire process of the programme, from planning to execution.

Arguments for micro-planning, as opposed to macro-planning, also support the case for self-determination at the local level. If conceived as a new *methodology* of planning, micro-planning does not mean anything more than disaggregated, decentralised macro-planning. In this sense, micro-planning is bound to be a bureaucratic exercise. This type of micro-planning will have little qualitative difference from the conventional macro-planning.

If micro-planning is to be meaningful it must be conceived as a new planning *philosophy*: the philosophy of entrusting people at the local level with the responsibility of designing their own fate.

Centralised planning is operational because there is a central government which has the political, administrative and resource capability to implement the plan. Even the micro-plans, in the sense of disaggregated macro-plans, can be implemented by the central government—because they are prepared through its own bureaucratic machinery. But the micro-planning in the sense of new planning philosophy loses its very essence if a plan formulated by the local people is left to be implemented by the central government. Micro-planning can be a meaningful philosophy only when there is a *micro-government* to take the entire responsibility of formulating and executing a plan.

II

Existing Rural Institutions

If one looks around to see if the existing rural institutions can transform themselves into micro-governments for making the self-reliance a reality—one cannot but be disappointed. Prevailing institutions are fragmented, narrow and have built-in mechanism to make it sit on the lap of the fattest.

Under the present institutional arrangements there is a carefully contrived dichotomy between the rural political institutions and the economic institutions. This institutionalised dichotomy has been very conducive for the kulaks in the economic institutions (co-operatives) in shielding themselves off from the fluctuations in the political temperature, and from any kind of political action by the large dispossessed class. While the political institutions (union council) have universal membership, the economic institutions have membership by choice (operationally, however, it only meant membership by design rather than choice). This has made it convenient for the large and medium farmers to organise themselves into some genuine and a large number of ghost co-operative outfits to gulp government favours in the name of rural economy and population. Planning Commission evaluation report on the IRDP (June, 1974) sums up the situation with the following words :

“... .. the co-operative societies have turned into closed clubs of the kulaks. In particular, a village co-operative covers about one-fifth to one-fourth of the total farmers in the village. Membership is dominated by large and medium farmers and the small farmers are grossly under-represented. Leadership in the societies is also dominated by large farmers; medium farmers have some representation, but the small farmers are entirely unrepresented in the leadership. These leaders enjoy a greater share of benefits but their participation, as measured by contribution of share capital and savings, is relatively low. The leaders mostly fail to uphold the basic disciplines of co-operative action.”

From the sanctuary of the co-operative structure the village power-elite continues to further its economic, therefore, political hold on the rural society. Knowing where its interest lies, it bows to the political regime of the day to carry on its business undisturbed. At least in this particular behaviour of the capitalist it demonstrates a striking resemblance with him in the mode of operation. In some way the co-operative outfit has introduced a new form of capitalism—co-operative capitalism—in the rural area.

Union council, which is supposedly the local government at the union level, is an economically important organisation.

Except for carrying out some rural works programme off and on it does not have any role to play in the economy of the area. This again, to the advantage of the power-elites, has helped making the dispossessed classes disinterested in the affairs of the union council which cannot deliver anything for them.

Integrated Rural Development

Village co-operatives neither include *all people* of the village, nor do they include *all land* within its boundary. A co-operative is always an organisation of only *some people* and covers only *some land*. The cementing factor in this organisation is some immediate economic interest, such as, obtaining credit, inputs, irrigation facilities, etc. To expect this type of organisation to be the vehicle of *integrated* rural development one has to be incredibly credulous. Before an organisation can undertake programmes for integrated development it must integrate within itself all segments of people and all dimensions of their lives. First step towards creating such an organisation would be to include in it *all men and all land* within a defined area. Any organisation which is not based on this first principle will be doomed to be a sectarian organisation disqualified for integrated rural development.

Village societies are not composed of 'individuals' in the sense the urban societies are. Government programmes are usually designed to make *each* villager to go to everyone of its offices, departments, directorates for his needs; and at the same time the government sends hordes of its workers and agents from all sorts of ministries and departments to *him*. Being a clannish society topped by a heavy power-crust, individuals are constrained by social factors in dealing on a person-to-person basis. Despite the government's elaborate arrangements to service the individual, in reality, hardly anything or anybody does go pass the power-crust which shields the village society.

The village society has at least four identifiable layers: large farmers, medium farmers, small farmers, and the landless. Policies and programmes which do not take account of this class structure would most likely play into the hands of the power-elite. Past policies can be analysed to show how they

worked to the detriment of the dispossessed masses. The gains arising out of the public policies went to the top few and the losses caused to the rural poor by the same policies far outweigh the gains to the rural rich.

Conflict of interest among these classes must be explicitly recognised before any economic programme or institution is designed. It makes no sense, unless someone finds a sinister design to make a sort of sense, to put classes having opposing economic interests and widely unequal strength in the same organisation to work together. This would only mean formally handing over the interests of the weaker class at the disposal of the stronger class. (Borrowing a Bengali expression, it would be like giving the chickens to the jackal for safe-keeping.)

III

Alternative Institutional Designs

To ensure the participation of people at the local level in the decision-making process some institutional designs can be considered.

Alternative 1 : Simplest form of village organisation can be a popularly elected village council similar to the union council. All political and economic powers will be vested in this council. Advantage of this type of organisation is that the rural population are familiar with the process of electing and running such a council. But the danger in this type of set-up will be that the traditionally exploitative forces will take complete command of this organisation and consolidate their political and economic power with the support from the government.

Alternative 2 : An improved version of the above alternative can be a popularly elected village council with proportional representation from the four economic classes mentioned earlier. Although theoretically it looks attractive, in practice it will have all the possibility of being dominated by the large farmers. Majority members representing the dispossessed classes will not be able to disregard the wishes of the minority (rich) members because individual poor members will likely to be under obligation to the rich members in more ways than one. In fact, the council

will be used by the rich members to further their own interest against the interest of the poor.

Alternative 3 : Each economic class may be organised into a class association at the village level on the basis of universal membership. These associations may be given effective economic powers to organise programmes of their own. They can federate themselves at the thana, district and national level to co-ordinate programmes and activities of each type of class-associations, and strengthen the solidarity of each economic class.

It is doubtful whether these associations will be able to take any meaningful independent programmes on the strength of each association. Class-conflict arises and is sharpened through the interdependence and overlap among the classes in the sphere of economic activities. With each class trying to promote its own interest and without any standing form to take joint decisions, the outcome may take the form of one or the other extreme : either the associations will deadlock themselves in a confrontation or the stronger association will force the other associations into a subservient status.

Alternative 4 : This alternative form is only a variation of the above. In this scheme the class-associations will form a "coalition government" at the village level. Representation in this government, we may refer to it as "Gram Sarkar," should be proportional to the membership strength of each association.

Even if under the present socio-political reality the principle of proportional representation is not found to be a politically feasible proposition, it would still be worthwhile to look for other variations in the representation formula instead of totally discarding the idea of "Gram Sarkar" as a tactical alliance of all classes to work together to pull the nation out of the rut. If the Gram Sarkar is vested with only co-ordinating and clearing powers leaving effective powers lie with the coalescing class-associations, the problem of finding a formula for representation will be less acute.

Whatever may be the representation formula, the class-associations-based Gram Sarkar will still be a better idea than the village council with proportional representation. Because of the existence of the associations there would be better chances of the class-weight being felt in the Gram Sarkar than it would be the

case in the village council where there will be no organisational support to lend weight to the class representatives in the council.

Gram Sarkar

Proposed structure of Gram Sarkar has the desirable properties of a micro-government which can undertake planning and executing of self-reliance programmes. Agricultural programmes can be carried out by an appropriate high-powered committee under the Gram Sarkar. (other programmes, such as, industry, education, health, family planning, public works, etc., can be handled in the similar manner).

A proposed agricultural production strategy under the Gram Sarkar may be as follows :

All land within the boundary of the village will be at the disposal of the Gram Sarkar. Ownership of all land will remain undisturbed, but the right to utilise the land will be vested in the Gram Sarkar. The boundary lines of the plots will be left untouched. Gram Sarkar will assign the plots to the *actual* cultivators. In assigning plots it may go by some set of criteria based on efficiency, ability, discipline and need of the cultivator. Gram Sarkar will be responsible for management and supply all inputs except labour which will be the responsibility of the cultivator. For the management of the farm Gram Sarkar will have a paid full-time staff of a farm manager, a number of block-managers, drainmen, driver, general workers etc. All inputs will be delivered in the field—no one will be allowed to take any input home. All agricultural credit will go to Gram Sarkar, not to any individual.

When the crop is ready for harvest each plot will be divided into three equal parts each to be harvested by one of the three production-partners : Gram Sarkar, the cultivator and the landowner.

For management experience and confidence each Gram Sarkar can initiate its *tebhaga* farming operation, as outlined above, on a smaller area and enlarge it gradually as confidence builds up.

Tebhaga farming is not entirely a theoretician's concoction. Field experiences of *tebhaga* operations are very encouraging. *Kowmiyo Tebhaga Khamar* of Faridpur Academy in Faridpur, *Aramulla Beel Tebhaga Khamar* (Fashal) in Raozan, Chittagong,

and *Nabajug Tebhaga Khamar* in Jobra, Chittagong are all examples of successful tebhaga farms. (Evaluation reports on these farms have been prepared and published by the Department of Economics, Chittagong University). *Kowmiyo Tebhaga Khamar* started its operation in May, '74 with 45 acres of land. Today its operation covers 270 acres. *Aramullah Beel Tebhaga Khamar* (Fashal) is operating for the fifth season since the end of '74 on a 30-acre area. *Nabajug Tebhaga Khamar* was launched in Nov., '75 with a proposed area of 35 acres. But as it went into operation pressures from the enthusiastic farmers increased so much that the area had to be expanded to 85 acres. Farmers who still could not get into the farm made repeated representations to the management to allow them to join. But the management had to limit its operation because of the shortage of irrigation water.

Tebhaga farming can resolve many of the knotty problems of Bangladesh agriculture. With determined efforts from the Government and appropriate village-level organisation this type of farming can be made to work for the benefit of all.

Thana Sarkar

Gram Sarkar will largely be ineffective unless there is a strong, well-equipped and well-staffed organisation at the thana level.

Dacca is on the other side of the world from any village in Bangladesh. It is the thana which carries the message from Dacca to the villagers. The final responsibility of carrying out all national plans, programmes and policies falls on the thana. Although the thana, at the end of a long administrative ladder, is supposed to be the level where action is, it is a poorly organised petty-rivalry-ridden, uninspiring complex of offices.

If self-reliance drive is to be made meaningful the thana must overhauled and re-structured to become the most exciting level of administration in the entire hierarchy of the government.

A beginning in this direction can be made by installing a "Thana Sarkar" in the thana secretariat. Village level class-associations may elect thana level executive committees for the corresponding associations. These thana level class-associations may send their representatives to form Thana Sarkar following the same procedure as in the case of the Gram Sarkar.

A member of the national superior service should be put as Thana *Sachib* to become the chief secretary to the Thana Sarkar. All expertise and back-up support must be made available at the thana secretariat for servicing in the requirements of the Gram Sarkars. Under the self-reliance-through-self-determination strategy thana occupies a pivotal role. Facilities must be built up to prepare the thana to play that role efficiently.

With the thana becoming the focal centre of the rural administration, the role of district administration should be one of co-ordinating and keeping liaison between the central government and the local government. To make this co-ordinating work immediate and direct the district administration should be brought closer to thana. One good idea to achieve this objective would be to limit the district size. Newly formed districts may be, say, six-thana districts as opposed to the present larger ones.

To complete the chain of local governments, a "Jela Sarkar" should be formed to run the district administration. The procedural details may be the same as in Thana Sarkar.

VI

Step by Step

Even if someone does not find the proposals for local government as presented here acceptable, the fundamental issue remain—there is no escape from the fact that we *must* build up new local level institutions appropriate for mobilising our reservoir of productive resource and the greatest source of energy : the man-power.

Local governments, in whatever shapes and sizes they may come, must not be introduced overnight throughout the country. Great caution should be exercised in introducing these new institutions. Gradualism will be a great virtue in this endeavour. Instead of debating over the details for years we should quietly go ahead with a design in one district for pilot testing our apprehensions and expectations.

Shwanirvor is a very inspiring idea. We do not afford to let this idea go sour just because we cannot devise an institutional framework appropriate for it.

SWANIRVAR BANGLADESH-PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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Background

Swanirvar Bangladesh movement is a consolidation of the earlier self-reliant programmes of the various districts of Bangladesh. These district programmes emerged out of a resolute determination to save the country from the devastating effects of the '74 flood. These programmes grew spontaneously at the district headquarters with the patronage of the district officials, public representatives, thinkers, intellectuals and the young generation. Soon the programmes started spreading throughout the nook and corners of the villages of different districts. The thrust of the programmes was on generation of self-confidence at various levels. This self-confidence was translated through a number of self-help activities which were mainly :

- (a) bringing all fallow/khas land under the plough :
- (b) preparation of emergency seed-bed for growing and supplying seed-plants to the farmers of the affected are as ;
- (c) launching of various crop schemes by the schools, madrasas, colleges and universities.

At a later phase, these district programmes concentrated their efforts in the speedier distribution of inputs and in ensuring optimum utilization of the available resources. These programmes have been evaluated by two competent economists : Professor Md. Yunus and Dr. M. A. Hamid Mian of the Chittagong and Rajshahi Universities respectively. The observation of these scholars are : All the districts did not show equal competence in running the programmes due to various reasons. The programmes gradually, became dependent on the quality and the drive of the district administration.

However, the critics had their sympathies for the efforts (that were put) and the growing realisation for a sustained self-reliance. But they did not fail to understand the lack of efforts to institutionalise the programmes.

Swanirvar

Swanirvar means self-reliance ; self-reliance in terms of family unit, village, and ultimately, the country or the nation. Therefore, swanirvar is ultimately, an objective, a socio-political goal. Swanirvar, in 1975, started as a slogan then it entered the far-of villages as a movement. The necessity of such a movement was long felt. After all, the Bangladeshies can not survive as international beggars for all time to come ; because begging and slavery are not different.

The launching of the programme at the village level started by the end of '75. The holding of work camps in the villages has been a novel way of introducing the programme, its objectivity and the philosophy. The work camp was an ideal innovation which caught people's imagination and received sympathies. The participants in these work camps have usually been highly placed government officials, thana level officers, semi-public representatives, college and university representatives, and the villagers. The thrusts at this stage were on :

- (a) creating a rapport with the villagers ;
- (b) introducing the programme ;
- (c) participation in doing manual works ;
- (d) identifying the village problems.

By March, 1976, some such 500 villages are scheduled to be covered through work camps. The novelty of the programme is the creation of an in-built system of evaluation. The universities of Dacca, Rajshahi, Chittagong and Mymensingh, and institutions such as, B.I.D.S. Dacca, D.S. Rajshahi, B.A.R.D. Comilla, and R.A.R.D. Bogra, are entrusted with the responsibility of evaluation and making constructive criticism of the programme.

Survey

Although, a reasonable time period is necessary to be allowed to evaluate the programme, it was felt that some observations and

comments at this stage could possibly be helpful. With this purpose in mind, a short survey was conducted in some 8 swanirvar villages* of Mymensingh district with the following specific objectives :

- (a) to know the reaction of the village people on the programme and the work camps ;
- (b) to observe the response and the sympathies of the "change agents" towards the programme ;
- (c) to assess the quality of efforts in making the programme moving at the village level.

Some 48 people were interviewed taking 6 from each village, 3 of whom were members of the swanirvar village committees/sub-committees, and 3 being the general villagers. The selection of the samples were reasonably random and the interview was conducted by the author himself. The author designed two sets of survey questionnaires wherein closed and open-ended questions were asked. Most of the respondents answered all the questions. The answers, however, were tabulated in a hurry and a report was prepared in Bengali to present it before the central Evaluation Committee on 2nd of March, 1975. An English version of this report will soon be published by the Bureau of Socio-Economic Research, Bangladesh Agricultural University, Mymensingh. Besides this survey, the author also sat in group discussions with the district, sub-division and the thana level officers to assess their sympathies, alertness and actions regarding this programme.

Results and discussion

It revealed that most of these villages had their work camps held only about two months ago.

All the respondents could understand the meaning of swanirvar and could even explain it and comment on it. All of them almost without any reservation expressed their likings to and sympathies for the programme. It appeared that the message had gone through. But in reality a large number of these respondents still then have essentially a relief-receiving mentality.

* Kumargata, Teligram, Dhanikhola (Mymensingh sadar south) ; Musulli, Moksedpur, Char Pakundia (Kishoreganj); Bogali, Ganapaddy (Jamalpur).

Unfortunately, it was mostly true for the members of the committees/sub-committees. They thought such a shift of emphasis from urban area to the village did imply shift of resources and subsidies. It appeared that it needed more efforts to motivate them.

About the work camps almost all the respondents expressed their enthusiasm and they thought every village in Bangladesh should have held such a work camp. They reported that on the average 4,000 to 5,000 people gathered at the work camps in these villages. About 91% of the respondents reported that they were not persuaded by any body: they joined the work camps on their own initiative and enthusiasm. About 45% of them reported that they joined the work camp with a view to develop their village, fishery, agriculture and health facilities. About 12% of them joined the work camp in the hope of getting agricultural inputs; 13% attended to receive knowledge on modern cultivation; 22% went there to know about the programme while about 9% attended to get themselves acquainted with the family planning education.

All the respondents praised the participation of the officers and the outsiders in the work camps. They specially liked their participation in manual works along with the villagers. They thought this was necessary and helpful in breaking the barrier between the villagers and the officers. It was also helpful for the officers in educating themselves on the village problems.

However, quite a number of the villagers raised a few points which could be constructive for the programme:

- (a) work camps should not have any grandeur luxury;
- (b) the thana officers should pay more visits to the villages after the completion of the work camps;
- (c) some of the villagers were also critical about the constitution of the committees/sub-committees; they thought members of these bodies were not selected in an unbiased way and they were the henchment of the U/C chairmen and the circle officers. The following para may help in substantiating this point.

It is interesting to note that 75% of the members of the committees/sub-committees were associated with different village

organisations/institutions as members and chairman. Almost all of them are literate: 5% of them know simple reading and writing; 65% have their literacy level between primary and secondary stages; 30% of them are matriculates or above. It appeared that those villagers who possessed cultivable land were selected as members of the committees, as if possession of land was a criterion of this selection. Forty-five per cent of these members belonged to the category of farmers of the farm size group of 3 acres or below; 55% of the members belonged to the farm size group of above 3 acres. Ninety per cent of these members are farmer-members. It would appear that essentially the land owning class is in the power structure in a community where 70% of the villagers form the class of small/marginal farmers, *Bargadars* and landless agricultural labourers. They do not have any representation or role in the game of power. Neither do the committees have any female representation. Ninety per cent of these committee members became members on their own efforts and willingness and 70% of the members thought that by being members they could enhance their social prestige. Seventy-three per cent of the members thought their membership had increased their responsibility and additional work.

As to the response and sympathies of the "change agents*" towards the programme, it revealed through the interviews and groups discussions that they had an awareness but in reality, their performance fell short of the expectation. Especially, the village committees/sub-committees are not really moving. Neither the thana officials who are at the contact point and the pivots are really moving. The response is slow no doubt and the sympathies are diminishing. A few of the villages constituted the Implementation committee much after the work camps were completed:

A few villages do not have any or requisite number of sub-committees that they should have. The members of meetings and the minutes registers were checked which showed slow progress and lack of purpose and confusion on the part of the committees. The committees in some cases failed to recognise

* Change agents are the thana officers, the village Committees, schools, madrasas and colleges.

the urgency and priorities. They need more motivation, group discussions and drive. About the schools, colleges, madrasas and the youths; these have to be motivated, mobilized and persuaded to participate directly in this developmental process. The thana officers present the same feature. It was revealed through a number of group discussions that all the officers did not have the similar level of response. At the district level, the A. D. C. (Dev.) and D. A. O. are the officials who have the earnestness, response and sympathies. At the lower tier, swanirvar receives attention of the S. D. C. and the S. D. A. O.; and at the lowest tier which is the thana, swanirvar is the baby of the C. O. (Dev.).

It appears that the quality of efforts in making the programme moving at the village level is poor and mixed with confusion, lack of seriousness and diminishing sympathies.

Some comments

It is expected that the following comments and suggestion will be helpful for the programme :

- (a) the emphasis of the programme should be on total village development and not on agricultural development alone,
- (b) all the nation building departments should be involved with the programme and make all efforts to activate their agents at different tiers,
- (c) it needs an integrated approach and the greater necessity is to consolidate and institutionalise the programme at the village level,
- (d) the thana institution should be consolidated and activated and greater amount of supervision, check, and motivation are needed at this point,
- (e) since the thana is the pivot, periodic evaluation of this institution is all the more needed along with the evaluation at the village point,
- (f) planning and priorities are important at the village point wherein the thana officers and the village committees are involved. Some planning guide lines and education/training are necessary,

- (g) implementation of a plan would require authority and control at the village point and, therefore, an effective infrastructure is needed to be created. A "Gram Sarkar" or a village government with some specific powers and functions needs to be immediately created. It appears that in the context of this programme where the developmental unit is the village, the old union council concept loses its meaning and importance to a very great extent,
- (h) last but not the least, maximum emphasis of this programme should be given to improve the condition of the poor 70%. The dimension of the problem demands immediate national attention and its solution does not depend on the village committees alone; in other words, it demands certain vital agrarian reforms which are beyond the jurisdiction of the village. It is definitely a radical land reform which is also referred to; and the least the nation may think of is to limit the size of owner-operating farms and place some amount of land (thus found) under the "barga" system and simultaneously rationalising the existing leasing arrangements and the anomalies.

It is needed to conduct a comprehensive sample survey of the important cottage industries which employ maximum number of village labour force and provide opportunities of larger part of family income. The skill, capital and training contents of these cottage industries should be studied. It is also felt necessary to initiate a number of case studies to identify the survival devices/viable activities some of the members of this poor class have already devised and been practising for their livelihood. These case studies should cover different regions and areas and could be very helpful in designing an activity plan for this class.

It is heartening to note that the swanirvar thinkers have already started thinking on some of these vital issues. Most interesting part of this programme is the collection of village information through house-to-house survey and the forth-coming attempt at evolving a village planning strategy.

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SWANIRVAR (SELF-RELIANT) RURAL BANGLADESH : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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(In writing this paper, I have heavily relied upon the preliminary reports of the Rajshahi and Chittagong Universities Rural Development Projects Evaluation Teams. However, the views expressed here are purely my personal : in no way, the member, of the research team are responsible for any hasty, unauthentic or apocryphal remarks made in the paper).

1. Introduction

Three Types of Swanirvar Programmes Distinguished.

I wish to distinguish between three types of Swanirvar programmes thus :

- (a) Swanirvar Local Programmes (SLP),
- (b) Swanirvar District Programmes (SDP),
- (c) Swanirvar National Programmes (SNP), or 'Swanirvar Bangladesh' as popularly called .

SLPs were established in several localities of Bangladesh for recovering the losses caused by the 1971-Liberation War. I name them 'war baby'. The programmes of Ganamalan (Rajshahi), Kuzipukur (Rangpur) and Shimla (Mymensingh) are some of the examples in point. The SDPs came into being in order to combat the damages caused by the unprecedented floods of 1974. They may, therefore, be termed as 'flood baby'. These programmes were launched under such titles as 'Shabuj' Comilla, 'Sonali Shaw' Chittagong, etc. They drew their basic institutional framework from an "Action Programme for Flood Recovery Operations (APERO)" launched by the BARD (Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development), Comilla. These programmes were later extended to all the other districts of Bangladesh.

The experiences, especially the popularity, of these SLPs and SDPs gave birth to the SNP or Swanirvar Bangladesh. (May I call them 'human baby'?).

Although, in none of these programmes the word 'Swanirvar' has been clearly defined, the objectives, which they strive to achieve, are more or less similar. Some of these are :

- (a) To make the locality/district/nation (as the case may be) Swanirvar through the maximum utilisation of available resources ;
- (b) To create village leadership ;
- (c) To make the family planning programme a success ;
- (d) To promote adult education programme ; etc.

2. Objective of the study

The study will deal with the following aspects :

- (a) Role of Swanirvar programmes in agricultural development ;
- (b) Identification of the main problems of these programmes ;
- (c) Recommendation for the successful operations of the 'Swanirvar Bangladesh' programme.

3. Procedure of analysis

Keeping the above objectives in mind, the evaluation results of six SLPs, two SDPs and one Swanirvar Karma Shibir (Self Reliant work camp) are presented in the sections to follow. The experiences gathered from these studies are produced in section 5. The last section summarises the main experiences and makes an attempt to suggest some guidelines for the Swanirvar Bangladesh Programme.

The following materials provided the basis of the analysis :

- (a) Preliminary reports of Rajshahi University Rural Development Projects Evaluation Team.¹

1. The Research team consists of Dr. M. Azhar-Ud-Din (Economics Department). Mr. Anisur Rahman (Management Department) and Mr. S.M. Habibur Rahman (Economic Department) with the author as the Project Director.

(b) Preliminary reports of Chittagong University Rural Development Projects Evaluation Team.²

4. Evaluation results of different Swanirvar programmes

A. Swanirvar Local Programmes (SLP)

The six SLPs, the evaluation results of which are considered here, are : (i) Ganamilan, Rajshahi, (ii) Kuzipukur Swanirvar Karma suchi, Rangpur (in short, Kuzipukur), (iii) Bogra A. H. University College Swanirvar Kendrio Samabaya Sangstha (in short, Bogra), (iv) Shimla Jautha Khamar (in short, Shimla), (v) Bamoil Co-operative Farm (in short, Bamoil) and (vi) Faridpur Academy (in short Faridpur). In addition, where necessary, reference will also be made to the CORR (Christian Organisation for Relief and Rehabilitation), Rajshahi. For economy of space only the main points are stated in the sections below :

(a) Types of Farming

The types of farming and the arrangements of distribution of output of the six localities under reference are summarised as under :

(i) Ganamilan

Jautha Khamar : In this Khamar boundaries of land are removed.

From the grass produce 1% service charge is deducted and the remaining is distributed between land-owners and management (50-50). Costs are borne by the management.

Tebhaga Khamar : Boundaries are not removed. Input costs (except the cost of labour and plough) are borne by the management. Cultivated by tillers appointed by the management. One-third produce goes to land-owners, one-third to tillers and one-third to management.

Block Khamar : Boundaries are not removed. Costs (except the cost of labour and plough) are borne the management. Two percent service charge plus all the costs of inputs

2. The Research team consists of Mr. Sekandar Khan: Mr. H. I. Latifee, Mr. Muinul Islam, Mr. Abu Taher and others with prof. M. Yunus as the Project Director. All belong to Economic Department.

supplied by the management are deducted. Net profit is divided equally between land-owners and cultivators.³

(ii) **Kuzipukur**

Individually cultivated. But there are power pump groups. Each farmer pays for water according to the production of land he has in the irrigation area.

(iii) **Bogra**

Own land. Lands are cultivated in several blocks. Input costs are borne by the Central Unit. Individual Units pay the costs of production plus 5% surcharge to the Central Unit. Net profit is divided among the participating members.

(iv) **Shimla**

Jautha Khamar : Boundaries are removed. Costs are borne by the management. After deducting the costs plus some levy, the whole amount goes to the land-owners.

(v) **Bamail**

Jautha Khamar : Boundaries are not removed. management bears the costs of production. Output is divided between the management and land-owners on ad-hoc basis.

(vi) **Faridpur**

Tebhaga Kownai Khamar : Boundaries are not removed. Land-owners bear 1/3rd cost plus the cost of excavating canals (if any) on his land and gets 1/3rd produce. The ploughmen and the management also get 1/3rd share each; but they are to bear 1/3rd cost each (in addition to their respective responsibilities).

(b) **Area of Farm, Number of Participants and the Method of Cultivation.**

It has been observed that in all the localities under discussion, there were wide variations in both the areas cultivated

3. This is in fact a CORR model. The people insist that the net profit be divided into three shares, one should go to the land-owners and the other two to the tillers. But this has not yet been materialised anywhere in the CORR Cooperatives.

and the number participated in different years and in different seasons of the same year. Both mechanical and traditional methods of cultivation were employed. The following data exhibit the points.

	Area of land (in acres)	No. of members	Method of cultivation
Ganamilan	126-214	112-169	In all these farms, power tiller, power pump, shallow tube-well, deep tube-well, tractor, and draught animals are employed.
Kuzipukur	around 175	around 125	
Bogra	30-40	180-200	
Shimla	40-100	64-137	
Bamail	19-49	29-72	
Faridpur	45-285	3-340	

(c) Management.

In Ganamilan, Kuzipukur and Bogra, managements are run by two committees, primary committee(s) and central committee. There seems to be single committee system in the other areas. All the decisions are taken by these Committees. Although in some places provisions have been made to include landless peasants but in practice this has been seldom the case. It has also been observed that in most of the farms, management is handled by almost a single person. There are paid employees in all the farms except in Kuzipukur, where a U.A.A. has been deputed by the Rangpur district authority.

(d) Production

The per acre yield in maunds of HYV Boro and Aman crops of 1972-73 and 1973-74 of the six farms are shown below.

	1972-73		1973-74	
	Boro HYV	Aman HYV	Boro HYV	Aman HYV
Ganamilan	36	43	14	Very poor
Kuzipukur	42	30	35	18 (local)
Bogra	35	—	28	—
Shimla	24	10	25	good
Bamail	33	24 (local)	27	—
Faridpur	18	—	16	—
	(ground nut)		(Wheat)	

It is clear from this table that although the per acre yields of all the farms (except shimla) were higher than Bangladesh average in 1972-73, they went below the national average in the following year. The reasons for this declining trend are given in section (k) below. It may be added here that SLPs have important impact on the cropping intensity: it was observed that in all farms, farmers were producing more than one major crops in a year.

(e) Distribution.

SLPs do not have desirable impact on distribution of income. Available data suggest that it is comparatively the big farmers who have got maximum benefit from the HYV technology, because of their easy access to financial resources. Consequently, in many farms, it has been seen that the big farmers have become bigger but the small farmers have been lagging behind.

(f) Employment.

It is now an established fact that the HYV technology needs at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ times more labour than the traditional variety. Since in all the SLPs HYV technology was largely practised, it had favourable effect on employment. In some areas (e.g. Kuzipukur) there has been inflow of large number of day labourers (250-300) from neighbouring villages, even from neighbouring districts.

(g) Landless Peasants

Nowhere in the stated areas any special arrangement has been made for the landless peasants. The only special benefit which the landless peasants may derive now is their opportunity to work almost during the whole year. It is the CORR personal who are trying hard to introduce the Block Farming system in which the landless farmers are allowed to have share of the produce. But it is too early to make any comment about the performances of their projects.

(h) Financial Resources

Amounts of money received as loans or grants from local and foreign sources by the different farms upto 1974 are indicated below. The figures are expressed in 'thousand Taka'.

	Source		Total	R e m a r k
	Local	Foreign		
Ganamilan	210	376	586	Only a fraction of the total money has been returned.
Kuzipukur	5	—	5	To be returned.
Bogra	176	66	242	Grants and gifts.
Shimla	74	—	74	Partly repaid.
Bamoil	52	—	52	Partly repaid.
Faridpur	198	—	198	Only a small fraction is repaid.

(i) **Net Return**

A sample of 'net returns' of the SLP farms are exhibited as under.

	Area (acres)	Crop	Net return (Taka per acre)
Ganamilan	126	Boro HYV (1973)	-366 (loss)
Bogra	19	Aman HYV (1974)	1210 (profit)
Shimla	40	Boro HYV (1974)	1481 (profit)

It is interesting to point out that although in Shimla net return per acre was Taka 1481-, yet the farmers were unhappy simply because they obtained a much higher return from their individually operated farms. On the other hands, in Ganamilan all farmers were not unhappy because the costs were somehow swallowed by the management.

(j) **Present conditon of the SLPs.**

Ganamilan	—	Precarious
Kuzipukur	—	Encouraging
Bogra	—	Needs stimulation
Shimla	—	Not encouraging
Bamoil	—	Hopeless
Faridpur	—	Somehow continuing

(k) **Post-mortem**

This section makes an attempt to unfold the circumstances that brought the SLPs into existence and that led them to the present condition. Through this, it is hoped, valuable insights about the future of such programmes in Bangladesh can be obtained.

(i) Ganamilan

How it came into being : Liberation war—Mukti Bahini people—nothing to do—wanted to do—wanted to rebuild Sonar Bangla — money collected, sometimes by force—OPFAM grant of Tk. 3.76 lakhs (out of a promised amount of 8 lakhs)—Local help, wide publicity in press, radio and television within and outside Bangladesh.

Circumstances that led it to the present situation ; Lack of experiences of the organisers—very ambitious programmes—misuse of funds, especially in the adult education programme (Tk. 1.12 lakhs in 10 months)—creation of suspicion about the use of money—non-availability of 'audited' accounts leading to OXFAM's refusal of further funds—inability to meet farmers promised demands—poor harvest due to late availability of inputs (which was caused because of the inability of the Ganamilan to repay the loans), poor germination of BADC seeds, natural calamity, etc. — loss of confidence of the farmers and others.

(ii) Kuzipukur

How it came into being : A very influential political leader, having nothing to do after the birth of Bangladesh, got hold of DAO and DC., who were very eager to start rural development works—power pumps supplied by the district authority—near Chikli river—connected by pucca road—deputation of a UAA to the village and the continuous visits and encouragements by the DAO and sub-divisional Agricultural Officer.

Circumstances that have kept it alive : Individual management—no problems of sharing output—no grant, no gift, no large scale borrowing—getting an additional crop—co-operation of the district authority.

(But trouble may soon arise if sufficient participation of the common people are not encouraged in the management committee).

(iii) Bogra

How it came into being : 40 acres of good quality cultivable own land in the campus—high price of paddy—initiative by the Principals and Mr. A. Rouf (Superintendent of

Titumir Hall)—incorporation of self-interest-cultivation of half a bigha land first—wide publicity in radio, press and television, especial coverage for *students'* programmes—visits by high-ups—large amount of grants and gifts both in cash and kind.

Circumstances that led it to the present situation: Starting was unplanned and hapazard—profit motive: Scent of “grants” and “gifts”—non-availability of *detailed* accounts—suspicion among the participating members and non-members—false accounts given by the Units—non-participation of the students especially in the agricultural operations, because of lack of accommodation in the campus, lack of co-ordination between farm work and educational routine—non-correlation between the students' works with their academic curricula.

(ix) **Shimla**

How it came into being: A schoolmaster and an MNA initiated the programme—one unused deep tube-well and the supply of basic inputs were guaranteed by the district authority—keen interest taken and selfless co-operation offered by the Bangladesh Agricultural University, Mymensingh: it wanted to make a laboratory area for the research students of the University.

Circumstances that led it to the present situation: Government money and the participation of University personnel—sense of ‘Sarkari’ Khamar and ‘Sarkari Taka’ leading to indifferent attitude of the participating farmers—weak management, inability to control the use of labourers—negative attitude of the big farmers—have a greater portion of their land outside khamar—costs of production was much higher (the net return was much lower) in the farm than in the individually operated land—comparatively poor harvest was caused by, among others, lack of timely inputs and the poor germination of BADC seeds.

(v) **Bamail:**

How it came into being: A number of deep tube-wells were lying idle in the area—keen initiative and interest taken by

the Comilla Academy (BARD)—support and assistance provided by the Agricultural Co-operative Federation of Comilla — was taken as a research area by BARD.

Circumstances that led it to the present situation : Similar circumstances as in Shimla.

(vi) Faridpur

How it came into being : 30 deep tube-wells lying idle in bad condition—initiative taken by the district authority to repair and utilise them—huge area of 'Char' land—initiative taken by the experienced members of the Development Study Circles - 'Baitul Aman', an old (and dead) vocational training and cottage industry centre, providing the infrasture - help and co-operation given by the district authority.

Circumstances that led it to the present situation : Efficient Management—48 experienced staff members—personality of the Director of the Academy. However, they are having the problem of convincing the big farmers to part with a share of the produce to the Academy ploughmen are not taking keen interest in ploughing and other usual farming problems.

B. Swanirvar District Programmes (SDP)

As stated elsewhere in the paper, the SDPs were introduced in Bangladesh in order to fight with the damages caused by the 1974 floods. In some districts of East Bengal, some real works (whatever may be the reaction of their critics) have been done; but very little work has been done in the districts of Rajshahi and Khulna divisions. Many of the district authorities, of course, did make some paper works, but others could not make time to do so even. For illustrating the types of works done by the SDPs we here refer to "Shyamal Sylhet" and "Samridhya Khulna".

As has been known, these SDPs concentrated on such activities as repair of roads, construction of embankments, excavation and re-excavation of canals and drains and the like. The main Sources of funds which met the expenses were :

- (a) Relief goods (received for the flood),
- (b) Funds allotted under Food For Works Programme,

- (c) Test Relief Funds,
- (d) TIP allocation balance, and
- (e) Peoples' contribution.

Committees were formed at the village, Union, Thana, Sub-division and District levels. Understandably works were begun in a few places. The moving force was the DC, ADC (Gen) and their associates.

In the name of the Shah Jalaler Shyamal Sylhet, 697 cross dams, 417 embankments, 198 excavation and re-excavation and 448 other types of works were completed by April, 1975 and in Khulna, 14 cross dams, one road-cum-cross dams and some other rural works were done through 'Samridha' programme by July, 1975.

From both these district programmes, complaints have been made about the misuse of funds, mismanagement etc. It has also been reported that many of the works which have been in the name of SDPs could as well have been done, had there been no such programmes through the departmental initiatives. In fact, many works were initiated before these programmes were formally installed.

C. Swanirvar Bangladesh Programme (or SNP)—A case study of Batashan Durgapur Karma Shibir.

Swanirvar Bangladesh, as a national movement, was formally introduced on 25 September, 1975 at Dacca. To achieve its stated objectives Swanirvar Karma Shibirs (self-Reliant Work Camps) have been held in all the 19 districts of Bangladesh under the sponsorship of four divisions during the period October-December, 1975. Karma Shibirs at the district levels are now being held in all Sub-divisions of Bangladesh. These Shibirs will also be held under the auspices of each sub-division of the country. In this section, I wish to write a note on one of the divisional Swanirvar Karma Shibirs (SKS) held at Batashan Durgapur (Rangpur) in which I have had the opportunity to participate. Before I go on to do so, let me pause for a while to say a few words about Batashan Durgapur.

Batashan Durgapur: It is a small village under Latifpur Union of Mithapukur Thana of Rangpur district. It is about 14

miles away from Rangpur town and only one mile away from the Rangpur-Bogra high-way.

The basis socio-economic characteristics of the village⁴ are : 614 people, 85 families, 288 acres of cultivable land and 25 landless families. Out of 65 farm families 11 families have less than 3 bighas of land, 40 families have 3-15 bighas and 9 families more than 15 bighas. There is one shallow tube-well, one deep tube-well, one weeder machine and other simple implements. This village was brought under Swanirvar Karmasuchi (self-reliant programme) in January, 1974. Several committees were formed with Mr. Noor Mohammad Mandal as the Chairman.

Swanirvar Karma Shibir (SKS) : The divisional SKS at Bata-shan Durgapur was held during 22-24 November, 1975. About 80 persons, both from the locality and from outside, participated in the Karma Shibir. Among outside participants, the notable officers were the Divisional Commissioner (Rajshahi), D. C. (Rangpur), ADC (Gen) (Rangpur), Dy. Directors of Rural Development and Livestock, some Swanirvar National Committee members, Director (BARD) and the district level and Thana level family planning officers, education officers, agricultural officers, engineers, fisheries officers and livestock officers.

The participants were divided into 3 groups—"Durjoy," "Durbar" and "Duranta". There were practical work for each group followed by discussion in the Karma Shibir. The Shibir was concluded with a cultural show.

Some Observations on the SKS.

First, it has already been pointed out that only a part (in effect 1/3rd of the whole village), called *Uttar para*, was selected for the Karma Shibir. This was not justified at all. I was very keen to see why this was done so. On enquiry it was known that there was a 25-year long rivalry between the leaders of *Uttar* and *Dakhin* Paras. When it was pointed out, an attempt was made to reconcile the two paras and bring them under the umbrella of SKS. This attempt was successful on the last day.

4. The data presented in the text refers to a part of the village selected for the. Swanirvar Karma Shibir. Please see below for comments.

The whole credit should go to the Divisional Commissioner (Mr. Shafiul Alam) and the Director of BARD (Mr. Nurul Haq).

Secondly, no sincere attempt was made to allow the villagers, other than those invited, to attend the work camp and participate in the discussion. Possibly, the presence of Police Station in the SKS was the most serious hindrance in this respect. It was, in a sense, a close-door work camp.

Thirdly, the use of helicopter by the national committee members was vehemently criticised.

Fourthly, some farmers pointed out some of their real grievances (for instance large scale death of fowls and mal-distribution of fertiliser) but no attempt was made by the organisers to pursue the matter, find out the causes and look for remedial measures. Many administrative bottle-necks could have been detected through the work camp.

Fifthly, from the point of view of the expected gains of the SKS, the cost was too much. Obviously, huge amount of money has been spent by the relevant departments in paying the T.A. and D.A. of the large number of high-ups.

However, it should not be understood that no real benefit has been derived from the SKS. At least the high-ups could have some practical idea about the sort of works our villagers do and the conditions in which they live in. It seems to have given important impetus to the people of Batashan Durgapur to work harder.

5. Swanirvar Programmes in Retrospect

In this final section the experiences gained out of the Swanirvar programmes will be noted and some comments will be made on the over-all prospects for the 'Swanirvar Bangladesh' Programme.

(a) Experiences gained out of the Swanirvar Programmes

(i) Initiatives for Swanirvar programmes have always come from influential, educated and big farmers. They were supported and assisted by the relevant government officials.

(ii) Without the co-operation of the local influential persons (including the large farmers) no such programmes can be made a success.

(iii) *Unwarranted* publicity through press, radio and other media, brings more harm than good to the progress of the programme.

(iv) Outside money, especially gifts and grants, has almost always been mis-applied.

(v) In the joint farming experiments, it was seen that farmers having a sizeable proportion of their land outside the farm, works more sincerely and efficiently than in their land within the farming area.

(vi) From the view point of per acre yield and profitability, the performances of individually operated lands were far better than that of jointly operated farms (when they were given similar access to inputs).

(vii) The bigger the farm becomes, the more likely is the chance of failure.

(viii) Mismanagement and misuse of funds have been detected to be some of the most serious causes of poor performances of Swanirvar programmes.

(ix) 'Work or pretend to work and get wages' was the general practice of most of farms under review.

(x) *Untimely* supply of inputs (For e.g. power pumps, seeds, fertilizer, insecticides, loans), rather than inadequate supply of inputs have been termed to be the real problem of increasing agricultural productivity.

(xi) There has always been a lack of close contact between the general members and the Management Committee. Meetings have been very poorly attended by general members.

(xii) Complaints about the mixed quality seeds supplied by BADC has been heard in almost all areas of our research.

(xiii) Food For Works Programme can play an important role in rural development. But this also gives crystal opportunity to become corrupted.

(xiv) Students are a (economically) very costly source of resource for farming practices.

(xv) Students' participation in farming practices are almost bound to be a failure unless their activities are related to their academic curricula.

(b) **Concluding Remarks : Some Suggestive measures for 'Swanirvar Bangladesh' Programme**

From the above discussion of various Swanirvar Programmes in Bangladesh, one would get the impression that the 'war baby' (SLPs) is seriously injured, the 'flood baby' (SDPs) is floating on the deep water and the 'human baby' (SNP) is still in the nursery bed. But would these experiments be of any help for the future rural Bangladesh, especially for the 'Swanirvar Bangladesh' (SB) Programme? Before we go on to examine this issue, let us first of all, identify the main requisite for rural Bangladesh.

The development of rural Bangladesh has two apparently opposite dimensions—positive and negative. Positively, it is imperative to increase agricultural productivity and negatively it is equally imperative to reduce the rate of population growth.

The population problem has been termed as the *Number One* problem of Bangladesh. The First-Five Year Plan suggested an expenditure of Taka 70 crores to bring down the growth-rate from 3% to 2.8%. As a short term measure, a number of action programmes have never been able to achieve their desired results. What is very often overlooked is that the adoption of family planning techniques is not solely a function of publicity: it is basically a function of education and poverty. Available empirical studies show that these factors are highly correlated with the birth rate. Therefore, if we can increase the literacy rate and at the same time remove poverty, we solve the basic problems of rural Bangladesh. A careful reader would note that the removal of poverty implies the increase in agricultural productivity, so that the positive aspect of rural development has also been dealt with. Now the question is to what extent the Swanirvar Programmes can be a guide towards achieving these two main goals.

Regarding the literacy, very little can be learnt from the Swanirvar Programmes. Ganamilan, had taken a bold attempt to introduce an education programme; but, because of lack of experiences on the part of its proponents, this programme had to be discontinued within 10 months of its operations. Kuzipukur and Batashan Durgapur, among others, claimed that they were motivating their members to adopt family planning methods, but the time is not ripe yet to examine their success. One suggestion

for SB would, therefore, be to adopt literacy programme in the Swanirvar villages.

Coming to the case of increasing agricultural productivity, the reader can recall that initially the SLPs had favourable impact on agricultural productivity; but in later seasons, only a few of them could maintain the initial trend in productivity. These programmes have, however, produced some interesting issues which can act as a guide to SB programme. First, co-operative farming or joint farming system cannot successfully be operated in Bangladesh under its present land tenure arrangements. Note that there had always been a problem of lands 'within the scheme' and 'outside the scheme'. One solution can be that a type of co-operative farming to be formed on the basis of 'people' rather than 'land'; but this will not be a practicable solution in these days of HYV technology requiring artificial irrigation. A drastic land reforms, which is very often suggested, even if implemented will not offer a permanent solution since there will still be 'inside-outside' problem. The only lasting solution for successfully operating the co-operative farming may be the introduction of a compulsory co-operative farming for all farmers for a reasonable area, say, a Thana. Would it be possible for the SB programme to make an experiment on this?

For increasing agricultural productivity, the basic requirements identified are irrigation implements (Power pumps, deep tube-wells, etc.) along with their spare parts, oil and ware houses, fertiliser, better seeds, insecticides and rural credit. The SLPs amply demonstrated that the real problem was not so much with their supply but with their availability to the users *in time*. The main factors responsible for this problem are the multiplicity of rural institutions and the inter-departmental rivalry followed by the complex and lengthy procedure in getting inputs from Dacca to the farmers' lands. This type of rural problem will largely be solved if the SB takes care of the responsibility of co-ordination between different input-supplying rural institutions.

The Swanirvar Programmes also showed that 'money' instead of becoming a vehicle for improvement, had very often become the root of many evils. Consequently, the SB would do better if cash payment is avoided as far as possible. Help and assistance, if there be any, should be in kind.

From the SDPs, the SB can have the lesson that the relief goods can be most fruitfully utilised though such programmes as 'Food For Works' provided that the men behind the programme are honest and sincere.

The experience of students participation in the farming practices was not at all encouraging. The main bottle-necks were the non-availability of accommodation facilities on the campus and the lack of correlation between agricultural activities and academic curricula. There is no reason why the SB should also involve the Post-school students in non-academic profit-making activities without having a comprehensive well-designed plan for the purpose.

However, in summary, the first and foremost task of the SB should be to (i) adopt adult education programme through pilot projects and (ii) ensure the efficient distribution of available inputs including loan. If the proponents of the SB have already these two points in mind, that, I should think, *we are moving into the right direction*. Nonetheless, some suggestions for Swanirvar Karma Shibir are as follows :

- (i) One Union, if not a Thana, rather than a village should be used for Swanirvar Karma Shibir.
- (ii) Formation of Swanirvar Committees should not be rigid. This should be left with the persons for whom the committees are required to be constituted.
- (iii) The Swanirvar Committees of all levels be given the responsibilities of co-ordination. All inputs and assistance, if any, should be distributed through the Swanirvar Committees in all the Swanirvar villages.
- (iv) A once-for-all participation of the high-ups will be of no use unless this is being followed by continuous visits of the Union and Thana level Officers.
- (v) The objective of holding Karma Shibir will be in vain if the high-ups are to attend the Karma Shibirs under the direction of their bosses at Dacca. There should be built-in mechanism so that it is for their own interest that they attend the Karma Shibirs. The Swanirvar

Committees can play an important role (if sufficiently empowered to do so) in this respect.

- (vi) Karma Shibirs should be used as a medium to identify the administrative bottle-necks and look for ways and means for their removal. I would even go to the extent of suggesting that there should be a 'mobile court' to deal with the officers responsible for malpractices in the matter of distribution of vital agricultural inputs.
- (vii) Practical demonstration, rather than mere radio programmes, will be more fruitful for disseminating new agricultural practices. This should be an additional responsibility of Swanirvar Committees.
- (viii) Swanirvar Karma Shibirs should not be used as a forum of clamant and irrelevant lectures. The discussion of even minor local problems should be considered more fruitful than the teaching of spiritual advices of Swanirvar.
- (ix) From the view points of costs and benefits, it is not at all advisable to make all the relevant officers of all levels attend each and every Karma Shibirs.
- (x) All Khas and multi-owner tanks should be taken over by the Swanirvar Committees for Piscicultural operations.
- (xi) There should be arrangements for training of Swanirvar leaders.
- (xii) Non-agricultural activities be created in the rural areas and the landless peasants be given preference to work there.
- (xiii) 'What I say, you do and what I do, you do not do' policy should be changed to 'you do what I do'.

The Swanirvar Bangladesh is only a few months old baby, it really deserves rational guidance from the participants of this Conference. Why not devote some time for this ?

স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের ব্যবহারিক দর্শন

জাহাংগীর আলম

বাংলাদেশ কৃষি গবেষণা কাউন্সিল

সর্বত্রই শুধু উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির কথা। জাতিকে খাদ্যে স্বনির্ভর করার দৃঢ় অঙ্গীকার সবার মুখে মুখে। একর প্রতি ১৩৫ মন ধান ফলানোর নজীর এখন পত্রিকার প্রথম পাতার খবর। স্তম্ভী সমাবেশে বিশেষ অতিথি হয়ে বক্তৃতা করতে আসেন চাষী লাল মাহমুদ। আমাদের কৃষি উন্নয়নের ক্ষেত্রে যেন ক্রমেই একটা উজ্জল মুখশ্রী স্পষ্ট হয়ে উঠছে। দেশের রাজনৈতিক নেতৃবৃন্দ থেকে শুরু করে সকল শ্রেণীর নাগরিক কৃষি উন্নয়নের গুরুত্বকে অকপটে স্বীকার করছেন। এমনকি কৃষকের সংগে মাঠে নেমে ধানের চারা গুঁজে দিতেও তাঁরা গর্ববোধ করেন। দীর্ঘ দিনের কুসংস্কার এবং শ্রম-বিমুখতার অচলায়তন পেরিয়ে দেশবাসীকে খামারমুখী কর্মতৎপরতার উৎসাহিত করার এরূপ দৃষ্টান্ত অত্যন্ত আশাব্যাহক। জাতীয় জীবনে মূল্যবোধের এই পরিবর্তন প্রতিটি নাগরিককে উদ্ভাসিত করবে তার আপন বিশ্বাস ও প্রত্যয়ে! স্বজনশীলতার বহিঃশিখা জেলে আপন কক্ষপথে এগিয়ে নিলে যাবে গোটা দেশবাসীকে।

বর্তমানে এদেশে খাদ্য সমস্তার মতো এতো জটিল সমস্যা আর দ্বিতীয়টি নেই। জাতীয় অগ্রগতিকে দারুণভাবে ব্যাহত করছে এই সমস্যা। বলা চলে, জাতির সামগ্রিক সমস্যাতে কেন্দ্রীয়ভাবে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করছে এই সমস্যা। স্তত্রাং খাদ্য সমস্তার সমাধানের জন্তে রাষ্ট্রীয় গুরুত্ব আরোপ অত্যন্ত স্বাভাবিক এবং ইহাই অভিপ্রেত। কারণ খাদ্য সমস্তার সমাধান তথা কৃষির উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধিই হলো ভগ্নপ্রায় অর্থনীতির পুনর্গঠন এবং জনগণের প্রত্যাশাকে বাস্তবায়িত করার একমাত্র উদ্ভব। এর জন্যেই আজ জাতীয় স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের ডাক এতো বেশী তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ। কারণ স্বনির্ভর বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের দর্শন জনগণকে কৃষির উৎপাদন বাড়িয়ে জাতীয় অর্থনৈতিক মুক্তির প্রজ্জ্বলকেই অনিশ্চিত করেছে। যার ফলশ্রুতি হিসেবে আজ সবাইকে হতে হয়েছে মারমুখো। সোনালী শিষের ডগার জাতি তার আশা আকাংখাকে আবিষ্কার করেছে নতুনভাবে। ফলে বাংলার সাড়ে সাতকোটি গণমানসে জেলে উঠেছে কৃষি

বিপ্লবের আগুন। উগ্ধ হয়েছে বিপ্লবের বীজ। এর পশ্চাৎভূমিও প্রায় প্রস্তুত। স্বনির্ভর কর্মসূচীর পটভূমিকায় সেই বীজ বপন করা হয়েছে। এখন জ্ঞান থেকে অংকুর গজানোর সময়।

খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতা অর্জনের আহ্বান ইতিমধ্যেই আলোড়ন সৃষ্টি করেছে দেশব্যাপী। সেই সঙ্গে পরিমাণ ও গুণগত দিক থেকে কৃষির উৎকর্ষ সাধনের জোড় প্রচেষ্টা চলছে সর্বত্র। উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির কর্মসূচীকে নিম্নস্তর থেকে সাফল্যজনক ভাবে কার্যকরী করার জন্যে গৃহীত হয়েছে আঞ্চলিক স্বনির্ভর কর্মসূচী। শ্যামলী সিলেট, স্বনির্ভর ঢাকা, সবুজ-কুমিল্লা, সোনালী বরিশাল এবং উর্বরা ময়মনসিংহ জেলা-ভিত্তিক স্বনির্ভর কর্মসূচীরই নামান্তর। কৃষি বিপ্লবের একজন সৈনিক হিসেবে এ ধরনের কিছু কিছু এলাকা ঘুরে এসেছি। কৃষকের সঙ্গে কাজ করে তাদের সমস্যা জেনেছি। জেলা-ভিত্তিক স্বনির্ভর কর্মসূচীর গতি ও প্রকৃতি সম্পর্কে আমার যে ধারণা জন্মেছে সেই বাস্তব অভিজ্ঞতার নিরীখেই নিবন্ধটিকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়া।

স্বাধীনতার পর থেকে বিভিন্ন রাজনৈতিক প্রেক্ষাপটে নানাভাবে আমরা স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের কথা শুনছি। শুনছি স্বাধীনতার পূর্বেও। তবে তার আদর্শ ও স্বরূপ বাস্তবের নিরীখে প্রসঙ্গ সাপেক্ষে ছিলো। কিন্তু আজকের স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের প্রেক্ষিত ভিন্ন। ভিন্নরূপ এর ব্যবহারিক দর্শন। অতীতে কেবল পোষ্টার, লিফলেট আর সেমিনারের মাঝেই উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির আন্দোলন সীমাবদ্ধ ছিলো। তাতে খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতা অর্জনের আহ্বান কিছুটা জনমুখীতার রূপ নিয়েছিলো সত্য। কিন্তু বাস্তবে তা শহরের কোলাহল ছেপে গ্রামের অভ্যন্তরে গিয়ে পৌঁছুতে সক্ষম হয়নি। অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই আনুষ্ঠানিকতার নীচে সেমিনারের আসল উদ্দেশ্য চাপা পড়ে গিয়েছিলো। পত্রিকায় খবর প্রকাশের মাধ্যমেই সমাপ্তি ঘটেছিলো সব আন্দোলনের।

কিছুদিন আগের কথা বলি। উর্বরা কর্তৃপক্ষের নিয়ন্ত্রণক্রমে জামালপুর এবং ময়মনসিংহের দু'একটি সেমিনারে অংশ গ্রহণের সৌভাগ্য হয়েছিলো আমার। বলতে দ্বিধা নেই, উর্বরা কর্তৃপক্ষের প্রচুর আপ্যায়ন সত্ত্বেও সেমিনার থেকে ফিরে তেমন আশ্রয় অনুভব করতে পারিনি। আশ্রয়প্রসাদের উপকরণ থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়েছিলাম সেমিনারের প্রাসংগিক দুর্বলতার কথা ভেবেই। কারণ, সেখানকার বক্তা ও প্রোতাদের অধিকাংশই ছিলেন পণ্ডিত ব্যক্তি!

গ্রামীণ পরিবেশ থেকে অনেক দূরে এদের নিবাস। চাষাবাদের সঙ্গে সম্পর্কহীন অনেক দিন থেকে। সুতরাং যতোই শপথবাণী উচ্চারণ করা হোকনা কেন, বিশেষ আনুষ্ঠানিকতা ছাড়া গ্রামে গিয়ে কৃষকের সঙ্গে একাত্ম হয়ে চাষাবাদ করার অবকাশ এদের ছিলোনা। অবশ্য এসব সেমিনারে আদর্শ চাষী হিসেবে কেউ কেউ বক্তৃতা করতে আসতেন। শ্রোতা হিসেবেও আপ্যায়ন করা হতো কৃষক প্রতিনিধিকে। কিন্তু সেমিনারের গুরুত্ব ও ব্যাপকতার কাছে এদের সংখ্যা ছিলো নিতান্তই অপ্রতুল। তদুপরী এসব সেমিনারে যারা গ্রামের অঞ্চল থেকে যোগদান করতেন, কাগজে-কলমে তারা “লোকালাইট” হলেও ভাবে ও স্বভাবে “কসমোপলাইট” ধরণের। এরা শিক্ষিত এবং সৌখিন চাষী অথবা অনুপস্থিত চাষী। উৎপাদন যন্ত্রের দার্শনিক তত্ত্ব বড়জোড় এদের সমর্থন পেতে পারে; ভাবাবেগে আগ্রহ করতে পারে। কিন্তু মাঠে নিয়ে যায়না সহজে। কারণ, এরা শুধু মুখেই কথা বলে, প্রতিশ্রুতি দেয়। কলমের ভোতা নিবন্ধেও লাংলেনের ফলায় পরিণত করার শপথবাণী উচ্চারণ করে। কিন্তু খামারে নেমে তার প্রমাণ রাখেনা। কিংবা কোন আনুষ্ঠানিকতার কারণে খামারে গেলেও নিদারুণভাবে অপেক্ষা করতে থাকে ক্যামেরার ক্লিক শব্দটির; এবং এটাই আমাদের চারিত্রিক বৈশিষ্ট্য। এই উদ্ধৃতি দিয়ে আমি আনুষ্ঠানিকতার প্রয়োজনীয়তাকে একেবারে অস্বীকার করছি। তবে জামালপুর আশেপাশে মাহমুদ কলেজ মিলনারতন কিংবা ময়মনসিংহ বাংলাদেশ পরিষদের স্থায়ী সমাবেশে উর্বরা আন্দোলনের তাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণের পক্ষপাতিও আমি নই। বর্তমান জাতীয় স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের বক্তব্যও অনেকটা একই ধরনের। সম্ভবত তাই ময়মনসিংহের উর্বরা আন্দোলনকে ইদানিং বাংলাদেশ পরিষদের মিলনারতন থেকে খাকতহরের প্রকৃত চাষী আকরম আলীর কঁড়ে ঘরে স্থানান্তরিত করা হয়েছে। কারণ, কৃষির উৎপাদনের সঙ্গে সে-ই প্রত্যক্ষভাবে জড়িত। উন্নত কৃষি সম্প্রসারণ তৎপরতা তাকেই উৎসাহিত এবং অনুপ্রাণিত করছে বেশী। একমাত্র তাকেই আধুনিক চাষাবাদ সম্পর্কে জ্ঞান দেয়া দরকার। এবং যেহেতু সেমিনার করতে হয়, তার স্থান হিসেবে বেছে নেয়া হয়েছে হাজার আকরম আলীর আবাসভূমি খাকতহর গ্রামকেই জাতীয় স্বনির্ভর কর্মসূচী আজ ব্যাপক ভিত্তিতে গণমুখীতার রূপ নিয়েছে সে কারণেই। আমার দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস, এ আন্দোলনের গতিধারায় আর ছেদ পড়বেনা।

তাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ ছেড়ে এবার তথ্যগত আলোচনার আসা যাক। দীর্ঘদিন ময়মনসিংহে অবস্থান করছিলাম বলে উর্বরা ময়মনসিংহ নিয়েই শুরু করি।

উর্বরা আন্দোলনের একটি উল্লেখযোগ্য বৈশিষ্ট্য হচ্ছে আবাদযোগ্য পতিত জমিকে চাষাবাদের আওতাভুক্ত করা। এর জগ্রে বিভিন্ন স্কুল, কলেজ ও বেসরকারী প্রতিষ্ঠানের পক্ষ থেকে ব্যাপক কর্মসূচী নেয়া হয়েছে। গত তিন বছর ধরে ময়মনসিংহ কলেজ অব এডুকেশন এবং জামালপুর আশেক মাহমুদ কলেজের ছাত্র-শিক্ষকগণ অনাবাদী পতিত জমিতে ফসল ফলানোর এক দৃষ্টান্ত স্থাপন করেছেন। বাংলাদেশ কৃষি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের নেতৃত্বে ময়মনসিংহের প্রায় পঁচিশটি বিদ্যালয় এবং মহাবিদ্যালয়ে পতিত জমি চাষাবাদের মহড়া চলছে। উর্বরা কর্তৃপক্ষের অনুরূপ কর্মসূচী একান্তভাবেই প্রশংসনীয়। কিন্তু দেশের বর্তমান খাদ্য সংকটের মুখে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির এই কর্মসূচী নিতান্তই সমুদ্রগর্ভে এক বিলুপ্ত পানি ফেলার মতো। কারণ, এদেশের আবাদযোগ্য মাত্র ১'৩ মিলিয়ন একর পতিত জমিকে চাষের আওতায় এনেই কেবল খাদ্যসমস্যার সমাধান সম্ভব নয়। তদুপরী জনসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধির সংগে পতিত জমির উপর রাস্তাঘাট, বসতবাড়ী এবং উন্নয়নমূলক কর্মসূচীর ব্যাপক চাপ পড়ছে। সুতরাং শস্যের উৎপাদন বাড়ানোর জগ্রে পতিত জমি আবাদের (এক্সটেনসিভ চাষাবাদ) স্বযোগ খুবই সীমিত। এখন ইন্টেনসিভ চাষাবাদ বা একই জমিতে অধিক ফসল ফলানোর পরিকল্পনাই খাদ্য সমস্যা সমাধানের একমাত্র উত্তর। এই কর্মসূচীকে বাস্তবায়িত করার জগ্রে জেলা-ভিত্তিক স্বনির্ভর সংগঠনগুলিকে গ্রাম-ভিত্তিক এবং সম্ভব হলে মহল্লা-ভিত্তিক সম্প্রসারণের মাধ্যমে পৃথক পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করতে হবে। মাটির গুণাগুণ, ফসল উৎপাদনের মৌসুম ও প্রকৃতি এবং চাষাবাদের যোগান সরবরাহের তারতম্য ভেদে এই গ্রাম-ভিত্তিক পরিকল্পনা ভিন্নতর হতে বাধ্য। সেই সংগে জোরদার করতে হবে গ্রামের কৃষক সংগঠন। এবং এই সংগঠন ও এলাকা ভিত্তিক পরিকল্পনার স্বার্থক সমন্বয়ে সম্ভব হবে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি। এখানে ফসল উৎপাদনের কারিগরী দিকটাকে গুরুত্ব দিয়ে বিবেচনা করা হবে। বস্তার দরুণ শস্যহানির ব্যাপকতাকে পুৰিয়ে নেওয়ার জন্য শীতকালে ধানচাষ এখন একটি বাস্তব পরিকল্পনা। ফলে বছর ফিরে ফসলের হার বেড়েছে। পানি সেচের প্রভাবে কোন কোন অঞ্চলে তিনটিপর্ষন্ত ফসল ফলানো সম্ভব হচ্ছে। কিন্তু তা পরিকল্পনাহীন এবং অসামঞ্জস্যপূর্ণ। এমন অনেক জমি আছে যেখানে কেবল ইরির পর ইরি ফলানো হয়। পরবর্তী বছরেও আবার সেই সার্কেল ফিরে আসে। কিন্তু কৃষি তত্ত্ববিদদের মতে এ ধরনের চাষাবাদ সাফল্যজনক নয়। তাতে জমির উর্বরতা হ্রাসপ্রাপ্ত হয়। কাজেই তারা ফসল পরিবর্তনের পরামর্শ দেন। জেলা-ভিত্তিক স্বনির্ভর

আন্দোলনের পটভূমিতে ‘মালটিপল ক্রপিং’ ব্যবস্থা চালু করে আমরা ফসল পরিবর্তনের পরিকল্পনাকে স্বার্থক করতে পারি। তা ছাড়া একজন কৃষক শুধু ভাতই খায় না। তার প্রয়োজন হয় ডাল, মরিচ, শাকসব্জি, তেল এরূপ অনেক কিছু। ‘মালটিপল ক্রপিং’ পরিকল্পনা সাফল্যমণ্ডিত হলে প্রতিটি কৃষক পরিবার স্বয়ং-সম্পূর্ণ হয়ে উঠতে পারে। বাংলাদেশের চলতি পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার এ বিষয়ে বিশেষ জোর দেয়া হয়েছে। অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম আউসের পর (মালা, পূর্বাচী, চান্দিনা) অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম আমন এবং অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম বোরোর পর অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম আমন চাষের সুপারিশ করেছেন পরিকল্পনা কমিশন। এতে জমিপ্রতি ফসল উৎপাদনের হার শতকারা ২০০-তে গিয়ে দাঁড়াবে। অবশ্য এর মাঝে ডাল জাতীয় সংক্ষিপ্ত জীবনীশক্তি সম্পন্ন আরো একটি ফসল ফলানোর পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা যেতে পারে। তবে তা নির্ভর করবে পূর্ববর্তী ফসল উৎপাদনের সময়সীমার উপর। সুতরাং স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের কর্ম-কর্তাদের সবচেয়ে কম সময়ের মধ্যে যে ধানের আয় শেষ হয় সেই প্রকারের বীজই কৃষকের মাঝে বণ্টন করা উচিত। এখানে আরো একটি বিষয়ের প্রতি গুরুত্ব দিতে হবে। মাটি এবং আবহাওয়ার তারতম্যভেদে কোন বিশেষ এলাকার বিশেষ কোন ফসল অধিক পরিমাণে জন্মাতে পারে। এবং ঐ এলাকার সেই নির্দিষ্ট ফসলটি যদি বেশী পরিমাণে ফলানো যায়, তা হলে অর্থনৈতিক দিক থেকে অত্যন্ত লাভজনক হয়। উদাহরণ স্বরূপ, ময়মনসিংহের এমন অনেক এলাকা আছে যেখানে মাটির তারতম্যভেদে শুধু পাটের ফলনই ভাল হতে পারে। সেই সব এলাকার যদি পাট চাষের উপর অতিরিক্ত গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা হয় তা হলে অনেক বেশী হারে ফলন বেড়ে যেতে পারে। আবার কোন এলাকার শুধু গমের উৎপাদন ভাল হয়। সে কারণে ময়মনসিংহের জামালপুর এবং টাংগাইলের কিছু এলাকাকে ‘হাইট বেষ্ট’ চিহ্নিত করা হয়েছে। এ সব এলাকার যদি গম চাষের উপরই অত্যধিক গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা যায় তা হলে অত্যধিক ফলনও আশা করা যেতে পারে। এতে করে এলাকার কৃষকগণও সেই ফসলের প্রতি অত্যধিক জ্ঞান অর্জন করতে সক্ষম হয়। আরো বেশী আগ্রহে উৎপাদনের কাজে মনোনিবেশ করতে পারে কৃষকগণ। সুতরাং জেলা-ভিত্তিক খাঞ্চ উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির পরিকল্পনাকে সার্থক করার জন্তে প্রতি ক্ষেত্রেই মাইক্রো বা ক্ষুদ্র খামার পরিচালন পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা অত্যাৱশ্যক।

জেলা-ভিত্তিক স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের বর্তমান নেতৃত্ব পুরোপুরীভাবে জেলা-প্রশাসন কর্তৃপক্ষের উপর। দেশের বর্তমান রাজনৈতিক প্রেক্ষাপটে এ ধরনের ব্যবস্থাপনাই স্বাভাবিক। এতে অবিধাও রয়েছে প্রচুর। উৎপাদন এবং উন্নয়নমূলক কাজের জন্তে জরুরী মুহুর্তে তড়িৎ সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ এখানে সম্ভবপর। ফলে স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের গতিধারার সাধারণ প্রশাসনের একক নেতৃত্ব যে কৃষি উন্নয়নকে তড়াবিত করবে তাতে সন্দেহ নেই। কিন্তু এখানে আরো একটা দিক লক্ষ্যীয়। সেটা হচ্ছে কৃষি প্রশাসন যন্ত্রের পিছু টান। ময়মনসিংহ জেলার সমস্ত অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে এ প্রসঙ্গে বিশ্লেষণ দেয়া যায়। উর্বরা আন্দোলনের কর্মসূচীতে জেলার সাধারণ প্রশাসন সর্বময়কর্তা। সাবিক পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নের দায়িত্ব তাঁদেরই হাতে। এখানে জেলা কৃষি প্রশাসনের কর্মতৎপরতা বড় বেশী চোখে পড়ে না। পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়নের ক্ষেত্রে এদের কোন জোড় বক্তব্য নেই। এবং সেই পরিকল্পনা বাস্তবায়নের ক্ষেত্রেও কৃষি প্রশাসনের ভূমিকা মূলতঃ শূন্য বলে মনে হয়। এ ধরনের পরিস্থিতি কৃষির উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির আন্দোলনে বাধিত নয়। কারণ কৃষির উন্নয়ন নির্ভর করে আধুনিক কৃষি ব্যবস্থাপনা এবং কৃষি-কারিগরির সাফল্যের উপর। ইহা সম্পূর্ণই ব্যবহারিক দর্শন। একজন কৃষি-বিজ্ঞানী মূলতঃ এই ব্যবহারিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী দিয়ে উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচীকে বিশ্লেষণ করতে চাইবেন। কিন্তু সাধারণ প্রশাসন প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই মৌখিক এবং সামাজিক দর্শনে বিশ্বাসী। এখানে উৎপাদন কারিগরির মৌলিকতা অনুপস্থিত। দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ এ নিয়মুখী দর্শনের সংযোগসাধন এ-পর্যন্ত সম্ভব হয় উঠেনি। ফলে কৃষি উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচীতে দারুণ দুর্বলতা বর্তমান। কিন্তু স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনকে স্বার্থক করতে হলে এ দুয়ের সমন্বয় সাধন ছাড়া গত্যন্তর নেই। নইলে ক্ষেত-খামারে এর প্রতিফলন ঘটানো যাবে না। স্মরণ্য স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের বৃহত্তর আত্মন-এ কৃষি প্রশাসন ও সাধারণ প্রশাসনের সমন্বয় সাধন প্রয়োজন। উন্নয়নমূলক পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন থেকে শুরু করে প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নের পর্যায় পর্যন্ত দুয়ের সমান প্রচেষ্টা চালাতে হবে। বরং কৃষি প্রশাসনের ভূমিকা এখানে অনেক বেশী গুরুত্বপূর্ণ।

জেলা পর্যায় থেকে শুরু করে মহকুমা এবং থানা পর্যায় পর্যন্ত বর্তমানে যারা কৃষি প্রশাসন পরিচালনা করছেন তাঁদের অধিকাংশই কৃষিবিজ্ঞানী; উচ্চ শিক্ষায় শিক্ষিত। তাঁদের বিরুদ্ধে একটা চাপা অভিযোগ রয়েছে জনগণের। কৃষিকর্মীরা শ্রম এবং উৎপাদনবিমুখ বলে মন্তব্য করে থাকেন অনেকেই। এ অভিযোগ সম্পূর্ণভাবে অস্বীকার করার উপায় নেই। তবে সামগ্রিকভাবে দেশের সকল কর্মীর উপর এ ধরনের অভিযোগ চাপিয়ে দেওয়াও যুক্তিসংগত

নয়। কারণ স্বাধীনতার পর দেশের বিভিন্ন জেলায় এবং মহকুমায় অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম ধান চাষের মাধ্যমে যে প্রাথমিক বিপ্লব সূচীত হয়েছে তার মূলে রয়েছে কৃষিকর্মীদের অক্লান্ত প্রচেষ্টা। যেখানেই গভীর নলকুপ বসেছে সেখানেই কৃষিকর্মীদের অষ্টপ্রহর পদযাত্রা অব্যাহত রয়েছে। যে আখ উৎপাদন কেন্দ্রে অধিক সংখ্যক কৃষিকর্মী নিয়োগ করা হয়েছে সেখানে আখের উৎপাদন বেড়েছে দ্বিগুণ। সাম্প্রতিককালের চিনি উৎপাদনে উৎসাহব্যঞ্জক দৃষ্টান্ত স্থাপন করার জগ্রে কৃষি কর্মীরাও প্রশংসার অধিকারী। জামালপুরের কৃষি উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচীতে বিপ্লব সাধনের ক্ষেত্রে কৃষিকর্মী ওয়াছিগুজ্জামানের ভূমিকা মোটেই নগণ্য নয়। ব্রহ্মপুত্রের অনূর্বর বালুচরে সবুজের সমারোহ সৃষ্টি জাতির জগ্রে বয়ে এনেছে একটি সুনিশ্চিত আশ্বা ও প্রত্যয়। এমন কি, বিদেশী কৃষি বিশেষজ্ঞগণও জামালপুর প্রকল্পের ভূয়সী প্রশংসা করে গেছেন। এরূপ প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়িত হয়েছে ময়মনসিংহের বালুচরেও। ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়ার তিতাস নদীর বাঁকে কিংবা কুমিল্লার গুমতী নদীর তীরে তীরে গত দুই বছর ধরে যে শস্যের বান ডেকেছে তার জগ্রে স্থানীয় কৃষিকর্মীরা কিছু কম গোঁরবের অধিকারী নয়। কিন্তু এই খবর আমরা অনেকেরই জানি না। কারণ, কৃষিকর্মীদের কর্মতৎপরতা মূলতঃ খামারেই সীমাবদ্ধ। গ্রাম্য পরিবেশের অন্তরাল থেকে খবরের কাগজের পৃষ্ঠায় তাদের অবদানের স্বাক্ষর আমরা দেখিনি। ফলে দারুণ ক্ষরায় ফসল পুড়ে গেলে কিংবা কীটনাশকের অভাবে ধানক্ষেত উজার হলে দোষটা গিয়ে কৃষিকর্মীর ঘাড়ে চাপে। এ উদাহরণ দিয়ে কৃষিকর্মীদের প্রতি কোন পক্ষপাতিত্ব আমি করছি না। সরকারের কৃষি প্রশাসন-এর প্রতি আমার বিশেষ কোন দুর্বলতাও নেই। উদাহরণগুলো নিতান্তই বাস্তবের সিঁড়িতে বিচ্ছুরিত।

বর্তমানে থানা ও মহকুমা পর্যায়ে কৃষিঅফিসারদের এককভাবে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের স্বেচ্ছা অনেক ক্ষেত্রে নেই। ফলে পরিস্থিতির আলোকে তড়িৎ সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণে তাদের বেগ পেতে হচ্ছে। স্থানীয় সাধারণ প্রশাসনের তত্ত্বাবধানে কাজ করতে হয় বলে সময়মতো সার, বীজ ও কীটনাশক ঔষধ ইত্যাদি সরবরাহ করতে পারে না। অথচ যথাসময়ে উৎপাদনের উপকরণ সরবরাহ করার উপরই নির্ভর করে স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের সাফল্য। এ আন্দোলন নিয়মতান্ত্রিকতা মানতে চায় না। টেকটিকস্ ও ট্র্যাটেজী আন্দোলনের ধারা নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে। প্রয়োজনের তাগিদে তড়িৎ সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে হয় অনেক সময়।

এখানে ‘পুট আপ’, ‘কামথু প্রপার চ্যানেল’ কিংবা ‘অফিস আওয়াস’ ইত্যাদি নিয়মতান্ত্রিকতার অবকাশ নেই। কারণ, ফসলের প্রয়োজন এতোসব আনুষ্ঠানিকতার ধার ধারে না। দূর দূরান্ত থেকে রোদ-বৃষ্টি মাথায় করে হেঁটে এসে অসহায় চাষী ওসব কথা শুনতে চায় না। প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিস পত্রের জগ্গে এ অফিস থেকে সে অফিস, ছোট বাবু থেকে বড় বাবুর দ্বারে ধর্ণা দিতে গিয়ে অনেক সময় বিষিয়ে ওঠে ওদের মন। স্তত্রাং কৃষকের জগ্গে প্রয়োজনীয় সব কিছু রাখতে হবে একই স্থানে। সময় নষ্ট না করে তাড়াতাড়ি ওদের হাতে সব জিনিসপত্র তুলে দেয়ার লোক থাকতে হবে সকাল থেকে রাত পর্যন্ত। থানা, মহকুমা এবং জেলা পর্যায়ে সকল বিষয়ে সিদ্ধান্ত নেয়ার ক্ষমতা থাকতে হবে কৃষি অফিসারের। অবশ্য এখানে কৃষিঅফিসারের স্বেচ্ছাচারী এবং শ্রমবিমুখ হওয়ার ভয় রয়েছে। কিন্তু একটু সতর্কতা অবলম্বন করলেই এই বিপরীতমুখী সম্ভাবনাকে এড়িয়ে চলা যায়। যদি থানা, মহকুমা এবং জেলা পর্যায়ে কৃষি-অফিসারের বেতন, ভাতা এবং মর্যাদা বৃদ্ধির পরিকল্পনাকে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির পরিকল্পনার সংগে সংযুক্ত করা হয়। অর্থাৎ তাদের পদোন্নতি ঘটবে ফসলওয়ারী। বর্তমান স্বনির্ভর আলোচনে যে কৃষি অফিসার সবচে বৈশী ফসল ফলাবেন তিনিই পুরস্কৃত হবেন সবচে বৈশী। প্রত্যেক কৃষি অফিসারকেই বাধ্যতামূলকভাবে তার এলাকার উৎপাদন বাড়াতে হবে। অন্ততঃ যদি শতকরা দশভাগ উৎপাদনও বৃদ্ধি না পায় তা হলে ঐ এলাকার কৃষি অফিসারের বেতন বৃদ্ধি স্থগিত থাকবে। যদি শতকরা পঁচিশভাগ উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি পায় তা হলে বেতন বৃদ্ধি এবং সেই সংগে পদোন্নতি হবে সংশ্লিষ্ট কৃষি অফিসারের। কৃষিকর্মীদের উৎসাহিত করার জগ্গে একই বছরে দু’বারও বেতন বৃদ্ধি হতে পারে। যদি বা ধান ও পাট এ দুটো ফসলেই আশানুরূপ বাড়তি উৎপাদন পাওয়া যায়। তা ছাড়া উৎপাদনে অগ্রসর কর্মীদেরকে অপেক্ষাকৃত অনগ্রসর এলাকার স্থানান্তরিত করতে হবে। সে এলাকার যদি আবার সংশ্লিষ্ট কর্মী ফলন বাড়াতে পারেন তা হলে আবার তাকে পুরস্কৃত করতে হবে; বেতন বাড়াতে হবে। অপরদিকে অনগ্রসর এলাকা থেকে অগ্রসর এলাকার স্থানান্তরিত কর্মীদের দায়িত্ব থাকবে ঐ এলাকার বাড়তি উৎপাদন অন্ততঃপক্ষে স্বীতিশীল রাখা। যদি না পারে, তা হলে নিয়মিত বার্ষিক বেতন বৃদ্ধি স্থগিত থাকবে। আর যদি পূর্ব অগ্রসরকৃত এলাকার উৎপাদন আরো বাড়তে পারে তা হলে অবশ্যই পুরস্কৃত হবে। যদি এ নিয়ম প্রযোজ্য হয় তা হলে কৃষি অফিসারকে শ্রমবিমুখ হওয়ার আর কোন উপায়

থাকবে না। তবে কৃষি-অফিসারের প্রয়োজনীয় উৎপাদনের উপকরণ সরবরাহ এবং তার পরিকল্পনা অনুযায়ী খামার কারিগরি প্রয়োগের নিশ্চয়তা বিধান এখানে পূর্বশর্ত।

বর্তমানে থানা পর্যায়ের কৃষিপ্রকল্প প্রণয়নের দায়িত্ব রয়েছে সার্কেল অফিসারের উপর। পদাধিকার বলে তিনি থানা প্রকল্পের সভাপতি। কিন্তু থানা কৃষি প্রকল্পের সার্থকতা বহুলাংশে নির্ভর করে টেকনিক্যাল 'নো-হাও' বা কারিগরি জ্ঞানের উপর। প্রকল্প প্রণয়ন এবং 'ইভালিউশন' যদি সঠিক কাঠামোর উপর প্রতিষ্ঠিত না হয়, তা হলে সেই প্রকল্প থেকে খরচ বাদ দিয়ে আয়ের অংক শূন্য কিংবা বিরোধের ঘরে এসে দাঁড়ায়। বাংলাদেশের অধিকাংশ কৃষি প্রকল্পই বর্তমানে অনুরূপ অব্যবস্থার শিকার। প্রকল্প প্রণেতাদের কারিগরি এবং বাস্তব-জ্ঞানের স্বল্পতাই থানা প্রকল্পের পিছু টানের জন্তে দায়ী। এই দুঃখজনক পরিস্থিতিকে মোকাবেলা করার জন্তে থানার সার্কেল অফিসারদেরকে অনতিবিলম্বে খামার পরিচালন এবং প্রকল্প প্রণয়ন সম্পর্কে ব্যবহারিক জ্ঞান দেয়া প্রয়োজন। এ-বিষয়ে বাংলাদেশ কৃষি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় থানা প্রশাসন কর্তৃপক্ষকে আমন্ত্রণ জানাতে পারেন। তা না হলে কৃষি-অফিসারের মাধ্যমে প্রকল্প প্রণয়ন করানো ছাড়া কোন বিকল্প পন্থা নেই।

খাণ্ডে সম্ভবত অর্জনের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বহুফসল ফলানোর পরিকল্পনাকে সার্থক করার জন্তে পানি সেচের প্রতি অত্যধিক গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা হয়েছে। দেশের বিভিন্ন জেলার গভীর ও অগভীর নলকূপ সরবরাহের ক্ষেত্রে স্থানীয় প্রশাসন কর্তৃপক্ষের বিশেষ তৎপরতাও লক্ষ্য করা যাচ্ছে সম্প্রতি। কিন্তু বর্তমানে দেশের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে যান্ত্রিক উপায়ে পানি সেচের যে ব্যবস্থা প্রচলিত রয়েছে তার ব্যবহারিক দিক অত্যন্ত দুর্বল। ফলাফল আশাপ্রদ নয়। একটি ২ কিউসেক ক্ষমতা সম্পন্ন পাওয়ার পাম্পের কমাও এরিয়া হচ্ছে কমপক্ষে ষাট একর। কিন্তু খবর নিয়ে দেখা গেছে কোন পাম্পই ৩০ কিংবা ৪০ একরের বেশী পরিমাণ জমি সেচের আওতায় আনতে পারেনি। অর্থাৎ পাম্পগুলির ন্যূনতম ক্ষমতাকেও কাজে লাগানো হচ্ছে না। অথচ এর জন্তে বিদেশী মুদ্রার অপচয় হয়েছে প্রচুর। তদুপরী পাওয়ার পাম্প থেকে শুরু করে প্রায় সব ধরনের যন্ত্রপাতিই বেশীর ভাগ অরক্ষিত অবস্থায় ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে। ফলে যন্ত্রের ক্ষয়ক্ষতি হচ্ছে প্রচুর। বিকল হয়ে পড়ছে অতি অল্প সময়ের মধ্যেই। খুচরা যন্ত্রাংশের অভাবে এসব যন্ত্র পুনরায় ব্যবহার করা

যাচ্ছে না। হিসেব করলে দেখা যাবে, যেসব যন্ত্রপাতি দেশের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে তার একটি বিরাট অংশ আগামী ৫ বছর পর হয়তো সম্পূর্ণভাবে ব্যবহারের অযোগ্য হয়ে পড়বে। কারণ, যারা এসবের রক্ষণাবেক্ষণের কাজে নিয়োজিত তারা তাদের দায়িত্ব সম্পর্কে অনেকটা উদাসীন। এ ব্যবস্থা চলতে থাকলে খাচ্ছে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতা অর্জনতো। দূরের কথা আমাদের ঘাটতি দিয়েই কুলানো যাবে না। সুতরাং অবস্থার উন্নতির জন্মে একদিকে যেমন গভীর নলকুপের কমাও এরিরা বাড়াতে হবে অপর দিকে তেমনিভাবে দেশীয় পদ্ধতির পানি সেচকে উৎসাহিত করতে হবে। তা হলেই পানি সেচের জটিলতাকে কাটিয়ে উঠা সম্ভব।

বর্তমানে দেশে উচ্চ ফলনশীল ধানচাষের প্রতি কৃষকদের একটা ঝোঁক আছে। কিন্তু প্রয়োজনীয় উপকরণের অভাবে অনেক কৃষকপরিবার উচ্চ ফলনশীল ধান চাষের প্রতি উৎসাহ হারাচ্ছে। এখানে রাসায়নিক সারের দুপ্রাপ্যতার কথা বিশেষ করে গুরুত্ব দিয়ে বিবেচনা করা প্রয়োজন। কারণ, জমিতে রাসায়নিক সারের আনুপাতিক প্রয়োজনের উপর অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম ধানের ফলন বহুলাংশে নির্ভরশীল। কিন্তু ইউনিয়ন পর্যায়ের ডিলারদের মাধ্যমে সার বন্টনের পদ্ধতি অত্যন্ত হতাশাব্যঞ্জক। একরূপ ব্যবস্থাপনায় প্রকৃত কৃষকের হাতে সমরমতো সার পৌঁছানো সম্ভব হয় না। পেছনের দরোজায় রাসায়নিক সার পাচার হয়ে যায় মনকে মন। ফলে খোলা বাজারে সারের দাম বেড়ে যায় চারগুণ। মহল্লা-ভিত্তিক কৃষক-সংগঠনের মাধ্যমে সার এবং উৎপাদনের উপকরণ বন্টন করার ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হলেই কেবল সারের এইরূপ কৃত্রিম সংকট এড়ানো সম্ভব হবে।

ঘোড়াশাল সার কারখানা ধ্বংসস্তূপে পরিণত হবার পর দেশের কৃষি উৎপাদন এক বিপর্যয়ের মুখোমুখী এসে দাঁড়ায়। কারণ, ফেব্রুগঞ্জের একমাত্র সার কারখানা থেকে বছর ফিরে যে পরিমাণ ইউরিয়া বেরিয়ে আসছিলো তা জাতীয় প্রয়োজনের সিকি ভাগ মাত্র। অপর দিকে মুদ্রাস্ফীতি এবং রাসায়নিকের দুপ্রাপ্যতার বিশ্বব্যাপী সারের মূল্যমান অনেক বেড়ে গেছে। এমন পরিস্থিতিতে কেবল রাসায়নিক সারের উপর নির্ভর না করে জৈব সারের উৎপাদন বাড়ানোর জন্যে কৃষকদের উৎসাহিত করা হবে অধিক নুষ্টিসংগত। এখানে বাংলাদেশ কৃষি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় খামারের একটা উদাহরণ দেয়া প্রয়োজন। গোবর, ছাই, কচুরী পানা এবং কম্পোষ্ট পদ্ধতিতে জৈব সারের যোগান বাড়িয়ে

বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের নয়শত একর আবাদী জমির রাসায়নিক সারের চাহিদা সিকি ভাগে নামিয়ে আনা সম্ভব হয়েছে। কৃষি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় কর্তৃপক্ষের এই উদ্যোগ প্রশংসনীয়। এঁদের এই প্রচেষ্টাকে স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের একটি আদর্শ হিসেবে চিহ্নিত করা যেতে পারে। কারণ, রাসায়নিক সারের দুস্তাপ্যতার কম্পোট এবং জৈব সারের যোগান বৃদ্ধি ছাড়া সার সংকটকে এড়ানো সম্ভব নয়।

এ-দেশের কৃষি ক্ষেত্রে আর একটি প্রধানসমস্যা হচ্ছে কৃষক পরিবারের উপর নির্ভরশীল জনসংখ্যার আধিক্য দেশের বড় কৃষকদের তুলনায় ছোট কৃষকদের উপর পারিবারিক সদস্য সংখ্যার চাপ অনেক বেশী। শূণ্য দশমিক পাঁচ থেকে অনুধ' এক একর পর্যন্ত খামার সীমার চাষী পরিবারে সদস্যের গড় হচ্ছে প্রায় ছয়জন। এর পর থেকে যতোই খামার সীমা বেড়ে যায় পরিবার-প্রতি সদস্য চাপ ততোই কমে আসে। কিন্তু সবচে উল্লেখযোগ্য দিক হলো এই যে, ছোট খামারসম্পন্ন কৃষক পরিবারের অধিকাংশ সদস্যই হয় বৃদ্ধ, নয় রুগ্ন কিংবা শিশু। অর্থাৎ তারা কর্মক্ষমতাহীন। তারা চাষাবাদের অযোগ্য। পারিবারিক অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নে তাদের কোন অবদান নেই বললেই চলে। অথচ ভোগের বেলায় তারা পরিবারের একটি বড় ভাগ গ্রহণ করে থাকে। ফলে দিনের পর দিন ধ্বংশের মুখে এগিয়ে যায় ক্ষুদ্রে কৃষক-পরিবার। এই দুঃখজনক পরিস্থিতি থেকে ক্ষুদ্রে কৃষক-পরিবারকে মুক্তি দিতে হলে চাষাবাদের অনুপযুক্ত জনশক্তির জন্ম সাপ্লিমেন্টারী কর্মসূচী প্রণয়ন করা প্রয়োজন। এবং এই সীমগুলো হবে কুটিরশিল্প-ভিত্তিক। উদাহরণ স্বরূপ বাংলাদেশ কৃষি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের গ্রাম উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচীর কথা উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে। বিশ্ব-বিদ্যালয়ের পার্শ্ববর্তী প্রায় ১১টি গ্রামে বর্তমানে উইভিং, বি-কপিং এবং অগ্রাগ্র হস্ত-চালিত কুটিরশিল্প প্রসারের ব্যবস্থা চলছে। জামালপুর মহকুমার কৃষি অফিসার জনাব ওয়াসিউজ্জামানের নেতৃত্বেও অনুরূপ এক প্রকল্পের কাজ দ্রুত গতিতে এগিয়ে চলছে ব্রহ্মপুত্রের চর এলাকায়। কেবল মহিলাকর্মী দিয়ে ফসল পরিচর্যার এমন দৃষ্টান্ত এদেশে বিরল। স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের পরিকল্পনায়ও যদি অনুরূপ কর্মসূচী গ্রহণ করা হয় তা হলে ক্ষুদ্রে কৃষক-পরিবারের উৎপাদন-বিমুখ শ্রমশক্তিকে সংগঠিত এবং উৎপাদনমুখী করা সম্ভব হবে।

বর্তমানে যেসব এলাকার উন্নত চাষাবাদ হচ্ছে সেসব এলাকার অধিকাংশ কৃষকই 'অপটিমাম উৎপাদন' থেকে বঞ্চিত। কখনো মোট উৎপাদন খরচ হচ্ছে বেশী। আবার কখনো চাষাবাদ ও কালচারাল অপারেশনের বেলায় গলদ

থেকে যায়। যেমন সময় মতো ধান রোপন করা হয় না। সেচ এবং সারের সরবরাহ অপ্রতুল। যদিও বা কিছু সরবরাহ হয়, তা সময়মতো হয় না। উৎপাদন খরচ বহন করার জগ্রে যে পরিমাণ আর্থিক সাহায্যের প্রয়োজন তাও অপ্রতুল। অথবা সময়ের সংগে সামঞ্জস্যহীন। ফলে জমিতে ফসল বুনন বা রোপনের সময় হয় বিলম্বিত। কিন্তু ফসলের উৎপাদন, বুনন বা রোপনের সময় ধানের উপর অত্যন্ত নির্ভরশীল। ফলে উৎপাদন হয় বিঘ্নিত। অবশ্য বিলম্বিত চাষাবাদের আরো একটা কারণ আছে। সে হলো স্বল্প পরিমাণের পশুশক্তি। আমাদের দেশে কৃষি মানবশক্তির অভাব হয়তো নেই। কিন্তু পশুশক্তির দারুণ অভাব রয়েছে। দীর্ঘ দিনের অবহেলা, নিয়ন্ত্রণহীন গরু জবাই, পুরনো প্রজননপদ্ধতি এবং সর্বোপরী বছরের পর বছর ক্রমাগত বহুতর যেভাবে দেশের পশুশক্তি ধ্বংসের মুখে এগিয়ে গেছে, তাতে সময়মতো চাষাবাদের কথা কল্পনাই করা যায় না। এমতাবস্থায় চাষাবাদ বিলম্বিত হওয়াই স্বাভাবিক। সুতরাং স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনকে স্বার্থক করার জগ্রে উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচীকে দ্রুত বাস্তবায়িত করা প্রয়োজন। কিন্তু গবাদি পশুর রোগ সমস্যা, খাদ্য সমস্যা এবং সেই সংগে প্রজনন সমস্যার সমাধান না হওয়া পর্যন্ত এর উন্নয়ন সম্ভব নয়। এখানে কেবল প্রজনন সমস্যাটাকেই বিশেষ গুরুত্বসহ উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে। কারণ এর উপর নির্ভর করে পশুর গুণগত মানউন্নয়ন। এবং এই গুণগত মান-উন্নয়নের একমাত্র পথ হচ্ছে গবাদি পশুর কৃত্রিম প্রজনন। এর জগ্রে বিদেশ থেকে প্রচুর তরল বীজ আমদানী করা দরকার। তার আগে বিভিন্ন জেলার প্রতিটি ইউনিয়নে একটি করে কৃত্রিম প্রজনন ক্লিনিক স্থাপন করতে হবে। সেই ক্লিনিকের সংগে থাকবে একটি করে প্রজনন নীরিক্ষাগার বা ল্যাবরেটরী। থাকবেন প্রয়োজনীয় পশু-চিকিৎসক এবং কর্মচারী। অপরিদিকে প্রত্যেকটি ইউনিয়নকে কয়েকটি ভাগে ভাগ করে ৫ মাইল রেডিয়াসের মধ্যে একটি করে সমবার পশু উন্নয়নসংস্থা স্থাপন করতে হবে। সংস্থাগুলো সব দিক থেকেই সংযোগ রক্ষা করে চলবে ক্লিনিকের সংগে। যখনই কোন গাড়ীর উত্তাপ সৃষ্টি হবে তখনই তাকে প্রজনন করতে হবে সমবার সংস্থার কৃত্রিম উপায়ে। এবং এই প্রজনন পদ্ধতি হবে প্রতিটি কৃষকের জগ্রে বাধ্যতামূলক। তা হলে অতি অল্প সময়ের মধ্যেই এ দেশের গবাদী পশুর মানের উন্নতি সম্ভব হবে। ধরে নেয়া যাক, একটি দেশীয় গাভী ৫ পাউণ্ড দুধ দেয়। আর বিদেশী তরল বীজ বা বঁড়ের উৎপাদিকা শক্তি ষাট পাউণ্ড। প্রথমবার এ-দুই-এর মিলন হলে পরবর্তী বংশধর ৩২.৫ পাউণ্ড দুধ ধারণের ক্ষমতা অর্জন করবে। এখন এই নতুন বংশধরের

সঙ্গে পুনরায় ৬০ পাউণ্ড উৎপাদিকা শক্তিসম্পন্ন বীজের সংগম হলে পরবর্তী বংশধর ৪৬ পাউণ্ড দুগ্ধ ধারণের ক্ষমতা অর্জন করবে। এরূপ দুই বংশধর পর্যন্ত কৃত্রিম প্রজননব্যবস্থা চালিয়ে যেতে হলে সময় লাগবে মাত্র ছয় বছর। অতরাং কালবিলম্ব না করে স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের জেলা কমিটিগুলোকে এ ধরনের কৃত্রিম পশু প্রজনন স্কীম গ্রহণ করা উচিত। কারণ, পশুশক্তির দৈহিক পরিমাণ ও গুণগত উৎপাদন স্বস্তির উপর বহুলাংশে নির্ভরশীল আমাদের স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন।

স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনে ছোট কৃষকদের স্বার্থরক্ষার বিষয়টি নিয়ে প্রশ্ন উঠেছে। কারণ, এ-পর্যন্ত দেশের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে, যেখানে উন্নত চাষাবাদ চালু ছিলো সেখানে ক্ষুদ্র কৃষকের স্বার্থ দারুণভাবে অরক্ষিত ছিলো। আধুনিক টেকনোলজির ফলে যদিও বড় কৃষকদের চেয়ে ছোট কৃষকগণ অধিকহারে লাভবান হওয়ার কথা, সেখানে আধুনিক টেকনোলজির সুবিধা লুটছে শুধু জোতদার এবং বড় কৃষকগণ। কারণ, আধুনিক চাষাবাদের জন্মে মোট খরচের শতকরা ২৫ ভাগ টেকনোলজি খরচ ছোট কৃষকগণ জোগাতে পারে না। অতরাং আধুনিক চাষাবাদের সফলতাও তারা ভোগ করতে পারে না। তাদের উৎপাদনও হয় ভাগ্য নিরঞ্জিত। অপর দিকে প্রচুর আর্থিক আনুকূল্যে বড় কৃষকগণ যাত্নীক চাষাবাদের সুবিধাটুকু পুরোপুরি উপভোগ করে থাকে। ফলে উৎপাদন তাদের বেড়ে যায়। এই বৈষম্যকে আধুনিক চাষী-সমবায়ের মাধ্যমেও ঠেকানো যায়নি। তার একমাত্র কারণ অর্থনৈতিক গুরুত্বের উপর ভিত্তি করে সমাজের শ্রেণীবিচ্ছিন্নতা। কারণ, সমাজে যে শ্রেণী যখন অর্থনৈতিকভাবে গুরুত্ব পায় তারা সমাজের সাবিক গতিধারার প্রভুত্ব করতে থাকে। কৃষকসমবায়ের মাঝেও যেসব কৃষক বেশী শক্তিশালী তাদের মতামতই বেশী গ্রহণযোগ্য হয়। তারাই সমবায় নেতৃত্ব করে। উৎপাদনের মোটভাগ তাদের জন্মেই বরাদ্দকৃত হয়। অতএব, খাতিসমস্যা সমাধান তথা অর্থনৈতিক সাম্যতা রক্ষার জন্মে এখন ক্ষুদ্র কৃষকের স্বার্থকে সংরক্ষিত করার প্রয়োজন দেখা দিয়েছে। এর জন্মে বর্তমান সাভিস টাইপ কৃষি-সমবায়ের সাংগঠনিক এবং ব্যবস্থাপনা-বিষয়ক দুর্বলতাকে কাটিয়ে ওঠা প্রয়োজন। কিন্তু সাম্প্রতিককালে গ্রাম-ভিত্তিক কৃষি-সমবায় গড়ে তোলার যে ছক তৈরী করা হয়েছিলো তা মূলতঃ সাভিস টাইপ-এরই সংস্করণ। সমবায়ের এই নীতি সমালোচনামুক্ত নয়। এটা উপর থেকে চাপিয়ে দেয়া নীতি। কৃষকদের মধ্যে থেকে স্বতঃস্ফূর্ত এবং স্বেচ্ছাপ্রণোদিত

কর্মোদ্যোগ এখানে অনুপস্থিত। ফলে সরকারী আর্থিক আনুকূল্যের স্থানে কৃষি-সমবায় গড়ে উঠবে সত্য, কিন্তু তার প্রান্তিক মুনাফা হবে কম। সামাজিক স্বেচ্ছা বন্টনের দিকটাও থাকবে উপেক্ষিত। অপরদিকে প্রয়োজন থেকেও অধিক হারে সাবসিডি এবং সরকারী ঋণ প্রদান করা হয় বলে তার উৎপাদন খরচ এবং প্রান্তিক মুনাফার ভারসাম্য হারায়। বাংলাদেশের মতো গরীব দেশের পক্ষে এতো বেশী আর্থিক আনুকূল্য দিয়ে কৃষিসমবায় চালু রাখা সম্ভব নয়। স্বেচ্ছা বন্টনের কথা বিবেচনা করলেও এ-ধরনের সমবায় এ দেশে অচল। কারণ সেখানে আধুনিক চাষাবাদের মাধ্যমে জমির উৎপাদন কোথাও কোথাও বৃদ্ধি পেলেও তা হয় অসম। সুতরাং এখন উৎপাদন-ভিত্তিক যৌথ কৃষিসমবায় প্রতিষ্ঠার উপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা প্রয়োজন।

বর্তমানে দেশের আবাদী জমির উপর জনসংখ্যার চাপ অত্যধিক। এই জনসংখ্যার চাপ যদি অপ্রতিহত গতিতে বেড়ে যায় তা হলে দেশের একটা নির্দিষ্ট পরিমাণ জনতাকে কৃষিকাজ থেকে শিল্প কর্মে স্থানান্তর করতে হবে। কিন্তু আমাদের দেশে সেই সুযোগ-সুবিধার অভাব। ফলে শিল্প গড়ে উঠার পূর্বমুহূর্ত পর্যন্ত ক্রমবর্ধমান জনসংখ্যাকে কৃষিকাজের উপরই নির্ভরশীল হয়ে থাকতে হবে। তাতে আবাদী জমির উপর জনসংখ্যার চাপ অদূর ভবিষ্যতে এতো বেশী বেড়ে যাবে যে ব্যক্তিগত চাষাবাদের মাধ্যমে সংকট এড়ানো সম্ভব হবে না। এর জগ্রে কালেকটিভ ব্যবস্থাপনার প্রয়োজন হবে। সুতরাং স্বেচ্ছা বন্টনের কথা ছেড়ে দিলেও একক এবং যৌথ ব্যবস্থাপনার মাধ্যমে উৎপাদন-ভিত্তিক কৃষিসমবায় গড়ে তোলা প্রয়োজন। এই ব্যবস্থাপনার খামারগুলো গ্রাম-ভিত্তিতে এবং একক পরিচালনাধীনে গড়ে উঠে। জমি চাষ থেকে শুরু করে ফসল বন্টন পর্যন্ত কাজগুলোর দায়িত্ব থাকে সমবায় সমিতির। কৃষকগণ তার জমি এবং শ্রমের পরিমাণের উপর নির্ভর করে উৎপাদিত শস্যের ভাগ পায়। সুতরাং যিনি জমির মালিক তিনি যদি শ্রম বিনিয়োগ না করেন তা হলে স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই তার আয় হবে কম। যিনি শ্রম বিনিয়োগ করেন তার জমির পরিমাণ কম হলেও আয় বেড়ে যাবে। এভাবে সমাজের স্বার্থপর এবং বিদ্যুশালী কৃষকদের ক্ষমতা কৃষ্টিগতকরণের নীতিকে পাশ কেটে যাওয়া সম্ভব হবে। কৃষকগণ স্বেচ্ছাপ্রণোদিত হয়ে খামারে কাজ করবে বলে এখানে তাদের উৎসাহ থাকবে বেশী। ফলন বেড়ে যাবে বহুগুণে। তা ছাড়া ফসল মাড়ানো এবং বন্টনের কাজ একই হাতে হবে বলে সরকারী কৃষিঋণের টাকাও যথা সময়ে পরিশোধ করা সম্ভবপর হয়ে উঠবে।

অতরাং শুধু উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির জন্মেই নয়, কৃষকদের স্বতঃস্ফূর্ত কর্মক্ষমতাকে পুরোপুরিভাবে কাজে লাগানো এবং সমাজের স্রষ্টা বিকাশের পথকে উন্মুক্ত করার জন্মেও চাই একক পরিচালনাধীন ষোঁথ কৃষিসমবায় ব্যবস্থাপনা। কারণ, এর মাধ্যমে বেকার কৃষি শ্রমিকের কর্ম-সংস্থানের সংগে গ্রামের শিক্ষা সংস্কৃতির প্রসার ঘটবে। ষোঁথ কর্ম প্ররোগের মাধ্যমে গবাদী পশু এবং হাঁস মুরগীর মান-উন্নয়ন ও মৎস্য চাষের উৎকর্ষ সাধন সম্ভব হবে। তা ছাড়া সামাজিক বিকাশের সংগে মানুষে মানুষে ব্যবধান দূরীভূত হবে। এর জন্মে আজ আমাদেরকে সামগ্রিক একাগ্রতা দিয়ে প্রস্তুতি নিতে হবে। ব্যক্তিস্বার্থকে বিসর্জন দিয়ে প্রতিটি কৃষকের মাঝে সংহতি স্থাপন করার মতো মনোবৃত্তি জাগিয়ে তুলতে হবে। কৃষিসমবায় শিক্ষাকে উৎসাহিত করতে হবে সার্বজনীন ভিত্তিতে। তা হলেই সফল হবে আজকের স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন।

SELF-RELIANT RURAL BANGLADESH: PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS OF PILOT VILLAGES

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Even if, one does not go into the details of statistical informations for the substantiation of ones generalisation, one can not but ordinarily observe that Bangladesh is confronted with mainly two problems : food deficit and population explosion. And their solution has been epitomized at the macro-level. The macro ovservation to the danger have made us more awe stricken, more helpless and more inert. But, on the other hand, if these problems could be viewed from a lower level—a mirco-level, strategies or solutions may lead oneself to venture upon the practicability of setting up of micro-economic planning at villages, unions, thanas which might mark at few targets, employ effeciently their available resources, manpower and technical know-hows.

Thus planning from below was thought much easier for the solution of the national problem, no sooner had the people of some of the districts of Bangladesh braved the last 1974-floods and succeeded in materialising the projects that relied totally on the locally available resources of their.

Despite the non-availability of current data concerning the sectors, like, industries, transport and communication, education man-power, and family planning, health and social welfare, for quantification of benefits scored so far, the performances so far done by the districts in 1974-75, before launching all out programme for 'self-reliance "in all districts calcubable interms of land brought under the cultivation for food are as follows : During 1974-75, in the district of Nowakhali, the 'self-reliant" programme for bringing 2.0 lakh acres under Boro cultivation instead of of the Government assigned target of 1.36 lakh acres. The productions was raised to 2.09 tons from 1.90 lakh acres. In

Chittagong, under the same programme, the Govt. target for the cultivation of Boro was raised from 2.05 lakh acres to 2.38 lakh acres and an additional production of 19 thousand tons was collected. For Boro production, in Comilla, under the same programme, 0.30 lakh acres were added to the assigned Government target of 2.50 lakh acres which had an additional production of 32 thousand tons¹ the reliance of the people of the said districts on their own men and material and the tremendous success thereof, had drawn the attention of the Nation. And thus on the 25th September, 1975, "the self-reliant Bangladesh Movement" on national level was started.

Each district, each sub-Division, each thanas, each unions, was required to choose one village each as pilot village which would rely totally on its available resources and technological knowledge for the maximum utilisation of its capacity with a view to contributing to the Nation's goal for 'Self-sufficiency'.

The main objectsvs of the organisational and functional set-up of a village to be declared as "pitol village" in the self-reliant movement in Bangladesh are as follows :

- (a) men of all walks of life are to be employed for reconstruction works and be organised by the Committees constituted at Villages,
- (b) there should be co-ordination of works between the Government officials and the people attached to the movement,
- (c) 'one step down system' would create a close contact between Government officials of Co-operative Society, other private agencies and the general masses of people,
- (d) the overall village development from the locally hauled resources should be stressed upon in respect of setting up small projects and their materialisation,
- (e) an overall programme for the village development should be preferable to partial programmes (which would bring no permanent and effective result),

১। 'স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন কি ও কেন,' বাংলাদেশ সংবাদ, আশ্বিন, ৩০, ১৩৮২
পৃঃ ৪।

- (f) an accurate statistical information should be stressed upon in the interest of the preparation of work plans,
- (g) all necessary measures should be taken up for the removal of the bottle-necks for the materialisation of work plans and for evaluation of the projects concerned.

In view of the above, a village is to be selected, as a pilot village for furthering the 'self-reliant' movement which fulfils the following preconditions :

- (i) the village to be selected as a village, which, as far as possible, is a developing village,
- (ii) it has a nearly developed intra-structure-like, a net work of developed roads, and means of transport, on availability of power lines, etc.
- (iii) it has some social institutions and cultural organisations like primary, secondary schools (for boys and girls), cultural Clubs community Centre, libraries, night schools for adults (for men and women) organisation of which is entrusted with most of the young and energetic members of the village,
- (iv) it has primary agricultural societies, and co-operative societies for other trade groups. Most of the members of the community are co-operative minded,
- (v) the village that has had some amount of experience in respect of mechanised cultivation introduced in some parts of its cultivable land, use of low lift pumps, shallow tube-wells, deep tube-well and canals for the use and distribution of water, modern inputs, etc.,
- (vi) the general masses of people volunteer their energy and limited resources for bringing about benefits for the maximum number,
- (vii) some amount of family planning techniques have already been initiated and practised by some of the people.

(B)

The prospects of a pilot village to be considered as a 'self-reliant village' can be broadly grouped as (a) economic and (b) social.

(a) **Economic prospects**

(1) As because the pitol village is agrobiased, it would offer sufficient scope for the labour intensive mechanised and modern methods of cultivation. Cropping pattern could be intensified. The wastage in land use and under employment of agricultural labour force might be minimised. The optimum capacity of land use could be made possible. By the by, it might use endogenous inputs, like, cow dung as manure, compost, etc. whenever the supply of chemical fertilizer for the time being, lagged behind the demand.

(2) The village might index its primary socially necessary wants the satisfaction of which would only and absolutely depend upon its own currently available physical resource balance. Therefore, a minimum desirable *per capita* income would be tried upon to sustain and enjoyed by the largest, though not by all, number of population.

(3) Under the existing socio-economic production relation, the proportion of bettering the lots of the landless agricultural labourers and the share-croppers would increase. The labour intensive made of cultivation might augment the sharing of some increased rate of growth of agricultural output at least.

(4) There would be the possibility of uniting the owners of factors—land, capital and labour, in their effective use and for greating an assurance against exploiting one by the other. An experimental farm, for example, that would combine a land-owner who lacks capital and labour, a capital owner who locks land and labour, a labour-owner who locks capital and land, making provision for sharing out, say 33% of the net products raised from it by each of the factor owner. And, this would require to be clearly incorporated in a document prepared jointly by the three parties. For, this effort might, at least, provide the unemployed and partially employed 'agrarian proletariat' economically a footing equal with the other two. Their consumption of the socially necessary products would be quantitatively increased and assured.

(5) with the existing structure of co-operative Societies and their subsequent expansion along with a desirable rate of saving out of the gross product of the village, it would be

possible to initiate small scale/cottage industrial units like processing lines of diary farms products like, canned and condensed milk, toned butter, etc. coir industry, hand loom/power loom textile industry, wooden furniture, cart which making firms, and pottery industry, and firms of other crafts. The doses of capital investment being small and likely to be had from the accumulated small savings with the co-operative credit societies via limiting the satisfaction to a few primary wants and restricting the propensity to consume for secondary and luxury types of goods and services. The industries thus established would provide employment of surplus rural population and on the other hand, enjoy the benefits of backward linkage'.

(6) Knowing full well the final demand for the village, a 'planning cell'—a type by its own—could formulate programmes for short, medium and long terms. The people of the soil who know best of their environment and existing socio-economic structure, would learn, by trial and error, how calculate their own economies capital/output ratio, or the technological coefficients, man/land ratio, and prepare resource balance and requirement balance, etc. As the planning originate at a micro-level oriented on resource structure of the village, the planning sophisticated in nature and academically sound prepared from the above by the district administration or by the national Government or by a commission is not required to be super imposed upon the villages. As the planners and the executors are inseparable entity here, their planning would make no room for an extra bunding burden or over optimistic programme or setting these goals which they would not possibly carry or materialise even in the long run.

(7) Nearly fifty per cent of the total labour force of any village are women folk who are not productively employed for want of cottage and other industries. Along with their general illiteracy and the limitation of the avenues of employment, the pilot village might open a new mode of production relying upon the full-time, part-time, part-time labour of women folk without breaking the socio-religious institutions of the village.

(8) Some of the home made products, like, 'Kancha-golla' of Natore 'Cham-Cham' of Tangail, and the like, the reputation of which was known to every Bangalees in the past, the pilot

villages might set programme for bringing in the time light of the 'once-upon-a-time' typical and traditional products of those areas. These villages, on the other hand, might reap the advantages of comparative costs in both production and exchange.

(b) Social

(1) As formation of capital becomes Zero or less than Zero, if the rates of growth of population of a village negates the desired rates savings. It becomes imperative on the part of the pitol village to check and stabilise the rate of growth of population to a desirable level. The services of the educated and energetic youngmen and women of the village could be volunteered for the initiation, drive, propagation and spread of the knowledge and techniques of family planning, on the one hand, and their direct participation would be essential for giving drives for the collection of small savings, against uncleanness and organising movement for repairs and construction of roads, schools, clubs, religious institutions, digging up of new canals, rehabilitating of crippled, old, orphans, widows, etc.

(2) By instituting cultural clubs and other social organisation the youngmen along with the members of the pitol village committee might defuse ideas and thoughts of much economic benefits to the general masses of people. They might change the character of the socio-religious institutions—like, early marriage, polygamy, mass illiteracy in women folk, religious sentiments against the use of family planning techniques, an apathy for preventive measures against epidemic diseases etc. The benefit might cause bettering the lots of these who are the most neglected in the society.

(3) One step down system emphasized as the main spring of the whole mechanism of self-reliant movement, would make the higher officials and departmental heads to come down to the pitol villages. Thus, they, would come in direct contact with the villagers (which is, for the first time, the break in the normal function of bureaucracy and it is the only novelty of the movement). The higher officials would know the general and specific problems of the pitol villages, pertinent advice, make necessary arrangements for the timely and speedy services by the relevant departments. The direction and co-ordination to be made by the districts or the local administration, the one hand, and

assistance in the form of providing fertilizer, pesticides, seeds and other agricultural and small scale industrial inputs, on the other, might accelerate and maintain the development works in the villages and realise the projects at a shortest possible of time. Taking of keen interest by the top officials in the socio-economic developmental affairs of the pilot villages would automatically activate and re-orientate the duties and responsibilities of the official at the bottom.

(C)

Problems :

Problems relating to a pilot village might be grouped as (a) internal or local problems which might have the nature of temporary, sporadic and permanent implications, and (b) external problems which, by and large, might be related to national problems, solutions of which would lie either in administrative measures or in long chain of processes requiring time.

(a) Internal or local problems

(1) As regards the financing of a handful of projects undertaken such as, setting up of a night school for adults or opening a display and selling centre for the products designed and made by the female workers or procurement of a few drainage pipes for the cross-sections of roads, converting a primary school to a junior high, a junior high to a high—for boys or for girls or for both—equipping with a rich Library and a science laboratory, or procurement of cement and other materials for the reconstruction of main canals of deep tube-wells etc. initially the organizers of the pilot villages would be confronted with the problem of shortage of funds.

(2) If a careful observation one could take, one would be astounded to note that the dependance of the pilot village's would be initially to the extent of 60 per cent on, either external administration or departments. But if it were so, it did not describe the exact philosophy of 'self-reliance'. And, it is, on the other hand, an unreal proposition for bringing about an increased rate of growth of agricultural production especially, relying absolutely upon the old and traditional methods of cultivation along with locally available inefficient and inadequate

factor inputs. Because rapid and speedy rate of growth of agricultural production is preconditioned by the modernization in the method of cultivation. And hence, at the first launching of the self-reliant movement in the pilot villages, the inadequacy of funds for security or for purchase of modern equipment or implement would be much pronounced. This nature of dependence would be inescapable could not be looked down upon.

And, again, funds whether collected locally or procured externally, would be liable to misuse. There would likely crop up possibility of improper maintenance of accounts and necessary papers. Dishonesty and corruption in the activities of the members of the self-reliant committees would be bred.

(3) The role of co-operation, though thought to be the most effective and powerful agency for the mobilisation and accumulation of finance, the so-called formalities would be putting spoke in the wheel of its expansion. A long chain of processes and pertinent rules for the formation of a society are to be set with tire-someness for which the general masses of people would be in the least enthuasiatic in the formation of the same. In short, a misunderstanding about co-operation in enshrouded and barring the co-operative officials and would be co-operators.

(4) As regards planning, the projection of targets is by itself limited to short term period. People, habitual by nature, for the fulfilment of their wants within a shortest possible time, are more prone to take up those programmes at random the time period of which requires half a year, a year or two, without assigning adequate priority to different programmes of medium and long terms. They are inexperienced, and for the ideas of formulation of a plan by themselves is a new one which might lead to no plan. Or, a sophisticated and academically sound plan might be dropped from above taking into consideration a least conformity to the available resource supplies of the village. Again, it would lead to double-cost in some cases, for want of wisdom of accommodating the projects concerned in the currently available under-utilised structure. In short, in this respect, the people at the pilot village planning cell might not be in a position to identify the socially necessary wants and to take up those projects that would have both 'forward' and 'backward' linkage.

(5) Some of the social groups, like the council of elders, in some villages, or the groups who are philosophically opposed to those organisers who would be straining their brain and muscles for the success of the self-reliant movement, might 'oppose for opposition's sake' and seek ways and means for discrediting and disintegrating the ongoing spirit of the people and the organisers, especially. On the other hand, the interested classes—for example, the big land owners who rented out their land to share-croppers, tenant operators, and others, and the money lenders might try to maintain status quo or join hands with the diametrically opposite groups against the self-reliant movement in the rural villages.

(6) While a considerable participation of women folk is a concomitant phenomenon of the movement, the institutions, like family, religion, custom, etc. might play discouraging roles initially and cry a halt to the pace of socio-economic and cultural development in the village.

(7) The 'push and pull effects' create more attractive employment in towns rather than in villages. These effects might create a state of imbalance or vacuum in the village economy. For the organising class—the education young middle class of the village people who initiated the programme for self-reliance, might leave their home at opportune moments putting the projects underway out of gear or half done.

(b) External problems :

(1) The crux of the problems, for whom the self-reliance is? How many members of a self-reliant village would get how much? Despite the success of co-operative movement which is a must and the subsequent increase in net product for the village in the years to come, under the existing land tenure system and production relation, there would not be a radical change in favour of improving the lots of the agrarian proletariat. This requires nation's judicious consideration and right action.

(2) There are certain exogeneous factors associated with a great amount of uncertainty, which require from time to time revision, re-adjustment of policies of the Government, and re-examination or revaluation of projects directly by the departments, concerned. The most dominant factors that might shift one type

of production to other or might create imbalance in the village economy are : Vehement fluctuations in agricultural product of prices, rise in the prices of agricultural imputes in uncertainty in the procurement of agricultural inputs, the sudden breakdown of a pump demanding its immediate replacement or procurement of spares, the supplies of which are controlled and maintained by the departments concerned are found to be inadequate or nil, etc. In most of the cases, mentioned above, time passes by in inaction and negligence. The sapping away of enthusiasim and initiative on behalf of the departments concerned might be much pronounced and ultimately, that would overlap one programme upon the other.

(3) As because a 'pilot village' would be enjoying a preferential treatment from the department and the administration in respect of procurement, distribution of inputs and others, it is feared that other villages would be under 'polarisation effects' Depriving other villages of the required and judicious treatment concerned, in another way round, might make the national economy suffer for a longer period of time.

(4) The 'self-reliant movement has got currency and attracted the attention of the people of all walks of life. This movement has got priority at the National level and hence had added an extra burden to the administrative authority. Over burdensome responsibility tantamounts to inertia and negligence. 'One step above' the pilot village organisations, the Circle Officers (Dev.) the first and most important link of the long-chain along with a few local administration officers, like thana agricultural officer, thana co-operative officers, thana family planning officers and a few field staff, the required impetus and acceleration in the success of the movement might be inadequate and ineffective.

(D)

It is not a ripe movement to pass a verdict with some preconceived notions in favour or against the movement, after a lapse of period between only 30 days and 150 days since the launching of the programmes in the pilot villages in Banladesh. It is likely that some of the projects which enjoyed the contribution of man-day labour of the guests and local workers during the days of "workshop" in the pilot villages (90 per cent of

the workshops programmes were in the nature of repairs, patch-up works, filling in ditches, clearing of weeds ponds, etc. and were of short-term nature) would bring cent per cent success. But, the questions remain unanswered to those projects, the gestation periods of are 365 days, or 730 days or 1095 days or more; 6% solutions of the problems lie with the departments/authority; and how the departments/authority do/does take interest and make pertinent actions.

It is always observed that any action of good motive does fructify, though not in-to-to, partially. The village-AID programme during the fifties, the 'basic democracy' and 'works programme's during the sixties made some amount of changes in the intra-structure, the communicative media, the uses of improved seed-varieties, of chemical fertilizers, of water etc. in the rural economy of Bangladesh. And, therefore, the 'movement coined as 'self-reliance' would also bring about some amount of benefits it aspires for, especially, increase in agricultural output or changes in the agricultural mode of production, if not in the production relation.

মৌলিক অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যার সমাধানে “স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের” ভূমিকা

মোহাম্মদ আলী

বাংলাদেশ ইন্সটিটিউট অব ডেভলপমেন্ট ষ্টাডিজ

ব্যবহৃত এবং অব্যবহৃত সম্পদের পূর্ণ সহ্যবহারের মাধ্যমে জাতীয় অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যা সমাধানের সাবিক প্রচেষ্টাকে “স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন” বলে আখ্যায়িত করা যায়। স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের” মূল কথা হচ্ছে অর্থনীতিকে নিজ পায়ের দাঁড় করানো। দেশের সম্পদের সর্বাধিক ব্যবহার করতে হবে, অত্র কোন দেশের উপর নির্ভরশীল না হয়ে এ প্রচেষ্টা চালাতে হবে। কিন্তু বর্তমান দুনিয়ার যেখানে আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনৈতিক সম্পর্ক ও নির্ভরশীলতা নিবিড় থেকে নিবিড়তর হচ্ছে সেখানে “স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের” উদ্দেশ্য হোক ‘যতকম সম্ভব অত্র দেশের উপর নির্ভরশীল হয়ে, নিজেদের সম্পদের স্বেচ্ছা ব্যবহারের মাধ্যমে অর্থনীতিকে নিজ পায়ের দাঁড় করানো’ এবং মৌলিক উদ্দেশ্য হোক স্বয়ং সম্পূর্ণতা অর্জন স্বনির্ভরতার মাধ্যমে।

৫৫ হাজার ১ শত ২৬ বর্গমাইল পরিবেষ্টিত সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের বাসস্থান হল বাংলাদেশে। কৃষিই এদেশের প্রাণ। শতকরা ৮০-৮৫ জন লোক প্রত্যক্ষ বা পরোক্ষভাবে একাজে নিয়োজিত। জাতীয় আয়ের সিংহভাগও আসে কৃষিখাত থেকে। জাতির জন্ত খাদ্য সরবরাহে তথা খাদ্যে স্বয়ং-সম্পূর্ণতায় কৃষির ভূমিকা সবার কাছে সুস্পষ্ট। সুতরাং “স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের”, যে কোন পরিকল্পনায় নেওয়া হোক না কেন, কৃষিকে কেন্দ্রবিন্দু না ধরলে, সে পরিকল্পনা ব্যর্থ হতে বাধ্য। স্বয়ং পরিকল্পনায় কৃষিকে মূল হিসেবে ধরে স্বনির্ভরতার খসড়া পটভূমি তৈরী করে উন্নয়নের পথে ধাপে ধাপে এগিয়ে যেতে হবে।

কৃষির উন্নয়নের মধ্যেই লুকিয়ে রয়েছে মৌলিক সমস্যাবলীর সাবিক সমাধান। একদিকে কৃষি স্বনির্ভর করতে পারে ঘরোয়া অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যার সমাধান করে, অত্রদিকে কৃষি সাহায্য করতে পারে রফতানী উদ্ধৃত্ত সৃষ্টি করে মূল্যবান বৈদেশিক মুদ্রা অর্জন করার ব্যাপারে। ঘরোয়া অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যাবলীর

মধ্যে খাদ্য সমস্যা ও বেকার সমস্যা বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। অর্থনীতিকে নিজস্ব গতি দিতে প্রথম ও প্রধান অন্তরায় হিসেবে এ দুটিকে ধরে নেয়া যায়। সুতরাং স্বনির্ভরতার আলোকে খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতা অর্জন এবং বেকারত্বের পরিমাণ সামনে রেখে কৃষির উন্নয়নের সম্ভাব্য সমাধানের প্রতি আলোকপাত করা হচ্ছে।

বাংলাদেশে চাষাবাদের উপযুক্ত জমির পরিমাণ হচ্ছে ২'২৫ কোটি একর। এ জমিতে চাষ করার পরও খাদ্যঘাটতি দেখা দেয়। এ খাদ্যঘাটতি ১৯৬০ সালে ছিল ৭ লক্ষ ৭৫ হাজার টন, যেটা বেড়ে ১৯৬৯-৭০ সালে দাঁড়ালো ১৫ লক্ষ টনে এবং পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে এটা তীব্র বেড়ে চলছে। এর কারণ বিশ্লেষণ করলে দেখা যায় উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির হার এবং জনসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধির হার একটার সাথে অণুটার সমন্বয় সাধন সম্ভব হচ্ছে না, অন্তত বর্তমানের উৎপাদন প্রণালীতে। বাড়তি জনসংখ্যা শুধু খাদ্যঘাটতি বাড়িয়ে তানয়, উৎপাদনের উৎপাদক হিসেবে শ্রমিকের কর্মদক্ষতা কমিয়ে নিয়ে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির হারও ক্রমাগত কমিয়ে দিচ্ছে, ফলে আরো বেশী খাদ্য সমস্যা এবং বেকার সমস্যার উদ্ভব হচ্ছে। জনসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধির সাথেসাথে আর নিভঁরশীল লোকদের সংখ্যা এবং জমির পরিমাণ ক্রমাগত অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রতিকূলে যাচ্ছে। একদিকে জনসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি খাদ্যের চাহিদা বাড়িয়েছে, অন্যদিকে সীমিত জমির উৎপাদন কমে গিয়ে খাদ্যের সরবরাহ কমে যাচ্ছে। যার সুস্পষ্ট ফল খাদ্যঘাটতি এবং বেকার সমস্যা। সুতরাং কৃষি উন্নয়নের উদ্দেশ্য হিসেবে আমাদের প্রচেষ্টা হোক,

- (১) তাৎক্ষণিক উৎপাদন (Immediate output) বাড়িয়ে দেওয়া এবং
- (২) অজিত উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির হার ভবিষ্যতেও বজায় রাখা।

উন্নত দেশে দেখা যায় প্রতি একরে ২ টন করে খাদ্যশস্য উৎপাদন করা হয় অথচ আমাদের দেশে এর পরিমাণ প্রতি একরে ০'৪২ টন। উর্বরতার দিক দিয়ে বাংলাদেশ অল্প যে কোন দেশের চেয়ে পিছিয়ে নেই। তাই প্রশ্ন জাগে, তবুও কেন এত কম উৎপাদন? তবে সাম্প্রতিককালে কৃষকেরা উন্নত মানের বীজের মাধ্যমে প্রতি একরে ক্ষেত্রবিশেষে ১-১।১ টন করে খাদ্য শস্য উৎপাদন করতে সমর্থ হচ্ছে। সুতরাং প্রশ্ন থেকে যার প্রত্যেকটি কৃষক যদি বেশী ফলন লাভের আশায় উৎপাদনশীল বীজ ব্যবহার করে অধিক শস্য ফলায়, তবুও কেন খাদ্য সমস্যা দেখা দেয়? সম্ভবতঃ এর জগৎ দায়ী হচ্ছে।

১। সেচ ব্যবস্থার অপরিপািততা,

২। এক স্তম্ভ পরিমাণের সারের সংমিশ্রনের অজ্ঞতা,

৩। পুঁজির অভাব

৪। নিরক্ষবতার অভিশাপ, যার জন্ম উন্নত দেশের চাষাবাদ থেকে তারা কিছু শিখতে পারে না,

৫। প্রাকৃতিক দুর্ভোগের প্রাবল্য।

অতএব এটা সুস্পষ্টভাবে প্রতীক্ষমান যে সম্পদের সুখম যোগান যদি উৎপাদন প্রণালীতে নিশ্চিত করা যায় এবং উৎপাদিত পণ্যগুলির যদি সুখম বণ্টন করা হয়, তবে উৎপাদন অবশ্যই বাড়তে বাধ্য। কিন্তু এই তিনটি ধাপকে একত্রিত করে সুদক্ষভাবে পরিচালনার জন্ম চাই একটি সংগঠন। গ্রাম-ভিত্তিক সমবায় সেই সংগঠনের ভূমিকা পালন করতে পারে।

স্বনির্ভরতার প্রয়াসে যে সমবায় গঠন করা হবে তাকে ডঃ মুহাম্মদ ইউনুসের ভাষায় “গ্রামীন রাষ্ট্র” বলে অভিহিত করা যায়। গ্রাম রাষ্ট্রের নাগরিকত্ব গ্রামের বাসিন্দাদের মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ রাখতে হবে এবং এর সীমানা হবে গ্রামের সমস্ত ভূমি নিয়ে। অবশ্য সমবায় গঠন করার আগে মালিকানা সত্ত্বের যে বিরাট পার্থক্য কৃষকের বিদ্যমান তার মাত্রা কমিয়ে ভূমিহীন কৃষকের সংখ্যা কমানোর চেষ্টা করতে হবে। যদি বর্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে জমির পূর্ণবণ্টন ছাড়া সমবায় আন্দোলন আরম্ভ করা হয়, সেটা যে ধরনের হউক না কেন, তা ব্যর্থতার পর্যবসিত হবে। কারণ বেশী জমির মালিক তখন সমবায়কে ব্যবহার করবে শোষণের হাতিয়ার হিসেবে এবং দিন দিন ভূমিহীন কৃষকের সংখ্যা বেড়ে সমস্যা আরও জটিলতর করে তুলবে।

সমবায় গঠন করার পর সবকৃষক তাদের জমি সমবায়ের কাছে হস্তান্তর করে দেবে যৌথভাবে কৃষিকাজ চালানোর জন্ম। এর পর সংগঠনের তিনটি শাখা খোলা যায়, যেমন :

১। যোগান বিভাগ,

২। উৎপাদন বিভাগ,

৩। বিতরণ বিভাগ।

বিভাগগুলি স্ব স্ব দায়িত্ব পালন করে যাবে এবং একটি উচ্চ ক্ষমতা সম্পন্ন গ্রামীন সমবায় প্রতিনিধির কাছে দায়িত্বের জন্ম দায়ী থাকবে। থানা পর্যায়ের উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত সরকারী কর্মচারীদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতা সমিতিটির কর্মতৎপরতা আরও সুসংহত করতে পারে। উৎপাদিত শস্যের বিতরণের

ব্যাপারে সমস্ত ফসলকে তিন ভাগে ভাগ করে নিম্নলিখিত খাতে সমান ভাবে বিতরণ করা যায় ;

১। জমির মালিক

২। উৎপাদন খরচ

৩। সমবায়

নিরক্ষরতা দূর করার জন্য সমবায় নৈশ বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করে বড়দের অক্ষর জ্ঞান এবং কৃষির উন্নয়নের বিভিন্ন শিক্ষার মহড়া (Demonstration) দেয়া যেতে পারে। গ্রামের রাস্তাঘাটের উন্নয়নকল্পে সরকার কর্তৃক বরাদ্দকৃত সাহায্য সামগ্রী (Test relief) সমবায়ের মাধ্যমে ব্যবহার করে পুরাতন রাস্তা-ঘাট মেরামত এবং নতুন রাস্তাঘাট তৈরীর নিজস্ব প্রচেষ্টা নেয়া যেতে পারে। এছাড়াও পুরোনো খালের সংস্কার অথবা নতুন খাল খনন করে সেচ ব্যবস্থার উন্নয়ন করা যেতে পারে।

এখন প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে, কি ধরনের প্রযুক্তি কৃষিতে ব্যবহার করা যায়, যাতে মৌলিক উদ্দেশ্য তথা সর্বাধিক তাৎক্ষণিক উৎপাদন এবং ভবিষ্যতে অজিত উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির হার বজায় রাখার নিশ্চয়তা বিধান করা যায়। এ প্রশ্নের উত্তর দিতে গিয়ে অবশ্যই বাংলাদেশের সম্পদের প্রতুলতা (Resource endowment) সম্বন্ধে ওয়াকিবহাল হতে হবে। এখানে দেখা যায়, সীমাবদ্ধ সম্পদের উপর জনসমুদ্রের চাপ, বেকারত্বের বিশালতা এবং জমির স্বল্পতা। স্তত্রাং জাতীয় উদ্দেশ্য পূরণ করতে হলে কৃষিকে কর্মসংস্থান মুখী (Employment oriented) খাত হিসেবে দেখতে হবে এবং জমির সীমাবদ্ধতাকে কাটিয়ে তোলায় জন্য উৎপাদন ক্ষমতা বাড়িয়ে দিতে হবে। যে প্রযুক্তি অন্ততঃপক্ষে স্বল্প মেয়াদে উপরোক্ত নিশ্চয়তা দিতে পারে সেটাই গ্রহণ করা যায়।

ডঃ এ. কে. সেনের মতে দু' ধরনের প্রযুক্তির কথা চিন্তা করা যায়, যেমন :

১। শ্রম উদ্বৃত্তকারী প্রযুক্তি (Labour Saving Technology)

২। জমি উদ্বৃত্তকারী প্রযুক্তি (Land Saving Technology)

শ্রম উদ্বৃত্তকারী প্রযুক্তি জমির তুলনায় শ্রমকে প্রয়োজনের অতিরিক্ত করে দেয়। কিন্তু এটা উৎপাদন ক্ষমতা বাড়াতে আদৌ সক্ষম হয় না, যদি একই সাথে জমি-উদ্বৃত্তকারী প্রযুক্তি ব্যবহার করা হয়। কলের লাংগল, শস্য

মাড়াই যন্ত্র ইত্যাদি এ পর্যায়ে পড়ে। জমি-উৎস্কারী প্রযুক্তি জমিকে প্রয়োজনের অতিরিক্ত করে দেয় অর্থাৎ জমির উৎপাদন ক্ষমতা বাড়িয়ে দিয়ে উৎপাদন (output) হিসেবে এর সম্প্রসারণ করে। সেচব্যবস্থা, উন্নতমানের সারের প্রয়োগ প্রভৃতি এপর্যায়ে গড়ে। এটা বাস্তবে দেখা গেছে যে জমিতে যদি ভাল সারের সংমিশ্রণ, উন্নত সেচব্যবস্থা, কীটনাশক ঔষধ পত্রাদির সরবরাহের নিশ্চয়তা প্রদান করা যায়, গো-মহিষাদি দ্বারা দেশীয় লাংগল দিয়ে চাষ করলেও জমির উৎপাদন শক্তি বেড়ে যায়।

সুতরাং দেখা যায় শেষোক্তটাই মৌলিক উদ্দেশ্য সফল কামে সহায়ক। এতে বেকারত্বের প্রসারতা কমানো যায়, অতীতকালে মোট উৎপাদন বাড়িয়ে দেয়া যায়। কিন্তু দু' ধরনের প্রযুক্তিই যদি প্রাথমিক অবস্থায় একই সাথে ব্যবহার করা হয়, তাহলে একটি উদ্দেশ্য তথা তাৎক্ষণিক উৎপাদনই সর্বাধিকরণ সম্ভব হলেও এর পরবর্তী প্রতিক্রিয়া অর্থনীতির সম্মুখ যাত্রা রুদ্ধ করে দেয়।

সমবায় নিজস্ব অংশ হিসেবে যে পুঁজি সংরক্ষণ করবে তা দিয়ে তার আয় নির্ভরশীল লোকদের কর্মসংস্থানের জন্য কুটির শিল্প গঠন করা যায়। শিল্পায়ন ছাড়া কোন দেশ উন্নত হতে পারে না এবং কৃষিও কোন দেশের সমস্যার দীর্ঘ মেয়াদী সমাধান দিতে পারে না। তাই একটি বিকল্প প্রতিষ্ঠান হিসেবে কৃষির পাশাপাশি সমবায় কুটির শিল্পকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যেতে পারে ক্ষুদ্র শিল্পের দিকে। এটা ঠিক যে শিল্পের সম্প্রসারণ কৃষির চেয়ে অনেক দ্রুততর। তাই কৃষি এবং শিল্পের সমান্তরাল অগ্রগতি হলে শেষোক্তটিতে বেশী লোকের সংস্থানের পথ খুলে যাবে এবং কৃষি থেকে শিল্পে লোক স্থানান্তরের প্রয়োজনীয়তা দেখা দিবে। কিন্তু কৃষি শ্রমকে বর্জন করতে গেলে, দু' ধরনের প্রযুক্তি তখন একসাথে ব্যবহার করতে হয়। সুতরাং সমবায়ের নেতৃত্বে কৃষি এবং শিল্প যখন পাশাপাশি গড়ে উঠবে, তখন দু' ধরনের প্রযুক্তি একসাথে প্রয়োগ করে পূর্ণ মাত্রায় সম্পদের ব্যবহার করে মৌলিক উদ্দেশ্য সাধন করা যায়।

এভাবে গ্রামকে উন্নত করার মাধ্যমে যদি কৃষিকে লোভনীয় করা যায়, গ্রাম হতে শহরে ধাবমান জনশ্রোত উল্টো দিকে প্রবাহিত হবে এবং শহরের উপর নির্ভরশীলতা কমে গিয়ে গ্রাম নিজে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ হবে। বাংলাদেশের প্রত্যেকটি গ্রামকে যদি এভাবে স্বয়ং সম্পূর্ণ করা যায়, তখনই কেবল “স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন” তার সার্থকতা খুঁজে পাবে।

SWANIRVAR BANGLADESH : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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Self-reliance is now a popular term in Bangladesh. The urge to live with dignity among the nations of the world has rendered Swanirvar a movement for development in Bangladesh. The realisation that Bangladesh can move towards the road to prosperity by making proper utilisation of its human, natural, and other resources has inspired its people to do their best to get rid of poverty by raising productivity.

Bangladesh, the eighth most populous country of the world, is predominantly a rural agrarian economy. It has an area of 54,000 square miles with about 65,000 villages. About 91.2% of her 76 million people live in these villages and depend mainly on agricultural activities for their livelihood.

Though agriculture contributes over two-thirds of the gross national product, the country is not self-sufficient in food. Because of the low per acre and *per capita* productivity and high rate of population growth the country's dependency on others for foodgrains and other goods is increasing day by day. In recent times, due to the dislocation, and devastation caused by the war of liberation in 1971, failure of 1972 monsoon and flood of 1974 the situation has deteriorated further.

Attempts were made at both public and private levels to get out of this situation through an agrarian revolution on the assumption that a major break through in agricultural sector would

- (a) solve the food problem,
- (b) generate investible and marketable surplus, and
- (c) create employment opportunities for large number of people living in rural Bangladesh.

The government provided institutional support, supplied inputs, encouraged co-operatives, extended integrated rural development programme and undertook works programmes for rural development mainly through increase of agricultural productivity. It started population planning programme to combat the problem of population explosion.

All these measures failed to help the nation in attaining self-sufficiency in food. The country had to resort to begging. But begging with bowls in the years of calamities could not help many to survive. Thousands of people died due to famine and many others became destitutes.

Such economic crises on the one hand, and social and political bankruptcy on the other, made a good number of people turn to their own resources and rely on their own effort in utilising available resources for survival and progress.

In the process of such thinking and desperations people at different levels both individually and collectively started working with the available resources awaiting no help from outside. Such attitude towards life is not new on the part of the people of Bangladesh. They survived famine, flood, cyclone and tidal bore in pre-liberation period as well with little or no help from others in the form of relief, grant, taccavi and other loans. But the difference in attitude in pre-liberation and post-liberation periods is remarkable.

In pre-liberation period it was primarily individual's game. But in the post-liberation period at some places individuals joined together challenging the existing institutions for supporting and undertaking productive activities in rural Bangladesh. The initial thrust of such partnership and initiative remained concentrated in the production of rice.

Production efforts under different types of joint farming arrangements started in few places of Chittagong, Comilla, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Rajshahi and Rangpur. Although some of these efforts did not continue beyond one or two seasons and others that continued showed limited success, the determination to work hard and live with dignity persisted.

In Chittagong, the Federation of Thana Central Co-operative Associations prepared a rice production plan for the district

for the year 1974-75. A programme was launched under the name of Sonali Shaw to increase the cultivation of HYV rice during the Boro season through irrigation and during aus and aman seasons under rainfed conditions in flood-free zones. It aimed to produce atleast 60 mds of paddy per acre (100 aris per *kani* or 0.40 acres) not only to enable the district to achieve self-sufficiency in rice but also to (a) contribute a surplus of two lakh tons of rice to the nation's food basket and (b) create additional employment for rural labour force.

In the same year Action Programme for Flood Recovery Operation (APFRO) was started at Comilla's Kotwali and Burinchang Thanas to mobilize the flood-affected people to help themselves combat the flood situations and rehabilitate themselves by making maximum use of the available human and material resources.

This voluntary action programme for the affected people of the two thanas pioneered similar action by other affected people in their own areas. It was on September 9, 1974 that the programme was formally launched at the district level under the name of Sabuj for complete mobilisation of available resources for expediting rehabilitation and maximising production. A Five tier organisational structure was also suggested for the preparation and implementation of the programme from village to district levels with representatives from various walks of life including government officials. These two district programmes Sonali Shaw of Chittagong and Sabuj of Comilla, though different in name, had the common objective of achieving self-reliance in food. The experience that post-flood sufferings may be minimised and famine conditions may be overcome by joint effort and the idea that self-reliance at least on food front may be achieved by proper utilisation of available resources inspired other districts to undertake similar reconstruction and production programmes under different names. Despite criticism by and non-cooperation from many quarters, some of these district programmes succeeded in mobilising the people to undertake more extensive and intensive farm activities in order to grow more food and other crops. In this connection, the name of 'Shah Jalaler Shyamal Sylhet' may be cited as a glaring example of what people can achieve by their own efforts.

The success and sincerity of purpose and also the determination towards self-help through such locally initiated ventures did rightly draw the attention of the nation which launched Swanirvar Bangladesh Programme in September, 1975 with the objective of achieving a self-reliant economy for Bangladesh.

The programme, in consideration of dominance of agriculture and abundance of agricultural labour force in Bangladesh aimed at intensifying productive activities at the village level through decentralised planning with a six-tier organisational structure from village to national level for attaining economic freedom through concerted efforts. The programme proposed that work camps be held at selected villages under the auspices of Swanirvar Committee of different levels in order to help the villagers in the preparation and implementation of a plan for the total development of the village.

It suggested that under the principle of "one step below" members of Swanirvar Committees and others from national building departments would participate in camp activities with the objective of (a) working with villages, (b) learning from villages, (c) understanding the complicated problems of agriculture in particular and rural sector in general and (d) strengthening the commitment of the public servants in rural development. Above all, the programme content is oriented sustaining and stimulating the unlimited energy of the villagers to attain the apparently unattainable position above the poverty level.

The programme while suggesting and adopting measures for achievement of self-sustained growth in rural Bangladesh on self-reliant basis did also take note of the alarming rate of population growth in Bangladesh. And as such it aimed at achieving both agricultural and demographic breakthrough by increasing productivity in one and reducing fertility in another. People's participation was given utmost importance in this respect.

Now that Swanirvar Bangladesh has succeeded in organising camps in a number of villages of all the districts of the country with an unconditional support of the government, co-operation of the press and other mass media and appreciation from foreign visitors, it will not perhaps be unreasonable to try to (a) take an account of the working of the Swanirvar programme (b) give

a description of how people look at it, and (c) identify the causes of its success or failure.

In giving account of the working of the Swanirvar programme it is appropriate to evaluate the programme of the Swanirvar Committees of the areas where Swanirvar work camps were held with care attention of government officials and other Swanirvar cadres.

In fact, in many cases Swanirvar programmes failed to create sufficient enthusiasm among the villagers to bring them to join the programme either because (a) it had nothing new to attract them or because (b) they were not given a sense of participation in the preparation and implementation of the same. Thus though many achievements are publicised in papers, little is seen to happen in practice. Meetings were not held regularly, attendance in meetings was not satisfactory and at the sametime follow up action was not made seriously.

The belief that Swanirvar Programme would (a) ensure timely distribution and proper utilisation of agricultural inputs, (b) guarantee better horizontal and vertical co-ordination among organisations involved in rural development, (c) avoid mismanagement and misuse of financial and other resources, and (d) make intensive use of scarce resources is yet to become true even in the villages where Swanirvar camps were held.

Although the programme visualised a decentralised planning approach to indentify the magnitude of rural poverty, mobilise the available resources and diversify and intensify the rural activities to increase productivity on the one hand and decrease dependency of disadvantaged groups on the other, it could neither diversify rural activities nor increase agricultural productivity to any significant degree.

Before discussing the causes of such dismal performance of the programme, even in Swanirvar camps, a breif description of how people's attitude towards it may be given for understanding the problems of disappearance of most of the villagers from the scene.

It appears from field reports that in most cases the villagers had no clear idea about the objectives of the Swanirvar camps.

The gorgeous arrangements for and glamorous appearance of officials (in the eyes of villagers) with motor vehicles and helicopters remind them of visits of VIPs to villages in pre-Swanirvar period to raise expectations in vain.

In some places the local participants observed that participants from outside (one step above Swanirvar members and government officials) did not report in time despite the fact that the date for holding the work camps was fixed according to their instruction and advice without considering the inconveniences of local participants.

The leadership of seasoned village toutes, social parasites and rural gentry in the programme who always exploited the disadvantaged groups also created confusion in the minds of most of the villagers about the future of the programme.

It may be argued, however, that inspite of such confusions, misunderstanding and shortcomings, the programme did not prove futile.

It, in fact, kept the morale of the nation high by providing a production oriented plan on self-reliant basis at the time when the nation was actually experiencing a serious political vacuum and acute economic hardship.

It conducted surveys of human and other resources in villages where Swanirvar works camps were held and emphasised micro-planning by villagers themselves.

It tried to increase the commitment of the public servants in rural development making them attend work camps and undertake manual work with the villagers in the field.

No one would perhaps challenge the above observations but one would definitely ask following questions :

- (a) has Swanirvar programme succeeded in consolidating and sustaining the local effort for rural development that showed tremendous amount of patience, courage and ability during national crisis ?
- (b) has the programme duly recognised the class character of the rural society and formulated policies for safeguarding the interest of all classes equitably by taking into consideration the real basis of the rural power ?

- (c) has the programme really gained from the experiences of previous and existing discredited rural development institutions and programmes. ?
- (d) has the programme actually upheld the principle of self-reliance or increased the dependency of the villagers on higher authorities ?
- (e) has the programme really thought of the appropriate role to be played by rural women in building up a self-reliant rural Bangladesh ?
- (f) has the programme retained its basic characteristic as one based on local initiative and originating from below or turned into an official one emanating from above ?
- (g) is the Swanirvar Committee working as a co-ordinating body or developing into an institution only to add to the existing huge number of institutions for rural and agricultural development in the country ?
- (h) is the programme worked out only in terms of material resources neglecting human resources or does it contain adequate measures for both population control and human resource development ?
- (i) has the programme been able to make sufficient impact in the direction of food autarky ?
- (j) has the programme opened up wider avenues to enhance the potential for greater absorption of labour ?
- (k) has the programme produced the required amount of momentum in the rural sector for the generation of a surplus ?

The answer to these questions and to many others will probably provide an explanation of the causes responsible for the success or failure of the Swanirvar Programme at the moment.

It may be argued that it is not yet time to pronounce the final word in the evaluation of a programme like Swanirvar. The points raised above may, however, make a contribution towards the directing of the programme so as to render it viable.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOCIAL PROFITABILITY OF JUTE PRODUCTION*

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Introduction

The jute sector of our economy has suffered immensely in the post-independence period. Spiralling rice prices (as result of scarcity and increased money supply) took a heavy toll of jute acreage. International demand for jute products fell sharply mainly due to heavy inroads made by synthetics into the jute product market. Institutional bottle-necks in the years after independence almost sounded the death knell for this sectors. Opinions favouring the phasing out of the jute sector gained momentum, in view of the overall grim picture of this sector.

Jute continues to predominate the export sector in terms of foreign exchange earnings (Table 1.). Any policy measure affecting this sector has to be based on a clear understanding of national priorities for development. These priorities must in turn reflect relative social profitability.

This paper contains two parts. The first part discusses the jute-rice relationship in terms of area, productivity, substitution prospects and factors affecting jute acreage. The second part puts forth some arguments which favour jute production to rice, in the national interest.

I. The relation between jute and rice

The Five-Year Plan took the potential jute area of Bangladesh to be about 45 lakh acres of which one-half is suitable

* This paper consists of portions of an unpublished paper on post-devaluation jute policy, by the author and Professor E. Bennathan (Bristol University, U. K.).

for high-quality jute; the planners' objective was to hold the area at about 22 lakh acres and improve yields. During the 24 years from 1947-48 to 1970-71 the area reported in the official statistics varied roughly between 15 and 24 lakh acres, indicating an upward trend from the early 1960's. The normal annual fluctuation was about 3 lakh acres. In the first two years after Liberation (1972-73 and 1973-74) the acreage was 21-22 lakh, acres, and thus much in line with the late 1960's. This was followed in 1974-75 by a decline from 21.2 lakh acres to 13.9 unprecedented as regards size except in 1953-54 when acreage adapted to the collapse of the Korean boom. The swing was unprecedented also in that it was followed in 1975-76 by a further decline to 12.3 lakh acres whereas earlier large fluctuations were always reversed in the following year.

2. *Yields* per acre were stabler than area, fluctuating normally between 2.5 and 3.5 bales per acre. They may in reality have been stabler than this: Government restrictions on acreage gave rise to under-reporting practices which are understood to have faded out only in the mid-1960's.¹

3. *Production* of jute in the second-half of the 1960's was normally somewhat above 60 lakh bales, say 60-68 lakh bales corresponding to an area of 20 to 23 lakh acres. The production with the reduced area of some 14 lakh acres in 1974-75 was reported as 40 lakh bales and this probably declined to some 36-37 lakh bales in 1975-76.

4. The normal jute area is, however, highly heterogeneous with respect to both the substitutability of rice for jute and the normal jute yields. (a) The hard-core jute area consists of low-lying lands subject to deep flooding where rice would only be planted under quite exceptional circumstances; this area has recently been estimated at 6 lakh acres. Yields on this hard-core area are markedly below the national average—some 2.5 bales/acre against 3-3.3 bales/acre.² (b) A further 4 lakh acres are normally planted with jute in the course of crop rotation. We understand the yields on these lands to be near to the national average.

1. Area restrictions, under the Bengal Jute Regulation Act, 1940, were suspended in 1960.

2. This information was obtained from Mr. S. Bhatia.

(c) In addition, there is land which is planted with jute for strictly economic reasons, that is; in direct competition with rice. This area—the excess above some 10 lakh acres—includes high yielding government schemes (Intensive Jute Cultivation Scheme) which are still passing through a troubled infancy. These facts, if true suggest that the proportion of jute acreage which is sensitive to variations in the price of jute, and especially to the price of jute relative to that of rice, increases with the size of the cultivated area. This suggests a notional supply curve of new jute as drawn in figure 1. Further-more, in so far as yields on the hard-core jute area are significantly below those of other areas actually under jute the region of inelastic supply of jute (production, not acres) is relatively smaller. We assume annual supply (from new production) to be quite insensitive, therefore, to changes in the price of jute or rice up to about 15 lakh bales; more sensitive for the next 12 lakh bales and most elastic with respect to the jute/rice price ratio for supply in excess of 25–27 lakh bales. To show the economic significance of these

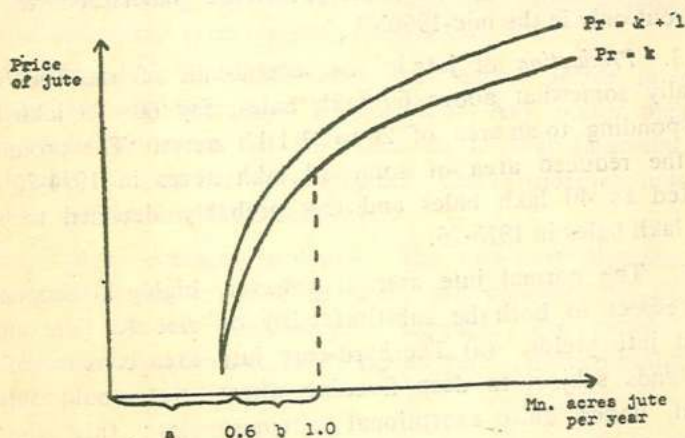


Figure 1

Notional Supply Curve
of Jute Acreage

- Pr = price of rice (= Tk k or Tk k+1)
 a = 0.6 Mn. acres - low lying lands subject to early flooding.
 b = 0.4 Mn. acres - normally planted with jute by way of crop rotation.

magnitudes—and thus their relevance to the management of the jute sector—they should be seen in relation to raw jute exports and mill consumption (out of total supply, including annual carry-over) in recent years :³

Figure 1. National Supply Curve of jute A creage

Pr = price of rice (=Tk k or Tk k+1)

a = 0.6 Mn. acres—low lying lands subject to early flooding.

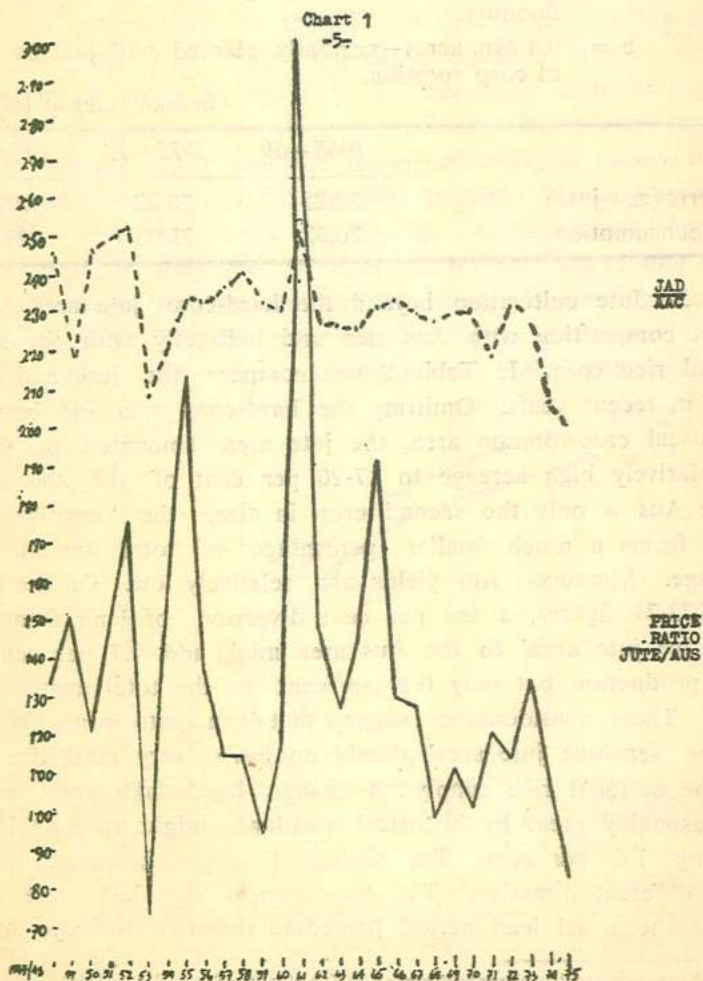
b = 0.4 Mn. acres—normally planted with jute by way of crop rotation.

	<i>in lakh bales of 180 kg.</i>		
	1968-69	1972-73	1973-74
Exports (raw jute)	32.25	28.22	27.00
Mill consumption	30.52	31.25	29.65

5. Jute cultivation beyond the hard-core jute area is in direct competition with Aus rice and indirectly with the total annual rice crop. In Table 2 we compare the jute and rice area in recent years. Omitting the hard-core area and half of the usual crop-rotation area, the jute area amounted in years of relatively high acreage to 17-20 per cent of the Aus area. Since Aus is only the second crop in size, the 'sensitive jute area' forms a much smaller percentage of total annual rice acreage. Moreover, Aus yields are relatively low. On the basis of 1973-74 figures, a ten per cent diversion of land from the 'sensitive jute area' to the Aus area might add 1.7 per cent to Aus production but only 0.4 per cent to the total annual rice crop. These considerations suggest that even quite large changes in the 'sensitive jute area' should not have a very marked effect on the national rice supply: a change by 4 lakh acres which is reasonably great by historical standards might raise or lower rice by 1.6 per cent. The *timing* of crops, however, points in a different direction. The Aus crop is the last rice crop before the usual lean period preceding the arrival of the Aman

3. These are 'trade estimates' which differ slightly from the official statistics. There is also a negligible difference between bales of 180 kg. and of 400 lb., the latter being the standard measure in Bangladesh. Source: Indian Jute Mills Association, *Monthly Summary of Jute and Gunny Statistics*, April 1975.

harvest. In the absence of adequate stocking facilities and stocks of foodgrain small shortages in the Aus supply or small delays in Aman arrivals may turn out very significant in terms of public welfare and may cause price changes which will in turn affect the jute planting decision in the following March. A policy to raise the production of jute while securing the food supply of the population leads logically to the issue of food stocking.⁴



4. How much easier would be the jute problem if jute competed with Aman for land.

6. The jute/rice price ratio is generally accepted as the major determinant of the jute area. Conventional wisdom suggests a ratio of 0.9 as suitable for securing a stable area of some 20 lakh acres. It has also been the main instrument of government jute policy, area restrictions having quickly proved themselves to be unenforceable. Statistically, the influence of the price ratio on the following year's acreage is not in doubt as we demonstrate in Appendix I; it appears clearly but it is not particularly strong. Its weaknesses are not surprising: costs change as well as prices and furthermore it is far from clear what prices—at what places and in which seasons—affect the farmer's decision. The broad consistency between movements in the jute rice price ratio and jute acreage can be observed in Chart 1. In this chart we have plotted the ratio of average annual prices (jute : rice) and of the *ratio* of jute area to the combined area of jute and Aus which seems to us the best method for measuring the effect of price charges on the jute/rice decision in the short run. The consistency between movements in the two series improves, however, when we replace the ratio of average annual prices by the ratio of so-called "farmer's prices" of jute to rice prices (Dacca, coarse rice) for the months of July to October, the harvesting and primary selling season for both jute and Aus paddy (Chart 1.).⁵ The consistency between the series, while improved by this substitution, is still not very satisfactory. It raises questions which require a study of farm and market behaviour, or, in other words, an empirically based of the jute market.

II. The balance between jute and rice

An important question raised by devaluation is the quantity of jute that is being aimed at. It concerns basically the desirable balance between jute and rice. Imports of foodgrain accounted in recent years for $1/3$ — $1/2$ of the import bill (Table 1). The choice between more jute and more rice is between exports and import—substitutes and opinions in Bangladesh on the right balance are decidedly divided. The main considerations with a bearing on this decision seem to us the following. (We omit those belonging strictly to longer-run development and which turn on the

5. In Chart 2 we also replaced the ratio of jute area to jute plus Aus area from the official statistics by a series constructed as in Appendix I.

relative responsiveness of jute and Aus rice to new seeds, fertilizer, improved cultivation methods and institutional reforms.)

- (i) The most fundamental criterion on which there should be least controversy, is relative *national* profitability. It was set out most recently by Professor W. B. Reddaway⁶ and is based on a comparison of yields per acre of Aus land and jute land, valued at international prices. From these gross values (in Taka at the current exchange rate) various deductions can be made to allow for inputs—including or excluding inputs from the farm's or the farming sector's internal resources of human and animal labour and materials. Professor Reddaway's very rough calculations of the resulting net values (notionally at the prices of late 1974) were adjusted by us for what we regard as an over-estimate of Aus yields and jute labour requirement.⁷ After rounding the following orders of magnitude emerge:⁸

Crop	1974	Net Value per acre=Gross Value less	
	World price	A. all inpts	B. chemicals + seeds only
Jute	£200/t	Tk 1,500	Tk 2,050
Rice (traditional method)	\$420/t	Tk 740	Tk 1,250
Rice (new methods)	\$424/t	Tk 1,000	Tk 1,550

6. In a note to Professor Nurul Islam, dated November 1974. We have Professor Islam's permission to quote from it.

7. For the yield of Aus rice, (traditional methods), we take 9.9 maund/acre instead of 11 mds; for Aus cultivated with new seeds we take 15 instead of 17 m/a. The labour input jute we take at 1.33 of the requirement for traditional Aus cultivation, instead of 1.68. We rely for these data on Mr. Bhatia's paper, and on Mahabub Hossain and M.A. Quddus, Some economic aspects of jute production in Bangladesh. *The Bangladesh Economic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 1973). The effect of fertilization on yields is not thought to be capable of closing the gap between Aus and Aman yields. (M) Amirul Islam, *Soil Fertility Investigation in East Pakistan*, Government of Pakistan, Agriculture Department, 1967. Professor Reddaway relied data on physical yields and requirements and certain Shadow prices on I.B.R. D., Report 114 a, *The World Jute Economy*.

8. The effect of our adjustment is to tilt the balance much more in favour of jute than appeared from Professor Reddaway's original calculation.

These calculations are very rough indeed. They are presented just as Professor Reddaway presented his original figures—largely in order to provoke more careful investigations. But the results of revisions on the basis of better information and insight would have to be very different indeed to rob jute of the advantage which it seems to possess in terms of *national* comparative profitability. The *private* (farmer's) comparative profitability depends on the prices of rice and jute obtained by the farmer; Professor Reddaway found it to give the advantage to rice, not jute. Professor Reddaway valued rice at its international price, some \$150–190 higher than wheat, the grain which dominates in the *import* of foodgrains. The valuation of rice yield per acre at the world price of rice can be justified on either of two grounds: first, that Bangladesh could export additions to rice production and, second, that the calculation of national comparative profitability should take account of the population's clear preference for rice. If one discounts the first justification as unrealistic (see below, ii.). Wheat becomes the practical alternative to rice. The second justification implies (in terms of 1974 prices) that Bangalees would be just willing to give up 1 seer of imported wheat (flour) for 0.6 seer of Aus rice⁹ and that there are no reasons for overriding this preference. If the preference is weaker than this or if other considerations prevail, the substitution of wheat (or a mix of rice and wheat) for rice in the calculations would further strengthen the advantage of jute. Lastly, the world prices of jute, wheat and rice have been declining since late 1974: twelve months after November, 1974, the price of jute had declined by some 28 per cent, wheat by 35 per cent and rice by 24 per cent. The general tendency of the calculations has, therefore, not been upset by subsequent changes in world commodity prices.

(ii) If wheat is regarded as a substitute for rice then it is not clear that the marginal cost of rice is wheat at the international commercial price. It may instead be the cost of PL 480 grain on loan terms and even at relatively low discount rates this cost is much lower than the commercial price. The value sacrificed by additional jute production would be correspondingly lower.

9. Aus rice is judged by consumers to be lower in quality than Aman rice.

(iii) Jute is the largest *cash* crop in Bangladesh and is thus the determinant of the largest cash flow into the agricultural sector. Jute is almost wholly exported. Rice, on the other hand, is largely *consumed* within the agricultural sector which produces it. If more rice is produced it seems to us almost unavoidable that in the circumstances of the next few years much or all of the increment will just be added to consumption. Unless and until procurement of rice becomes more effective there seems to be little that the state can do about this. This, however, is not true of jute, provided only that the government can control the composition of imports (and defend its policy against smuggling). Thus, if farmers are willing to save x per cent of an additional Taka earned from rice or jute, the government should find it much easier to raise this savings percentage above x if the increment in output consists of jute rather than rice. The cost is some upward pressure on the price level and since the most obvious instrument of policy is import control it may be partially defeated by smuggling. But this argument in favour of jute seems worth stating since the savings ratio in Bangladesh in recent years has probably been very near to zero.

(iv) Jute cultivation is markedly more labour intensive than rice cultivation: recent statistical investigation points to a difference around 30 per cent per acre and about that much also per maund.¹⁰ If employment creates a positive benefit over and above the value of the product this discrepancy argues in favour of more jute. There is, however, no ready way of quantifying this advantage and in the calculation presented in (i) above the advantage of jute does not increase if the cost of labour (at a shadow wage) is totally omitted from the cost.

Conclusion: It appears from our observations that despite the staggering problems in the jute sector, it has the edge over rice in terms of social profitability even under the circumstances of 1973-74 and 1974-75. The findings are preliminary since they are not based on rigorous empirical exercises. Recent (past six months) statistics, however, show signs of regeneration of both raw jute and jute goods demand. If the post-devaluation price incentives were to reach the growers through an improvement

10. References on this matter were given in (i) above.

in the existing market mechanism, it should have favourable effects. It is reassuring to see that jute is being given the attention, presently that was long overdue. This paper will have served its purpose, if it were to provoke further investigations in this area. One serious problem of formulating economic policy in the jute sector is the very scanty understanding of the jute market. This conference might be a good place to impress upon the relevant authorities to undertake a broad-based jute marketing study.

APPENDIX I

The effect of the changes in the prices of jute and Aus rice on the jute area

1. In this Appendix I report on a number of simple statistical investigations of the relation between the *jute area* of one year and the prices of jute and Aus rice in the preceding year.

2. *Technique.* The statistical technique consisted of Ordinary Least Squares.

3. *Data.* (i) Jute and Aus rice prices (in Taka per maund) were taken from F. A. O., Committee on Commodity Problems, Inter-governmental Group on Jute, Kenaf and Allied Fibres, 10th Session, *Domestic Prices of Jute in Bangladesh*, Rome, May, 1975. (CCP: JU 75/3). The jute prices are described as "prices at grower's level" while the Aus prices are whole-sale prices. The prices are annual averages. (ii) The jute area and the Aus area were taken from the official statistics of Pakistan or Bangladesh. The jute area was used either according to the original official estimates (JAO) or after adjustments for the period 1947-48 to 1966-67 (JAD). For the years 1974-75 and 1975-76 provisional estimates of area were obtained from the Planning Commission.

4. *The area estimates* were normally introduced into the estimating equations in the form of the share of jute in the combined jute and Aus area. As a measure of the distribution of land between jute and Aus this "jute area ratio" seems preferable to the simple jute area because jute and Aus are subject to similar exogeneous influences (floods or draught) and to trends of size which move broadly in the same direction. The trends of size are nevertheless of sufficiently different strength to make

the "jute ratio" most suitable comparisons over periods of up to 5 years, but less 20 for longer periods. The jute area estimates used in forming this "jute ratio" were alternately the official estimates (yielding the series JRO) or the adjusted estimates (Yielding JRD).

5. *The period* over which the regressions were carried out runs from 1947-48 to 1975-76—altogether 29 observations of area. The number of observations is normally smaller because of the lagging of the price variables. In addition, certain years were sometimes omitted as unrepresentative of the relation between prices and subsequent planning decision: 1952-53 which saw the abrupt price collapse of jute after the Kurean boom; and 1970-71 and 1971-72 which contain the period of the military occupation of East Pakistan and the War of Liberation.

Results

6. *The price ratio jute/Aus rice one year determines the Jute Area Ratio of the following year.*

The dependent variable in these equations is a *price ratio*.

(5 - values)

$$\text{JUTE AREA RATIO (t)} = \text{CONSTANT} + \text{B PRICE RATIO (t-1)}$$

No.	Sample	Jute Area Ratio	Constant	Coeff. of Price Ratio	R ²	DW
1.	28 years	JRO	0.156 (7.6)	0.0416 (2.9)	0.24	0.79
2.	28 years	JRD	0.166 (7.8)	0.045 (2.9)	0.25	1.2
3.	Omitting 1952-53, 1970-71, 1971-72,	JRO	0.152 (7.2)	0.043 (2.9)	0.25	0.8

The coefficient of the independent variable, price ratio, is adequately defined in all these equations. But a mere 1/4 of the total variance is explained by the independent variable. Our results have thus established that the price ratio has an effect on area ratio, but the importance of this influence seems to be limited other major factors appear to have been omitted from our explanation, (note also the low DW statistics).

Table 1. Merchandise trade of Bangladesh

	1972-73		1973-74		1974-75	
	Quantity	Value : US \$, mn.	Quantity	Value : US \$, mn.	Quantity	Value : US \$, mn.
		current price of rice 1974-75		current price of rice 1974-75		current price
I. Exports						
Raw jute (lakh bales)	28.3	130 177	26.6	128 167	17.0	100
Jute goods (lakh tons)	4.1	174 218	4.4	198 231	3.6	180
Other		35		45		51
Total		339		371		331
II. Imports						
Foodgrains (lakh tons)	27.8	320 656	16.6	308 392	23.7	540
Cap. goods		100		155		150
Other		307		455		500
Total		727		918		1,190
III. Terms of Trade						
Av. export price, weights of		100		69		68
Av. import price 1972-73						

Table 2. Jute and the annual cycle of rice crops

	Area : lakh acres			Rice yields : maunds/a						Rice production : lakh tons			
	Jute Total less 8.0 ¹	Rice			Jute ²			Jute ²					
		Aus	Aman	Boro	Aus	Aman	Boro	Aus	Aman	Boro			
											Aus	Total	(%)
1969-70	24.6	16.6	84.6	148.4	21.8	19.6	6.5	9.5	12.7	23.7	29.6	69.5	19.0
1973-74 ³	21.2	13.2	76.8	141.3	26.0	17.0	5.4	9.9	12.9	23.3	28.0	67.0	22.0
1974-75	13.9	5.9	81.0			7.3					28.6	60.0	24.6

Sources : Planning Commission ; Ministry of Finance ; Jute Ministry.

1. 8 lakh acres taken as least vulnerable to changes in the rice/jute price ratio : 6 lakh acres of low-lying land and 1/2 of the normal 4 lakh acres planted with jute in the course of crop rotation.
2. Total area under jute less 8 lakh acres, divided by area of Aus or total rice area.
3. The area and output of Aus rice in 1973-74 were higher than normal and those of Aman and Boro lower than normal. (Planning Commission).

SELF-RELIANT RURAL BANGLADESH : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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To great extent, self-reliant Rural Bangladesh means self-reliant Bangladesh. To attain self-sufficient Bangladesh without self-reliant Bangladesh will be almost impossible. The economy of Bangladesh is predominantly agricultural. Of the total population about 90% live in rural areas and 75% are employed in agricultural activities. Since employment-capital ratio is low in the non-agricultural sectors, agriculture will have to provide the bulk of productive work opportunities to the increasing population. The predominance of agriculture in our economy becomes apparent from the magnitude of its contribution to the GDP of the country. It contributes more than 55% to GDP.

Main obstacles to rapid Rural Development

(a) Land-man Ratio :

Bangladesh has a population density of 1906 per square mile which is the highest for all countries of any comparable size in the whole world. The gravity of the problem is better illustrated by the fact that 75% of the population depend directly on land for living. For every person depending almost exclusively on land for their livelihood i.e. for each member of the farming families the available cultivable acreage is only 0.445 on average. The gravity of the situation can be further illustrated by the pattern of ownership distribution, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of farms by Size.

Size of farms in acres.	Agricultural census 1960		Master Survey 1968	
	Percentage of Farm area.	Percentage of Farms.	Percentage of Farm area.	Percentage of Farms.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
under 1.0	3.24	24.31	4.24	24.96
1 to under 2.5	13.01	27.32	17.08	31.67
2.5 to under 5.00	26.40	26.32	29.97	26.32
5.0 to under 7.5	19.30	11.38	17.77	9.20
12.5 to under 25.0	14.11	3.06	10.95	2.16
25.0 to under 40.0	2.91	0.35	3.30	0.36
40.0 and above	1.89	0.08	1.17	0.08

Source: Agricultural Census, 1960.

Master Survey of Agriculture, 1968.

Compared to the agricultural census, the Master Survey shows a general decline in average farm size, leading to a higher proportion of small farms and a lower proportion of medium and large farms. This is partly explained by the fact that the Agricultural Census defines farm size as total area including cultivated and uncultivated land, while the Master Survey defines it as cultivated area only. The decline in acreage farm size over the eight year period may also be attributed to the increasing operation of the inheritance law. The other contributory factor may be the increase in population (by nearly 30%) during this period.

Non-utilization and under-utilization of resources

If we look at the rural Bangladesh, we find various resources unused or underused. If these resources are fully utilised, the productivity could have been increased many fold. Due to excessive sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, a substantial portion of land is wasted in the form of boundary lines (or iels). Ninety-six percent of farm land is held in fragmented holdings. Table (2) shows this fragmentation situation according to the 1960 Agricultural Census.

Table II Fragmentation of Farms in Bangladesh.

No. of fregments per farm	Percent of total No. of Farms.
No fragmented	10
2-3 fragments	21
4-5 ,,	17
6-9 ,,	23
10 or more fragments	29
Fragmentation of different sizes of Farms	Framented Farms as percentage of all farm in the size class
Small Farms (less than 2.5 acres)	83
Medium sized Farms (2.5 to 12.5 acres)	97
Large Farms (12.5 acres and more)	97

Despite scarcity of land, cropping intensity is not at all satisfactory. Only about 35% of the area is cropped more than once on average. This is a great wastage of land. Agriculture is overwhelmingly dominated by rice. Rice production covers nearly 80% of the cropped acreage. This rice monopoly implies an under-utilisation of land and water resources.

By June 1973, irrigation coverage increased upto 13.60 lakhs acres of land. The estimate is based on 122,000 acres under large-scale projects (LSP), over million acres under 30,000 low-lift Pumps (LLP), 175,000 acres under 2,900 Deep tube-wells (DTW) and 16,000 acres under 2,000 Shallow tubewells (STW). Unfortunately, while most of these tube-wells are underutilized the DTWs remain unused throughout the whole year.

Another important problem which the rural farmers face is the non-availability of rural credit. Although only fifty per cent of farmers have access to credit, 1/3 of their total requirement for credit remain unfulfilled. Thus a great deal of excess demand for credit exists in rural Bangladesh. Another aspect of the credit scene is that only a small proportion of total borrowing is used for directly productive purposes. About half of the credit goes for consumption purposes with nearly 1/10 for non-agricultural use. Table (3) illustrates the use of loan.

Table III. Statistics on Rural Credit use.

Capital expenditure on farm :	...	24.03%
Current „ „ „	...	18.73%
Non-farm expenditure	...	9.21%
Family expenditure	...	48.03%
Annual requirement of loan per loan requiring family	... RS 309	
Percentage of families requiring loan	80.7%

Source : The Registrar of Co-operative Societies,
Agricultural Credit in East Pakistan, Survey
Report (Dacca-1967).

One of the main obstacles of rural development is the lack of appropriate institutional arrangements. FFYP contains an analysis of the reasons for the failure of earlier attempts at institution-building and suggestions for overcoming these deficiencies.

To quote from the Plan "In our analysis the major mistakes of institutional policy pursued in the past were as follows :

(i) The rural institutions were imposed from the top and treated as an extension of government bureaucracy rather than people's organisation.

(ii) Locally elected bodies were never true representative, because the richer and influential class managed to win the election. The election system failed to recognise the authoritarian nature of traditional power-structure, and no provision was to protect the interest of the politically weak, depressed and exploited class of people.

(iii) The local institution failed to provide a forum for collective decision making and action. People's participation and control at the local level were missing. This happened because the supremacy of workers (cultivators, fishermen, weavers etc.) rather than 'Owners' was not recognised.

(iv) The main purpose of the rural institutions was seen distributing and utilizing resources injected from outside rather than mobilising internal resources. The principles of self reliance were forgotten.

The panacea for all rural ills, according to the plan is the Co-operative system as developed at BARD and now due to be duplicated all over the country under JRDP. IRDP proposed "the village level co-operative will have a broader base by bringing together three categories of people pursuing identical objectives into a single organisation. The three categories are as follows :

(1) *Category A* : those who practically have no means of production, who depend entirely on their own labour, and work as hired hands ;

(2) *Category B* : Those who have small means of production ; who depend on their own labour' occasionally employ hired workers or work as hired workers when the need arises ; and

(3) *Category C* : Those who have appreciable means of production ; who work themselves but also employ hired labours ; but do not work as hired labourers themselves. They tend to work more as managers of their enterprises rather than "as manual workers".

The location and physical boundary of a primary co-operative should be decided locally by the people, in a manner so that the co-operative becomes a socio-economically viable unit, and does not remain confined to a particular village faction, kinship group or social or economic category of people. The membership of the primary Co-operative will be open to all who are working or looking for work in the field. Money-lenders, rentiers or contractors of hired workers will not be eligible for membership in the co-operative",*

This proposal implies that rural development is being held up by the feudal and semi-feudal elements in the rural structure pounding thereby to the head for forming a union of all anti-feudal elements. Unfortunately, the formation of such a union may in principle be wrong. Because, at village level there are different types of farmers, i. e. landless-share-cropper, too small farmers below the poverty line and the farmers deeply indebted to money-lenders with differing interests. For example, though the interests of categories A and B are identical to some extent

* First Five-Year Plan 1973-78, p-157.

their interests are opposed to and not identical with those of category C. Another drawback of co-operatives is that most of them are economically unviable. In this connection, the remark of Prof. Rene Dumont is worth quoting, "In every co-operative village around Comilla I have visited, a very high proportion of loans were overdue, and many co-operatives are not able to give new loans" (Page—30). Another deficiency of the co-operatives is that it does not have a plan to move in the direction of collectivising land-use within the co-operatives. Of course, there is the little hint in the First Five-Year Plan about the distribution of government land. It suggested that "land reform programme should be closely related to development of co-operative organization. The programme of distribution of land to landless cultivators should be implemented by organizing the beneficiaries into co-operatives. In this way advanced form of co-operative should be promoted" (Page 159).

Further, as exhibited by the chart below, as many as 11 ministries and 36 departments are concerned with rural (agricultural) development. Since different organizations concerned with the agricultural development are under different ministries, the problem of lack of inter-departmental co-ordination becomes very much acute. This creates a lot of problems which stand in the way of implementing different programmes.

A list of different organizations engaged in the Agricultural Development.

A. Agriculture Ministry

1. Agricultural Directorate (Research and Education)
2. Agricultural Directorate (Extension and Management)
3. Agricultural Marketing Directorate
4. A. D. C.
5. Jute Research Institution
6. Rice Research Institution
7. Agricultural Products Storing Organization
8. Soil Survey Institution
9. Agriculture Information Centre
10. Cotton Development Board
11. Tobacco Development Board

12. Plant Protection Department
13. Horticulture Development Board.
- B. Forest, fisheries and livestock Ministry :**
 14. Forest Development
 15. Fisheries Development
 16. Livestock Development
 17. Fisheries Development Corporation
- C. Rural Development and Co-operative Ministry**
 18. Co-operative Directorate
 19. Rural Development Department
 20. BARD—Comilla
 21. IRDP
- D. Flood and Water Resource Ministry**
 22. Irrigation Directorate
 23. Water Development Board
 24. Land and Water Resource Directorate
- E. Industrial Ministry**
 25. Sugar Mills Corporation
 26. Forest Industry Development Corporation
 27. Silk and Rayon Sectors of BICS
- F. Commerce Ministry**
 28. Tea Board
- G. Jute Ministry**
 29. Jute Board
 30. Jute Marketing Corporation
 31. Jute Production Project of Jute Mills Association.
- H. Scientific Research Ministry**
 32. Agriculture Sector in Atomic Research Centre
 33. Food & Nutrition Department of BCSIR
- I. Ministry of Education**
 34. (a) Bangladesh Agriculture University
 - (b) Agriculture College, Tegaon, Dacca

J. Ministry of Finance

35. Agriculture Bank

K. Ministry of Planning

36. Agriculture Sector in Planning Commission

L. Land Reform, Distribution and Revenue Ministry.

What can be done to overcome the problems impeding rapid rural development of Bangladesh ?

To solve the problem of land-man-ratio, both short-term and long-term measures may be taken. To tackle the problem of population explosion, birth rate is to be reduced. At present government has intensified the family planning programme. The programme consists of subsidising the various contraceptive means and providing facilities for vasectomy as a method of male sterilization and tube ligation for females at the family planning clinics and hospitals. However, the programme does not incorporate essential social reforms on marriage, divorce or women's status and also ignores the educational and cultural pre-requisites.

Vast hills in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts are lying idle. These hills can be utilized for the purpose of vegetables and fruits cultivation. At present, 10 lakh of acres of land are under fruits and vegetables with a total production of 16.10 and 26.90 lakh tons respectively. Besides these, the hilly areas may also be brought under the cultivation of litchi, mango, cocoanut, banana and papaya providing thereby employment opportunities for many landless farmers. If the landless farmers are organized and supplied with fertilizer, seed pesticide along with guidance and supervision by the extension staff, these projects will be successful and productivity of fruits and vegetables will be increased to many folds. Similarly, large number of unutilized haors in the Sylhet district may also be utilized either for fisheries development or agricultural cultivation. In this way, the pressure of population on land can be reduced and productivity can be increased.

The wastage of land in the form of boundary line (*jeets*) can be avoided either by preventing sub-division and fragmentation or by bringing the lands under collective cultivation. And

the wastage of land and water resources in the form of lesser crop intensity can be avoided by increasing the crop intensity, particularly of the Rabi crops. Increased crop intensity will make full utilization of land and water.

The government has been extending subsidies to different types of irrigation. But these facilities for irrigation are not fully utilized. The government subsidy on Annual Costs, in percentage terms will be cleared from the following Table.

Table IV. Govt. Subsidy on Annual Costs in Percentage terms*

Types of Irrigation	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76
1. Low-lift Pumps	68	56	43
2. Shallow Tube	68	55	42
3. Deep Tub-wells	77	68	58
4. Large scale canal irrigation	82	75	68

The main factor under-utilization or unutilization is the administration bottle-necks. One example can be cited from the experience of Dr. Md. Yunus, Chairman, Department of Economics, Chittagong University who introduced a three-share system in the name of "Nabajug Tebhaga Khamar" around a Deep Tube-well in front of the University. To get the scheme started Dr. Yunus had to run from one office to the other. As mentioned earlier, only 50% of the farmers have access to sources of credit. Of the different sources of credit, the share of the institutional sources put together is only around 13% though the institutional sources of credit are the cheapest. Co-operative credit is the biggest of all the institutional sources both in terms of overall and incremental shares. Therefore, to provide mere credit, the institutional sources, specially co-operative, should play dominant role. Credit should be made more available to all co-operative members. To implement this objective following steps may be taken.

At TCCA level

1. Effective & timely supervision of all loans, to assure quick spotting of major delinquents.

* Source : First Five Year Plan, p-151,

2. Rapid investigation of major delinquents & vigorous application of co-operative rules to all members.
3. Continuous evaluation of problems of delinquency & their solutions.
4. Greater penalty for and quicker action against delinquents.

b. At KSSA level

1. Credit application decisions to be made in open co-operative meeting.
2. Credit position of each member of the co-operative and the co-operative as a whole to be available to all members at every meeting.
3. Co-operative guidelines on limits about the proportion of the village co-operative loan to any member.
4. Increased effort on literacy education for adults and children.

Another interesting feature of rural credit in Bangladesh is that only a small proportion of total borrowing is used for directly productive purposes and about half of the credit is used for consumption purposes. To ensure the use of credit for productive purposes, supervised credit may be given.

The other bottle-neck that stands in the way of rapid development of rural Bangladesh is the unavailability of appropriate amounts of improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides in appropriate time. Of late, the supply of fertilizers has been improved through the government open sale. But the system of distribution of improved seeds and pesticides is not satisfactory. Instead of imports at the cost of hard earned foreign exchange, efforts should be made to produce improved seeds domestically. The demand for necessary seeds can be met by increasing the number of seed-producing firms and by increasing the number of registered seed growers. The approved seed-growers should also be supplied with agricultural inputs, easy credit and appropriate training in order to increase the productivity of the improved seeds. Similarly, the use of pesticides is to be popularized and the distribution of the same made more even among village farmers. The public and the private sectors may take necessary steps to

produce pesticides and required machinery domestically. In this respect, following steps may be taken.

(a) **At the village Co-operative level**

1. Necessary education about the use of pesticides and seeds should be imparted among the village farmers.
2. Survey should be undertaken to determine the volume of demand for pesticide in the village.

(b) **At the Thana Central Co-operative Association level**

1. Up-to-date knowledge of the conditions of pest in the village should be gathered and appropriate control practices, chemicals and equipments be adopted.
2. Chemicals and equipments should be made available at thana level either for purchase or for using on rent.

As pointed out earlier, different organizations engaged in the agricultural development are under the control of different ministries. This gives rise to the problem of the lack of inter-departmental co-ordination. Moreover, the same responsibility is shared by different departments. In order to avoid unnecessary duplication and achieve better co-ordination, all the departments and organizations engaged in agricultural development should be brought under a single ministry. And this ministry should be brought under direct control and supervision of the President for ensuring necessary interdepartmental co-ordination and optimum utilization of national resources.

One of the most important conditions for rapid development of agriculture is to organize it on the basis of co-operatives. Co-operatives increase the investment capacity of the members which is not possible individually. Co-operation is also an important tool for coordinating the holds. It improves the condition of production and facilitates the introduction of technological change. It also intensifies the process of participation and improves the method of distribution.

There are three well-known forms of co-operatives.

- (a) *Socialist Co-operatives* : In this type of co-operative, land and all other instruments of production and resources

are owned collectively by co-operatives and distribution made according to labour.

- (b) *Semi-socialist co-operatives* :—Under this method, people combine their lands and resources and organize joint operation of farms. Here, the produce is distributed according to the contribution made by the members in terms of land, materials, labour, etc.
- (c) *The mutual Help Co-operatives* :—In this type of co-operatives, the farmers cultivate their lands separately but help one another with labour and other materials and inputs.

Of the above three types of co-operatives, there exists an excellent scope for introducing compulsory socialist co-operatives on a limited scale, i. e. on government Khash land and on all lands cultivated under the institution of share-cropping. Where the introduction of compulsory socialist co-operative is not feasible other types of co-operatives may be tried. To make co-operatives a sound and viable institutions, following defects have to be remedied.

- (a) Co-operative Societies at village level failed to attain self-sufficiency. Weekly meetings are not generally held. In some villages, 2/3 co-operatives societies exist only in name.
- (b) Training and extension programmes at central co-operative societies are not of effective. As a result, there are few trained and efficient workers to carry out the production activities.
- (c) Co-operative societies have become too much credit oriented. But there is no practice of supervising the credit and as a result agricultural credits are not fully utilized for productive purposes.
- (d) Co-operative societies are dominated by touts and rich people. Violation of established principles and practices of co-operation by the co-operatives and the co-operators is rampant.
- (e) There is the lack of supervision of activities of co-operatives from within and without, particularly from within.

As a result, the progress of different development programmes are not discussed and evaluated.

- (f) There is weak co-ordination between different tiers of co-operatives. And co-operative societies are too much dependent on government.
- (g) Any strong leadership did not grow within cooperative societies. Central co-operative societies do not have any Exhibition Farm to demonstrate their activities.

In order to remedy the above defects of co-operative system, following measures may be adopted.

- (a) Number of co-operative at the village level have to be reduced in order to make the co-operative societies self-sufficient. There should be one strong and well-coordinated cooperated society in a village. Overall plan of village and its implementation has to be done through the village co-operative society.
- (b) Central co-operative societies should have their own model farm for exhibition where members, managers and model farmers have practical training and they can use these experiences in their cases. Existing training is to be improved.
- (c) Cooperative societies may be formed among the small farmers, share-croppers and landless labour and Govt. Khas land and fellow land will be distributed among them.
- (d) Central Co-operative Banks and Central Co-operative societies may be merged together and co-operative supervised credit may be given to the genuine farmers.
- (e) Unutilised or under-utilised hilly area may be brought under intensive cultivation of fruits, vegetables and other cash crops on co-operative basis. This will ensure better utilisation of national resources.

স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন ও বাংলাদেশের অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের মৌলিক সমস্যা

মাহমুদুল আলম
বি, আই, ডি, এম, ঢাকা।

১। স্বনির্ভরে ব্যাষ্টি ও সমষ্টি :

স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের উপর কথা বলা এখন খুব অপরিপক্ব হবে। এ আন্দোলনের বক্তব্য ও কর্মসূচী অনিদিষ্ট রয়ে গেছে। স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনকারীরা কর্মসূচী খাড়া করার ব্যাপারে বেশ সতর্ক এবং এখনও পর্যন্ত সবার পরামর্শ নেবার জ্ঞান খোলামন নিষেধেন বলে মনে হয়। তবে এটা ধারণা করা যায় যে তাঁরা অর্থনৈতিক ও সামাজিক সমস্যার সমাধানে কয়েকটি মৌলিক প্রশ্নে বর্তমান অবস্থা অপরিবর্তনীয় রাখার পক্ষপাতী অথবা তাঁদের ধারণা স্পষ্ট নয়। এপ্রবন্ধে স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের প্রধান দিকগুলো আলোচনা করে সেই মৌলিক প্রশ্নের উপর আলোকপাত করার চেষ্টা করা হবে।

‘স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনের’ দুইটি দিক আন্দোলনকারীরা আমাদের সামনে তুলে ধরেন :—

(১) দেশের বর্তমান প্রাকৃতিক ও জনসম্পদকে অর্জু ও পূর্ণাংগরূপে ব্যবহার করে খাদ্য এবং অগ্ন্যস্ত্র নিত্যপ্রয়োজনীয় দ্রব্যসামগ্রী উৎপাদন স্বাধীন এবং ফলশ্রুতিতে স্বয়ংস্বত্ব অর্জন।

(২) প্রতি ঘরে ঘরে স্বনির্ভরতা অর্জনের প্রচেষ্টা।

সমষ্টি এবং ব্যাষ্টি দুইটি দিক থেকেই স্বনির্ভরতা অর্জনের একটা প্রচেষ্টা চালানো হচ্ছে। ব্যাষ্টির উপর অত্যধিক জোর স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলনকারীরা দিচ্ছেন বলে মনে হয়। একটা পুরাতন ও অগ্রহণযোগ্য যুক্তি আছে এই ভাবে যে, প্রত্যেক ব্যক্তি বা পরিবার যদি নিজের সামর্থ্য এবং প্রচেষ্টার স্বনির্ভর হতে পারে তাহলে পুরোদেশটা সমষ্টিগতভাবে স্বনির্ভর হয়ে উঠবে। পুঁজিবাদী এবং সম্পূর্ণ ব্যক্তি-ভিত্তিক অর্থনীতির প্রবক্তারা অনেকদিন ধরে এরকম যুক্তি দিয়ে আসছেন।

২। এ-দেশের সাধারণ অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যার প্রকৃতি।

কিন্তু আমরা দেখতে পেয়েছি যে বাংলাদেশের মতো অনুন্নতদেশের অর্থনীতির মৌলিক সমস্যার আকার ও গভীরতা এতো বেশী যে, কোন ব্যক্তি বা পরিবার নিজ নিজ উদ্যোগে তা সমাধান করতে পারে না। তার মানে বাংলাদেশে যে অর্থনৈতিক ও প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক কাঠামো রয়েছে তাতে কোন বড়ো অর্থনৈতিক ও সামাজিক সমস্যার সমাধান সম্ভব নয়। দুটো খুব সাধারণ উদাহরণ সবার সামনে তুলে ধরলে ব্যাপারটা পরিষ্কার হবে। বাংলাদেশের কৃষি-ভিত্তিক অর্থনীতির বড়ো সমস্যা দুটো হচ্ছে পানি নিকাশন ও ব্যবস্থার উন্নয়ন।

জলসেচের ব্যবস্থার কথা ধরা যাক প্রথমে। একটা দুই কিউসেক ক্ষমতা-সম্পন্ন পাওয়ার পাম্প প্রায় ৬০ থেকে ১০০ একর জমি চাষ করতে পারে। একটা শেযোক্ত ক্ষমতার সেচযন্ত্রের পূর্ণাঙ্গ ব্যবস্থার করতে হলে বাংলাদেশের মতো শতধাবিভক্ত জমির দেশে প্রায় ১০০ জন চাষীকে সম্মিলিত উদ্যোগ ও পূর্ণ সহযোগিতায় কাজ করতে হবে। অনেক ছোট ক্ষমতার সেচযন্ত্রের কথা উল্লেখ করে প্রযুক্তি বিদ্যা ও বিজ্ঞানকে ১। জাতীয় চেতনাবোধ জাগানো, সরকারী আমলাও স্বহস্তরো জনসাধারণের মধ্যে ঘনিষ্ঠতরো যোগাযোগ স্থাপন প্রভৃতি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কাজ বাদে এ পর্যায়ে এর কোন লক্ষ্য যোগ্য কর্মসূচী দেখা যায় না। দেশের বস্তুগত পরিস্থিতির প্রেক্ষিতে গড়ে তুলতে বলবেন। তারপরও কথা থাকবে উৎপাদন যন্ত্রকে (এখানে সেচ যন্ত্র) কত কম ক্ষমতার করা যাবে। ০.২০ বা ০.২৫ একর চাষাবাদ করার মতো কোন সেচযন্ত্র অত সহজে উদ্ভাবন করা যাবে না। ১০ বা ২০ একর চাষোপযোগী সেচযন্ত্রের জন্ত চাষীদের সম্মিলিত উদ্যোগ ও পূর্ণ সহযোগিতায় প্রয়োজন হবে। কারণ এই দেশে মাঝারী বা মোটামুটি অবস্থাপন্ন কৃষক নিজের চাহিদা মেটানোর জন্ত একটা ২০/থেকে ৩০ একর চাষোপযোগী এ রকম সেচযন্ত্র ক্রয় করতে পারে না।

দ্বিতীয়তঃ জলনিকাশন-এর ব্যাপারে আমরা দেখি দুই তিন মাইল দীর্ঘ একটা খাল বা নদী প্রতি বছর পলি পড়ে ভরে যায়। সম্ভবতঃ একটি বা কয়েকটি গ্রামের চাষীরা যারা এই খাল বা নদীর পানি দ্বারা আউশ ও আমন মৌসুমে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হয় তাদের একমাত্র সম্মিলিত উদ্যোগে খনন করা যেতে পারে। কোন ব্যক্তি-ভিত্তিক উদ্যোগে এই মাঝারী রকমের খনন কাজও হতে পারে না।

পাকিস্তানী আয়ুবের আমলে 'গ্রামীণ পূর্ত কর্মসূচী' এবং এই আমলে খাওয়ার বিনিময়ে কাজ কর্মসূচী যেখানে প্রচুর বিদেশী এবং কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের সাহায্যের অংশ থাকে তা আমরা সম্পূর্ণ বাদ দিতে পারি আমাদের বিবেচনা থেকে। সরকারী উদ্যোগে প্রচুর পরিসা খরচ করে, স্থানীয় শ্রমকে কিনে কাজে লাগিয়ে যে খাল খনন, রাস্তা, পুল নির্মাণ ইত্যাদি প্রকল্প অতীতে গ্রামে নেয়া হয়েছিলো এটা করে নেয় নি। প্রকল্পগুলোতে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের সাহায্যটা অনেকটা symbolic হওয়া উচিত, স্থানীয় উদ্যোগে কোন রহস্তরো জনসাধারণের উপকারী প্রকল্পে সহযোগিতা ও উৎসাহ দেয়ার চিহ্ন হিসেবে। স্থানীয় উদ্যোগকে নিয়ে কোন follow-up mechanism-এর অভাব একদিকে প্রায় সম্পূর্ণ বিদেশী এবং কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের আর্থিক সাহায্যের উপর নির্ভরশীল, অতীদিকে এই প্রকল্পগুলোর আর্থিক লাভটা অধিকাংশ পেয়েছে গ্রামের উচ্চ ও মধ্যবিত্তরা, স্থানীয় প্রশাসনের কিছু অসৎ কর্মকর্তা এবং খুব কম অংশ পেয়েছে প্রকল্পে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে শ্রম দানকারী গ্রামবাসীরা। নিজেদের সীমিত আর্থিক সম্পদে অথচ অফুরন্ত জনসম্পদকে কাজে লাগিয়ে সম্পূর্ণ নিজেদের পরিকল্পনায় ও পরিচালনায় কোন খাল খনন, রাস্তা-পুল নির্মাণ ইত্যাদি এখনো হয়নি। রহস্তর জনসাধারণ আনুপাতিক হারে লাভবান হয় এবং স্থানীয় উদ্যোগ, পরিকল্পনা প্রনয়ন ও রক্ষণা-বেক্ষণ প্রাথমিক প্রায় এরকম প্রকল্প না নিলে Self-sustained প্রকল্প আশা করা যায় না।

৩। সমবায়ের চরিত্র বদলানো সম্বন্ধে সবাই অনেকটা একমত।

স্বনির্ভর আলোচনের মূলক্ষেত্র গ্রামীণ উন্নয়নের মৌলিক সমস্যার উপর এবার আমরা আলোকপাত করতে পারি। আমরা দেখেছি যে, কৃষকদের মধ্যে সম্মিলিত ও কার্যকরী উদ্যোগ নেবার প্রয়োজনের পরিবেশ গড়ে তুলতে না পারলে এই দেশের সীমিত সম্পদের আওতায় আধুনিক বিজ্ঞান ও প্রযুক্তি-বিজ্ঞান ফল আনয়ন করা অনেক কষ্টকর হবে। জলসেচ ও বন্যার পানি নিকাশনের মাঝারী প্রকৃতির প্রকল্প, কৃষি কাজে উন্নত ধরনের লাংগল, নিড়ানী ইত্যাদি উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি করে মাঝারী ধরনের মূলধন পণ্য এদেশে শতকরা ৯০ ভাগেরও বেশী কৃষক নিজের ব্যক্তিগত মালিকানায় কিনতে পারে না। এসব কাজ করার জন্য কুমিল্লা সাভিস কো-অপারেটিভ্‌স বা সমবায় সমিতি-গুলোর ব্যর্থতা আমরা দেখেছি। এই সাভিস কো-অপারেটিভ্‌স বা সমবায় সমিতিগুলো কৃষি উপাদানগুলো বিতরণের দায়িত্ব নিয়েছিল। বর্তমানে

সেই ব্যবস্থায় অনেক ক্ষেত্রে যাদ্ধিক লাংগল, পাওয়ার পাম্প, যাদ্ধিক নিড়ানী ইত্যাদি উন্নত ধরনের কৃষি সম্পর্কিত যন্ত্র ভাড়া দেয়। এবং এ যন্ত্রগুলো সরকার থেকে তারা খুব সুবিধাজনক হারে পেয়ে থাকে। এই ধরনের সমবায়-সমিতির আওতায় সদস্যদের উন্নত কৃষি যন্ত্রপাতিগুলো স্তূর্ভুভাবে রক্ষণা-বেক্ষণের যে দায়িত্ববোধ তা' সাধারণতঃ গড়ে উঠে না। কারণ, কৃষি উপাদানের উপর যৌথ বা সম্মিলিত মালিকানা কোন কথা এই ধরনের সমবায়ে নেই।

তার মানে সমবায় সমিতিগুলোর চরিত্র বদলিয়ে সাভিস কো-অপারেটিভ্‌স থেকে প্রত্যক্ষ উৎপাদন-সম্বন্ধীয় সমবায় বা কো-অপারেটিভ্‌স করতে হবে যাতে করে চাষীরা যৌথ মালিকানার কৃষির প্রয়োজনীয় যন্ত্রপাতি কিনে পৃথক পৃথক ব্যক্তিগত উৎপাদন পরিকল্পনাগুলোকে এক সংগে সংযোজিত এবং প্রয়োজনবোধে পরিবর্তন করে বিজ্ঞান-ভিত্তিকও আরও অধিক উৎপাদনশীল যৌথ পরিকল্পনা নিতে পারে।

৪। সম্পদ-বণ্টন, উৎপাদন সম্পর্ক ও প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক কাঠামোর পরিবর্তন : সব উন্নয়ন প্রচেষ্টার মৌলিক শর্ত।

প্রত্যক্ষ উৎপাদন-সম্পর্কিত সমবায় গঠন করা কি বর্তমান সামাজিক ভূমি বা বিজ্ঞাসের (Basic Structure) মধ্যে সম্ভব? যারা উৎপাদনের সংগে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে জড়িত, মাথার ঘাম পায়ে ফেলে যারা চাষাবাদ করে, তাদের সাথে জমির মালিকানা থাকতে হবে। উৎপাদনের সংগে এতো প্রত্যক্ষভাবে জড়িত থেকেও ভূমিহীন বর্গাদার এবং ছোট কৃষকদের হাতে জমি নেই। সাধারণতঃ ভূমিহীন, বর্গাদার ও ছোট কৃষকরা শ্রমে উদ্বৃত্ত থাকে এবং একটি ফসলচক্রের কোন পর্যায়ে এদের শ্রমের ঘাটতি থাকে না। আরও দেখা গেছে যে, এদের উৎপাদনের প্রান্তিক হার সাধারণভাবে উচ্চ ও মধ্য কৃষকের চাইতে বেশী। অনুপস্থিত জমির মালিক ও বড়ো চাষীর থেকে জমি নিয়ে এই অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম ও শ্রম উদ্বৃত্ত ভূমিহীন, বর্গাদার এবং ছোট চাষীর হাতে জমি দিলে কৃষির সামগ্রিক উৎপাদন ও কর্মসংস্থান অনেকাংশে বেড়ে যাবে। শুধু জমির উপর মালিকানা নিশ্চিত করে অনুপ্রেরণা যোগালে হবে না, সংগে সংগে সন্তোষজনক স্বদে কৃষি ঋণ এবং স্থলভে অগ্রাঙ্ক কৃষি উপাদানের ব্যবস্থাও করতে হবে।

ভূমি-ব্যবস্থার আমূল সংস্কারের মাধ্যমে উৎপাদনে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে জড়িত চাষীদের হাতে জমি দেয়া যেতে পারে। জমির উপর মালিকানা একদিকে

শ্রম-উৎস ও অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম চাষীদের অনুপ্রেরণা যোগাবে। অতীতকালে কৃষির অত্যন্ত প্রয়োজনীয় উপাদান কৃষি ঋণ, সেচের পানি, বীজ, কীটনাশক ইত্যাদি বাজারে প্রবেশের দ্বারা খুলে দেবে। কারণ, জমি সম্পদের উপর মালিকানাই হলো এ পর্যন্ত এদেশে ক্ষমতা ও প্রভাবের প্রধান উৎস। ব্যক্তিগত মালিকানা ব্যবস্থা বাজার রেখে চাষীদের প্রত্যক্ষ উৎপাদন সম্পর্কীয় সমস্যা সমিতি গঠনের জন্য উৎসাহিত করতে হবে। এ সমস্যায় চাষীরা যৌথভাবে সেচযন্ত্র, যান্ত্রিক লাংগল, নিড়ানী ইত্যাদি কিনবে এবং ব্যক্তিগত উৎপাদন পরিকল্পনাগুলোকে সংযোজিত এবং প্রয়োজনবোধে পরিবর্তন করে অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম যৌথ উৎপাদন পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করবে। মোটকথা, বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান সামাজিক-রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতিতে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির প্রয়োজনীয় incentive দেয়া এবং অতীতকালে উন্নত মূলধন পন্থা (capitalgoods based scale economies) বা বৃহদায়তনের অর্থনীতি আছে তার ব্যবহার নিশ্চিত করা দ্বারা একমাত্র প্রত্যক্ষ উৎপাদন-ভিত্তিক সমস্যা সংগঠনের মাধ্যমে।

স্বনির্ভর আন্দোলন কারীরা জমি সম্পদ-বন্টন, উন্নত উৎপাদন-সম্পর্ক ও প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক কাঠামো—এই তিনটি কথা যে ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িত তা বলতে হবে। উৎপাদন বাড়ানোর জন্য এই প্রগতিশীল পরিবেশ তৈরী করার ব্যাপারে তাঁরা যদি আন্দোলন না করেন তা হলে আন্দোলনের ভবিষ্যৎ সম্বন্ধে সবার প্রশ্ন জাগবে। তাঁরা যদি বলেন যে তেভাগা আন্দোলন, গ্রামীণ শ্রম-নির্ভর শিল্প, জনসংখ্যাবৃদ্ধি রোধ, খাওয়ার বিনিময়ে কাজ ইত্যাদি কর্মসূচী ভূমিহীন, বর্গাদার ও ছোট কৃষকের শোচনীয় সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যার সমাধান করবে তাহলে আমরা মনে করবো এর। অনুৎপাদনশীল, আধা সামন্তবাদী, অনুপস্থিত জমির মালিক এবং বড়ো ও মাঝারী কৃষকের স্বার্থে আঘাত না হেনে উৎপাদন বাড়ানোর কথা বলেন। জমি সম্পদ-বন্টনের মৌলিক প্রশ্নে তাঁরা এড়িয়ে যেতে চান।

গ্রামীণ তথা সামগ্রিক অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নে এই স্বার্থের (সংঘাতকে একদিকে অনুৎপাদনশীল জমির মালিক এবং অন্যদিকে অধিক উৎপাদনক্ষম বর্গাদার, ছোট কৃষক এবং ভূমিহীন) মেনে নিয়ে তারপর যে কোন উন্নয়ন আন্দোলন ও কর্মসূচী গ্রহণ করতে হবে। কারণ, উন্নয়ন আন্দোলন হচ্ছে অপেক্ষাকৃত অবহেলিত অথচ উৎপাদনে সম্ভাবনাময় জনসংখ্যার স্বার্থকে সুপরিকল্পিতভাবে এগিয়ে নেওয়া যাওয়া ও শক্তিশালী করা।

SOME CONFLICTS ON RURAL INSTITUTIONS

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1. Need and origin of Co-operatives

1. 1. Bangladesh has long history of institution building on agricultural and rural development. Union *Panchayats* were set up as early as 1870, drafted into a framework of local government in 1885 and reformed in 1919. Basic Democracies of 1960 diluted representative character of local government partially into an administrative machinery probably to devise means to reach some projected ends. Since liberation local government continued in a period of animated suspension till its recent revival. The origin of co-operatives may be traced to the need for freeing the villagers from the clutches of the indigenous money lenders and since then government sponsored movement underwent a cyclical process of development. Considering the length of experiences, one feels discouraged at the paucity of transactions that take place through local government and the co-operatives in the administration of local affairs and development programmes. Increasing emphasis on agricultural and rural development has not led to concomitant expansion of initiative of people's organisations at the grass root level.

1. 2. The planners set high objectives on agricultural and rural development for fulfilment:

- 1.2.1. Increase of agricultural income.
- 1.2.2. Augment the scope of productive employment to the growing labour force.
- 1.2.3. Reduce rural poverty and promote equity on income distribution ensuring the flow of technological innovation to larger number of farmers.
- 1.2.4. Special emphasis on the landless and marginal farmers for distributive justice.

2. Seed of Discord

2. 1. Achievement of the above mentioned objectives implies a departure from the charted paths of rural development of the previous decades, higher priority to equity than service-orientation. Elaboration of egalitarian principles does not hold any automatic insurance on any planned social change. Built-in institutional safeguards on equity are overcome by social and economic influence of the traditional leadership which has been considerably strengthened by the green revolution boom. The beneficiaries of the past are more firmly entrenched in their status. Planned efforts on broadening the base for participation give rise to new conflicts. The subsequent discussions will review some possible tensions that may present challenge to the planned efforts at re-directing trends of development towards more equity.

2. 2. We did not experience a period of vitalised local government and co-operatives functioning simultaneously. Union Boards were subjects of administrative mistrust from the government functionaries till their inception. Under the Basic Democracies the prominence of the local bodies arose mainly from their becoming agents of the government and role of electoral college for the election of the President and the Assemblies. While local government became a common factor on territorial connotation, co-operatives worked on a restricted base. Union Co-operative Multipurpose Societies served the credit needs of a limited section of the villagers without mobilising the masses to overcome the limitations of individual family farming. The new concept represented by village-based Co-operative societies and their federation at Thana level is more explicit in its functional terms. Credit is coupled with supply of agricultural inputs, marketing and extension services. The Thana Central Co-operative Association operate as a supporting organisation to assist in planning, implementation and render advisory services. All these imply expansion of initiative in economic activities and management capability.

3. Vested interest and local Government

3. 1. Though conflicts with vested interests represented by indigenous money-lenders and traders cannot be ruled out, elaboration of local government responsibilities as a part of attempt to translate

micro-planning into reality at different levels may create new tensions. Planning process may involve ward, union, Thana upward flow of communication and possible intrusion into the initiative of the functional groups to launch collective solution of their respective problems. Siting of pumps and deep tube-wells in advance by the Union Parishads followed by an attempt to organise the farmers into co-operative as a fait accompli exercise is a typical example of top-down planning in which clientele groups miss acquaintance with the basic objectives of association. Local government represent political instinct. The smallness of the country, unitarian character of the government, heavy dependence of the local institutions on national government for resource mobilisation (Rural Works Programme may be used as double edged weapon) makes these elected institutions vulnerable to the reflex of national politics. Neutral ethics of co-operation enjoins move objective discipline.

4. Local Elites and Functionaries

4.1. Another possible source of conflict of development may be traced to the continued dependence of the rural institutions on agency functions under the government for economic viability and prominence. Credential of the union council is based on acting as intermediary between the government functionaries and the people. Distribution of patronage, providing logistic support to the thana level government functionaries and other allied responsibilities leave little scope for initiative on their own account. Till adequate managerial capabilities are developed on firm footing to facilitate transfer of responsibilities to farmers' organisations, dependence on government's agency function for economic viability cannot be eliminated.

4.2. Equity has been set as major social objective and complaints on the inadequacy of the co-operatives to respond to its needs are widespread. Legitimate queries could be directed to the possibilities of such considerations being reflected in the decision making process of the local government.

Any co-ordinating role of the local government unit in micro-planning mechanism may relegate equity focus to the background. Possible alternative to accommodate such needs in the composition of local bodies by changing modes of election into functional

representation will involve complex elements far beyond indigenous administrative competence to cope with. Precise demarcation of responsibilities between local government and the co-operatives is difficult. The two should interact frequently in a micro-planning mechanism and voluntary associations like co-operatives should not be relegated to the status of an appendage of local government.¹

5. Ad-Hoc Committees

5.1. In our anxiety to promote development, ad-hoc committees at thana and more basic levels are formed on large scale for co-ordination and implementation. Committees on social welfare, family planning, fertilizer allocation, etc. have become so numerous that members cannot remember their number. One typical of the 65,000 villages of Bangladesh is sub-divided into 'Paras' where leadership is quite informal and based on status. A group of people gather around an influential individual 'Matahabbar'. Nominated village committees flourish on the base of such localised leadership with some sprinkling support from the surrounding areas. Each committee establishes a sphere of influence and operational spring board in 'Para'. Cohesion of the entire village community is seriously disrupted and inhibits advancement of village development strategy on the base of a comprehensive farmers' organisation as a focal point. Instead of promoting cohesion to bind the people together, centrifugal forces are strengthened considerably by the departmental extension activities.

6. Multipurpose Approaches and Village Communities

6.1. Grassroot multipurpose approach on organisation is in conformity with the 'package' concept. Small farmers find special advantages in getting supplies, services and extension advice from one source. They cannot afford the cost of procurement from multiple sources. Multiplicity of servicing agencies may be confusing besides creating higher probability of dislocation at least in some channel.

1. Promotion of co-operative, community development, etc. have been enumerated as part of Union Parishad responsibilities in the organic law of local government. Literal interpretation of duties and departmental attachment of the thana co-ordinator Circle Officer (Dev.) for the union parishads may create new problems for the co-operatives.

Multipurpose organisational approach is severely undermined by the departmental exclusiveness of the government functionaries and consequent multiplication of half-backed institutions. On the contrary multi purpose approach may become a double-edged weapon. If carried far, concentrated attention of all sections to one centre may push the small farmers aside in an unequal competition for scarce resources.

6.2. Another major crisis of institutional development is identified in the failure to locate target groups of clientele. To start with Co-operatives presuppose some homogeneity of interest and equality within the primary community. A superficial look at the typical village community misses the undercurrents of conflicts which are characterised not only by diversities but duality of status—employer and employee, money-lender and borrower and other allied combinations. Informal transactions within the members outside the institutional umbrella weakens the foundation of co-operation. This trend is visible in extreme form among the functional groups where social and economic dependence of the majority on the few is acute. Credential is based more on the ownership of land and means of production rather more direct contribution to production through labour. Absentee landowners rather than tillers of the soil, fish-traders than the fishermen, businessmen than the weavers gain control over management. Action oriented groups are kept outside the purview of participation. Co-operative is liable to turn into a conservative slogan without any appeal for the vast majority of the small and socially disadvantaged.

7. Socio-economic factors and co-operatives

7.1. Though the above maladies may be largely attributed to socio-economic factors, it may be worthwhile to extent definitional issues to their logical limits. First eligibility of membership should be defined strictly with reference to the functional interpretation of the occupational group rather than identification on the ownership of the means of production without having serious stake in actual participation. Second landless labourers and marginal farmers can be enabled to organise themselves into co-operatives for collective bargaining against more organised interests and expansion of employment. Trade unionism to protect

minimum wages rates on farm labour is assuming more importance with the increasing pressure of population on land and resultant landlessness. Dependence on hired employment for survival is increasing. Land-owners can be moderated by organised approach on farm labour. Further given the support, labour co-operation can generate work on its own like acting as project committees for implementation of Rural Work and Food for work projects, reclamation of derelict tanks and their productive use, improvement and management of *Hats* and *Bazars* among other possibilities.

8. Currents of conflicts

8.1. Legitimacy of separate organisations for the landless and marginal farmers have been questioned on the ground of probable disruptive effects on social cohesion in the villages. Due recognition to the undercurrents of diverse interests is more appropriate for reconciliation than shelving the conflicts. During early 1940s when organic law on co-operative was enacted explicit intention of serving the people of moderate means was expressed as the basic objective without linking them with the large landowners and others. Since then the context of development changed radically. Increasing weightage of the marginal and landless in the total community has become a hard reality. Their association with the landlords and the employers looks like unequal partnership and may re-assure social and economic dependence of the majority on the minority.

9. Integrated rural development

9.1. The pace of rural development on integrated framework is dependent on a set of policy actions on the part of the Government and some basic reformatory measures in the administrative structures. While the political leaders look for quick results, the output has been slow to deliver. Hard disciplines of integrated package becomes identified as dilatory planning and implementation mechanism. The superficial look of community and social welfare approach may look more pertinent to the needs of the increasing number of destitutes. Such reversion back to soft programme approach is promoted by impatience to wait for long for results and reluctance to abide by the hard disciplines of development—(part of which becomes synonymous

with self-abnegation), occasional sharpening of emphasis on production during post natural calamity period and distrust of subject-matter specialists on the adequacy of the local catalysts as trainers.

9.2. Isolated major offensives have been launched by some Ministries on agricultural production, population control and other area—independent of any possible integrated rural development framework. Such initiative reflects growing anxiety of the concerned agencies to reach programmes to the rural areas speedily and their failure to appreciate complementarity of number of services at the users ends. Impact of technologies on development calls for further compartmentalisation of specialists' jurisdictions and their resultant numerical increase. To many experts, integration is synonymous with the loss of separate identity. Mistrust of the users' organisations in the management of services is high. One wonders whether standard prescriptive solutions can be devised to correct any growing imbalance within the development milieu. The issues are more deep rooted. Instead of "free for all" approach, some basic priorities should be defined and supported at all levels along with demarcated functional responsibilities. Constraints can be moderated on numerous counts if the vertical and horizontal communication processes are strengthened.

10. Co-operatives and Traditional Bondages

10.1 Adequacy of the limited number of extension agents to reach new technologies to the farmers has not been favourably adjudged. The local opinion leader is elected as the manager/model farmer to act as carrier of new knowledge. Information on the identity of the local catalysts with their clientele is not adequate. They may not be uniformly functional because of the desire of the local opinion leaders to maintain their higher social positions in a traditional society. Rural development framework may provide built-in safeguard against degeneration by requiring periodical rotation of the local catalyst among the villagers but its actual effectiveness is linked up with the degree of social dependency of the majority on the few. Can the co-operatives make a break with such traditional bondage? Real test of success lies in finding an answer to that.

11. Extension Worker and the Peasantry

11.1. Communication gap between the extension agents and their clients is considered to be a major limitation in the flow of technologies. While farmers' response to extension advice is dependent largely on the ability of the teacher to command confidence and non-formal approach, majority of the extension agents are the products of formal educational system. The highest seats of agricultural education maintain large member of farm labourers, while learners stay indoor to acquire pedagogical knowledge. Vertically organised chain of command and a more formal control system from above expose them to considerable non-extension regulatory types of work. Incongruity is further heightened by the continued overwhelming preference of the grass-root extension workers for the big and surplus landowners.

11.2. Interaction between the Government functionaries and the public representatives is an another important sphere of concern on rural development. Lack of faith in the ability and intelligence of the peasantry is a major shortcoming of the experts. Such thinking pervades government ministries and influence rural development programmes. Role of the public representatives in the co-operatives or local government is more relevant on recommendation to higher authorities than decision-making. Such trends severely restrict the growth of local leadership. On the contrary, devolution of authority to local self-governing units do not diminish the role of the national government. In fact, it tends to expand that role significantly by supplementing the efforts on enforcement and establish widely promulgated standards of conduct at appropriate level.

12. Distrust and Frustration

12.1. The history of rural development in Bangladesh is a chronology of blasted aspirations. Mobilisation of manpower for self-reliance through the utilisation of local resources has been set as a major objective. Village Aid, Rural Works Programme, Social Welfare activities followed in succession. Infrastructure building projects have been fairly successful in creating a belief among the villagers that living conditions could be improved, but fell short of continued institutional capabilities

to sustain development without undue dependence on government. Further, objectives of development could not be translated to appropriate institutional expression. Piecemeal focus on the needs of development confuse local planning further. While we have started serious dialogue on integrated rural development during the last few years, government functionaries have been spreading their branches further down the line in the roots.

12.2. Frustrated hopes create deep-rooted distrust among the common men. Overcoming initial distrust severely strains the motivational efforts of any subsequent organised programme. All these point out the need for more rational and calculated behaviour for future.

13. Swanirvar Prospects

13.1. Prospects for self-reliance through "Swanirvar" have raised new hopes. Emphasis on the harnessing of idle manpower to local resource development should put high premium on strengthening local planning machinery—an approach which looks immune from the pollutive influence of input patronage. But its dependence on government functionaries is explicit.

13.2. Though the focus of "Swanirvar" is indicative, the gap between the objectives and institutional expression is confusing. Its relationship with the recognised institutions like those of local government, co-operatives, rural works programme, extension services and others need be defined with more clarity. To many "Swanirvar" is synonymous with a philosophy and is liable to turn into myth without practical manifestation. The ideal of self-reliance should be one of aid, assistance and encouragement to the organised groups in the attainment of planned objectives and creation of massive awareness among the citizens to take advantage of the formal equality envisaged in the structures of the rural institutions.

13.3. Future possibilities in these respects will be dependent on the articulation of issues by the leaders of the movement and capability to build-up adequate responsiveness and exposure to rural problems. The image of Swanirvar as a philosophy of self-reliance becomes vulnerable to disintegration unless high standard of conduct and performances can be demonstrated by its leaders.

14. Conclusion

14.1. Conflicts of development create new problems for adjustment and unless tackled adequately may give rise to stagnation. The basic problems of rural development should be viewed directly. Incentive is as important on institution building as production. Popular participation is a necessary precondition for self-sustained rural development. Minimum opportunities need be created for participation for new clientele groups. It calls for re-allocation of the existing socio-economic opportunities. All these lead to the need for comprehensive focus on the grass-root organisation with multipurpose objectives to resolve conflicts. Considerable flexibility exists in the existing framework rural institutions. Appropriate balance between growth and equity require a set of policy affecting existing economy on taxation, agricultural pricing policies, rural public works, land tenure and tenancy, services and supplies. Given the required measures, the rural institutions may display remarkable responsiveness to the needs of equity and justice.

WHITHER PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

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The problem of public enterprises is a simple one : it is misunderstood and misrepresented. This paper attempts to clear the common misconceptions so that popular understanding about public enterprises could be cleared. In the first section, an attempt is made to reason why public and private enterprises are not directly comparable in simple unadjusted 'macro-parameters' like profit. In the second section, another attempt is made to argue that public enterprises can be run properly only if its role and functions are unchained from bureaucratic leash.

Please Compare Comparables

It is fashionable to talk about the 'inefficiencies' of public sector and laud the efficiencies of private sector accepting profit as the major indicator of efficiency. But for making comparison of public and private sectors, caution is needed ; otherwise we may indeed be making comparisons of non-comparables. I wish to state the obvious with much emphasis that comparison of non-comparables makes no sense. Let us take an example from the mundane. Mango and grapes are both fruits ; they are comparable if one calculates only nutritional value, calorie per ounce etc. it may be desirable to know the sugar content for the diabetic dietary diagnosis or even substitutability with a given budget and so on ; but they may remain non-comparable as a source material for liquor. We in economics know of non-competing groups of labour but their income, education etc. may be compared for a purpose.

Postulate I : A and B may be compared only in certain perspective. If perspectives are different, comparisons may not hold.

Perspectives of public and private sectors have to be understood properly. They can be put in terms of objectives, planning, control,

organisation, personnel, leadership, motivation, procurement, marketing, finance, constraints etc. If these vary meaningfully, then enterprises in public and private sectors may become non-comparables, though they can still be compared in certain dimensions or in certain defined respects. For example, if objective of one enterprise is to maximise profit and of the other to promote employment; if planning of one is methodical and of the other informal; if leadership in one is dictatorial and the other democratic; if in one it is easy to motivate people say, through insecurity of job and in the other it is difficult to motivate even through reward; if production in one is stabilised and in the other basically experimental, if procurement in one is based on trust and binding relationship and in the other on mistrust and formal procedures; if market of one is monopolistic and the other sells in a competitive market; if finance in one is personal and in the other institutional; if the legal and administrative constraints are discriminatory between the two—all or a combination of these might make the two enterprises non-comparables though still one can speak in comparatives.

Postulate II : Whether private and public enterprises are comparables would depend on factors like characteristics, objectives, control, organisation, personnel, leadership, motivation, production, procurement, marketing, finance, constraints and their impacts on performance parameters.

Comparison in micro-aspects even in major elements, would not necessarily make macro-comparison meaningful; i.e. for this purpose comparability in certain aspects would not necessarily make comparison in macro-dimensions possible. For example, one may compare wage structure in private and public sectors, one may even find out sources of finance for comparison, one may compare pricing methods or role of supervisors and even goals and objectives but even then a simple single or multiple macro-parameters (e.g. financial rate of return) to make comparisons meaningful may be difficult or even impossible to find.

Postulate III : Partial comparability of elements enumerated above may not make unqualified comparisons of simple macro-parameters meaningful.

In this section, we would like to discuss the elements mentioned above in the case of private and public enterprises in Bangladesh. The reference is made to industry in particular, but its validity in other spheres when read with proper caution and interpretation, it is hoped would still remain.

Objective : An enterprise does not have just one objective, it may have multiple objectives. When there are multiple objectives, it is necessary to know the priority. The nature of short-run objectives may look different from longrun objectives, but they must mesh in like the short-run cost curves determining the envelope called the longrun cost curve. Memorandum and Articles of Association is a meaningless document to identify the prime objective(s) as it covers almost everything under the sun. It can be commonly accepted that the behaviour of the companies in this region demonstrates that the prime motive of a private enterprise is to maximise the earnings of the controlling and managing group of owners. I make this statement with full knowledge that when Adamjees ten taka share were being quoted at half the price, they were making money and expanding their economic empire while the common shareholders got dividend at less than real rate of return on fixed deposit. At best we can grant the private enterprise the prime objective of making profit for the owners.

In the public sector, industrial enterprises were started in areas where private initiative was lacking or was less in number than desired for the reasons of high cost, low profit, unattractive location, risky investment, complicated technology and uncertain return for initial years. Therefore, the objective was not profit but growth, it was not money-mining but building up of confidence and absorption of initial loss; it was not empire building but creation of an industrial base. After liberation these objectives have not been done away with, but public enterprises are also to be the vehicle of gradual socialisation of resources. To this scenario, often the ones of generating surplus, stabilisation of prices, providing essential commodities at below cost prices are added in confused muddle.

Observation I : The objectives of private and public enterprises are different, not merely in degree but also in

character ; while the private enterprise is interested in private profitability, the public enterprise is bound by criterion of internal and external economics which create conditions of benefit for the economy or other parties and not necessarily its own.

When broad objectives are different, the sub-objectives and action plans are bound to be different. It may be of interest to recall the story of two cable producers : one in the private sector which could only put plastic coating to copper wires of different sizes and the other in public sector could go through the whole process of cleaning, annealing, drawing, preparation of emulsion, winding, preparation of cables, testing and so on. The public sector unit was interested to improve standard and introduce international specification even if it would cost a little more. The private sector merely protected its interest by influencing the specification when tenders were drawn and quoting lower by virtue of higher tariff on copper rods than on copper wires. Research and Development made no impact to be reflected in terms of profit.

Postulate IV : When objectives differ, the macro-parameters for comparison should differ and their translability into comparable denominatous would call for adjustments in nominal values of the parameter.

Organisation : This is an umbrella term to accomodate many important aspects affecting cost and efficiency. It involves the size in relation to the operation of the enterprise, size includes all units and sub-units in operation and programmed. It involves questions of departmentation including developing staff and line activity, it raises question of extent of delegation of authority and actualisation of this delegation ; it requires knowledge of work specialisation ; it creates organisational confusion and friction and necessitates machinery for co-ordination and consolidation. Finally organisation has to be viewed as a whole and has to stand as a unit.

The private and public enterprises seem to stand at two extremes. Even the giant like Adamjee Mill never had any formal organisational structure or delegation of authority : and job

specification of the General Manager downwards were unknown. Everything dependd on the authoritarian decisions of the Director-owner. In the public sector, departmentation and work specialisation was better but centralisation was there with certain defined levels and delegation seem to have been more liberal yet restricted. The size of the organisation in the public sector was necessarily bigger due to social, legal, political and administrative reasons. Administrative because of the inheritance from bureaucracy which is never tired of asking for commercial performance from a bureaucratic machinery ; legal because public enterprises in order to meet legal requirement of public accountability requires more staff (say, for audit and account) while private enterprises just for a fee get an audited balance sheet at case ; it is political as all regimes and civil servants had patronization done through public enterprises and it is social as employment creation is thought to be a necessity. Some of these are avoidable costs and should be avoided, while others are extra requirement. A good example is that when Muslin Cotton Mills was disinvested, the new owner dismissed the entire audit and accounts section of ten people and substituted it by his nephew for economy, secrecy and possible manipulation.

Observation 2 : Public enterprises normally has an organisation displaying departmentation, work specialisation, some functional delegation and generally employs more people for legal and socio-administrative reasons. The cost implication—for some reasons are high (disproportionately high class III & IV employees) and for some other reassons low and that need to be accounted for.

Control : No enterprise is without control. Internal controls are needed to set standards to check performance and to take corrective measures. These require instruments and information feed back. Private enterprises in Bangladesh did not practise any system of hierachical and no difined instrument like financial or management audit, management information system or even properly drawn budget with relevant schedules were the norm. External and legal controls were loose and often side tracked.

In case of public sector not only the internal set of controls developed and at times well-coded, the external, legal and administrative controls were extremely effective. Controls involve cost. Price-fixation of sugar and sugar-cane imposed an undeserved loss on mills, cross-subsidization of cement factory by limestone mines made both financially insolvent, time consumed in deciding on an offer for export of sugar led to not only loss of opportunity but also loss per se. Examples could be compounded with examples of committees, investigations, procedural delay and what not. A private enterprise does not face these costs of external control. These are all due to false idea of public accountability.

Observation 3 : Public accountability is to be understood in terms of putting facts before a public body ; it is, however, understood as infallibility of Ministry and their higher sense of national commitment. The result has been infliction of direct loss or indirect cost due to lapse of time, delays, indecision etc. Can enterprise be made responsible for this cost ?

Marketing : Traditionally public enterprises had moved in areas of natural monopoly. Such areas are not absent in Bangladesh (e.g., power, gas, and for administrative reasons paper, fertilizer, cement etc.) Marketing, it has been argued, if left to the enterprise would lead to lower production and higher prices. Interference has also been justified for the sake of proper distribution, quality, etc. The result has generally not benefited the customer ; the point can be substantiated with examples of cotton yarn, bicycles, even fertilizer. But the enterprise lost the opportunity to generate surplus in a given market condition which was fully taken advantage of by the private sector. The best example is the assembling unit for Motor cycles. Public sector unit abided by all government orders and profit was encashed by middlemen, while private sector units reaped all the profit themselves by not following the price fixed by the Government and distribution through permit.

Observation 4 : Criterion of profit as a measure of performance in a scarcity market makes little sense ; more so when one enterprise abides by government price regulations while the other finds ways of subverting it.

Finance : It is commonly believed that the private sector entrepreneur puts up a sizable share of his own money. Legally, he incurs the liability. But he uses government procured and guaranteed money institutionally handled and subsidised for him directly and covertly; he overvalues his contribution in kind, he plays with invoicing, he gets loan against machinery which has been paid for through loan and generates money abroad through over-invoicing to plough back the nest egg. This complex structure of subsidization is often lost sight of. He starts with a favourable debt-equity ratio, fiddles with account to avoid tax and initially raise value of shares by declaring dividend when loss has actually been incurred and borrows again.

A public Sector enterprise launches a long fight to decide debt-equity ratio; its finances are staggered and remains at the mercy of Ministry of Finance causing delay in implementation; it is often given tied aid for machinery in part and thus pays high price of machinery and incredible consultancy fees to please the donors; Ashuganj Fertilizer Factory is a case in point.

Observation 5 : While private sector finance through government institutions includes subsidy, the public sector finance through government includes elements of avoidable cost, of tied aid and imposed consultancy.

Subsidy : Government has long been eager to subsidise private sector in the Pakistan regime. We have not yet got over the mentality. We develop industrial sites for private sector and sell at below cost; while public sector is required to develop sites at out of the way locations for geographical dispersal and thus incur cost of physical infra-structure development; we implement safety rules for public sector industries in construction etc., while private sector gets an easy sailing; we insist on welfare measures for labour and staff in public enterprises, while private enterprises go without it. Tax holidays, customs rebate, longer repayment period, differential interest rates are all ploys to subsidise the private sector.

Observation : 6 If macro-parameters are to be meaningful then adjustments for non-essential or deferrable cost in public sector and subsidy elements in private sector in the name of promotion need to be taken into account and adjusted for.

One could go on and make many mere observations. But I hope the point is made. Any macro-parameter needs scrutiny if any meaningful comparison is to be made. The blanket censure of public enterprise displays ignorance and blind faith in efficacy of private enterprise demonstrates bias. To compare the two, a scheme has to be developed taking into account explicit and implicit cost, explicit and implicit subsidy, imputable elements and required adjustments. Even when this is done, one has to be sure of the objectives and performance can only be judged in the light of the objectives set. Only such comparison would identify whether the enterprise is at fault or the fault lies at some-point external to the enterprise or even the Corporation.

A play for propriety

The public sector industries, in contrast to public enterprises as a whole, have been put on the dock. The public sector industries, for that matter, all public enterprises should always be on the dock and the nature of the judgement procedure should be known ahead in time in the shape of documented laws of the land so that on mistaken notion remains anywhere and the judgement would not be passed on the basis of wrong procedures for criteria. One would always be free to question and improve upon the criteria and sharpen the procedure of calculation of parameters but once the criteria are properly fixed, one should have no scope to speak vaguely in generalities with motive and prejudicial interest or draw conclusions by comparing non-comparables or fix responsibility where it should not hinge, all of course in the grab of national interest, often aided by international institutions of repute which are known for their jaundiced intellectualism.

Postulate V: Public enterprises should be judged on the basis of pre-set criteria.

One has to recognise that the world has moved far away from the dictum minimum governance as the prime criterion for good governance. One has further to recognise that the character of the public enterprises have changed from the classical set which were for provision of service (e. g. post office, roads and highways), prevention of monopoly (e. g. gas, electricity) or ensuring much needed heavy capital expenditure (e. g. port)

or merely for promoting growth (e.g. irrigation). Government today in all developing countries as well as many developed countries, have emerged as an entrepreneur and a manager. Much of this is the result of the awareness that planned development requires such an intervention, that growth with equity demand such an orientation where fiscal measures are illusive and evasive and the government feels constrained to adopt policies to promote private enterprise through institutional, administrative and financial subsidies and that multiplicity of development objectives cannot be served through primary dependence on private sector barons whose appetite for quick return results in many noticed and unnoticed (often camouflaged) distortions between private and social returns as well as private and social costs.

Observation 7 : Public enterprise today is a different set than classical one and includes areas where government is a producer of goods and services which were earlier left entirely to private enterprise for social, economic and administrative reasons.

Let us recall the days of sponsored capitalism under the hegemony of Pakistani business houses. For a two crore project of which fifty per cent was in foreign exchange, the Government came forward institutionally to procure, guarantee and at times repay the loan on schedule. This cost said to be covered through service charges had to be under-estimated in terms of either social time preference rate of opportunity cost rate or a combination of these. Charges did not reflect the risk and cost taken over by the Government. If we examine the records of payment of service charges, interest payments and repayment of capital of the private sector industries located in Bangladesh upto 1971, one would find backlogs which have now become liabilities of the public sector and compounded overtime. These are very often publicly publicised as inefficiency of this helpless matron. The backlog is the consequence of the procedures of preparation of the projects in the private sector, its evaluation procedures in the financial institutions, its implementation at the whims and caprices of the owner; but these backlog also involves a direct cost to the project, to the bank and to the society. The direct cost to the bank and the society results from non-optimal circulation of investible funds and sub-optimal procurement of funds due

to deferment of repayment. There is also a subsidy as the penal cost of deferment to the project does not reflect the true social cost of this incident.

In terms of local finance, owner really put up little. Owners contributed asset (e.g. land) was over valued to his convenience; he was knowingly allowed to over invoice imports and recycle funds; he was given labour contract and perform the job at the high cost rate and EPIDC came forward as an associate to put up more funds in order to extricate itself from an artificially created impasse. Banks gave money against machinery for which the owner put up no payment and the loan at times had to be guaranteed by EPIDC as a co-sponsor. No one, to my knowledge, has cared to calculate the cost of the convenience provided to the private sector barons. This was then thought necessary as evolution of a Bengali monied class to compete with similar class of non-locals was publicised as a prime priority. One can easily add to this evasion and delay in tax payment. On 30th June, 1972, this amounted to over ninety-five crores for taken over jute mills and ranged for more than five years on average. When disinvestment was tried in late sixties, EPIDC had to find Bengali entrepreneurs and provide them finance though its own influence and even then full payment was not made. An internationally established Bengali entrepreneur for whom EPIDC arranged special finance to get payment for a disinvested unit promptly took the money and used it in his under construction mill and made further pleas for deferment of payment on account of the new one he had acquired. Today the Provisional Government has made courageous reversal of the Industrial policy by raising ceiling and deciding to disinvest many units. I wonder how they would be financed; my hunch is the Government would have to find the entrepreneurs and provide them finance as well. When one disinvests in lot, he has no chance of getting the best bargain.

Observation 8: Private sector enterprises enjoys overt and covert subsidies but are not subject to same degree of governmental supervision.

The climatic years of post-liberation consciously made the public enterprise sector include not only utilities, transportation, agricultural upliftment units, physical infrastructure and social

overhead but expanded its involvement into directly productive and commodity producing activities which were previously the domain of profit-seeking, protected, and subsidy-enjoying private enterprise. This is where the rub is and the class conflict. In the agricultural and infrastructural sector, the Government is a promoter and a cost-taker. No one talks meaningfully about its management control, accountability, efficiency or benefit per taka expenditure. The benefit, however little it is, goes generally to the private sector and almost wholly to the dominating social group. Unless the class conflict within the private sector in those domain sharpens, qualitative questions about their operation would only be marginal and we would always be presented with old programmes with new labels often with international encouragement. In the industries sector so long the government served private barons through promotional activity involving direct and indirect subsidy not much was being talked about; but as soon as the government became an entrepreneur and a manager, a competitor and displayed awareness of the social costs of growth of private economic power through patronisation, the cry against public sector became loud and clear.

The private sector has been very ably served by the governmental bureaucracy whose share in the loot is a historically known phenomenon. The bureaucracy has played an important role in diminuting the efficacy of the public sector through uncalled for interference, horizontally and vertically, through delay in decision, seepage of funds, pressurising for a control, refusing to define objectives and rules of business and similar other activities. All these, of course, have been done in the name of national interest as usual.

Observation 9: So long the public sector is subservient to the private sector, no one is bothered. It is when the public sector competes with the private sector loud noise is made against it.

The public sector in industry today emerged largely through a process of taking over the 'abandoned' units of non-locals, nationalisation of jute, cotton and sugar units of Bengali owners and public investment of EPIDC. This is abundantly clear in the Presidential order number twenty seven. If one reads carefully

the Order, the main stress has been in setting up of the corporations and underscore the governmental authority to complete ignorance and detriment of entrepreneurship and economic management. The story is repeated with a little more sophistication when such bodies were set-up under an act of the Parliament. In any case the civil servants could not display any more ingenuity than to copy such ordinances as prevailed in Pakistan days and as such modifications were suggested by petty officers, with no entrepreneurial experience or mental frame-work. Bureaucracy of a self-reliant sovereign nation could not have been more hind-bound.

The ordinances display that the authority and control of the Government is at times specific, at times purposely vague and at times an umbrella clause makes it all encompassing. Article 5(a) enables the Government to take any measure or to do such things inspite of Articles or Memorandum of Associations as the Government deems fit and necessary ; while the appropriate action would have been to properly amend these documents for enabling the units to operate efficiently under the law. Article 12 (2) empowers the Government to appoint Chairman and Directors of Corporations, Article (19) requires the corporation to get its annual budget approved by the Government ; Article (21) makes the Government appointed audits mandatory for corporations ; Article (25) gives authority to the Government to make rules for running the corporations and corporations could make rules only with approval of the Government. Control is supreme ; autonomy which is the reason for establishing a corporation is the first victim of the bureaucratic greed for power, of their insufficiency of knowledge about entrepreneurial action. There is functionally no difference between a corporation and a departmental undertaking except in the existence of a public order to create the body, creation of certain senior officers and in difficulties of fund release compared to a departmental undertaking. If one is interested one can compare a sector corporation with C & B Department.

Observation 10 : Though public enterprises emerged with a distinct socio-economic role since liberation, bureaucracy admirably served the private sector by implementing rules for diminuting the performance of public enterprises thought over-control.

The logic of certain degree of governmental control is not being questioned. It is the focus of control that needs review. So long the areas of control, instruments of control remain undefined and vague, the degree of control can only be the function of the mood and mania of the civil servants; the corporate body's autonomy remains shoddy and characteristics of a corporation is dishonoured in violation of management principles. This has been the experience of Bangladesh. The vagueness of Presidential Order is proved by the fact that all corporations were set-up under one general order and the Government till date has not found it necessary to have separate statutes for separate corporations recognising the differences in functions, goals, objectives and organisational necessities. Not only this, even executive and administrative orders are almost entirely same in all cases. Impartial may it be but inefficient, and exhibits incomprehension and incompetence of bureaucratic machine. There are directives and restrictions on recruitments, promotions and dismissals, there are overlordship in procurement and distribution; there are commanding of finance through allocation procedure and its attendant effect on production and project implementation. If government wants all these, for heavens sake have all these but do not deceive anyone by calling it a corporation. In a corporation management functions must be entirely under the effective control of the executives while policy functions must be the prerogative of the Board within defined objectives of the statute.

Observation 11: Corporations do not enjoy autonomy and have been reduced to less than a governmental department with exalted positions.

The Government has failed to define objectives for the corporations and the policy-mix has been a confused one. If the objective is to generate surplus for national exchequer, there should be a different product and policy-orientation than if the objective is employment maximisation. Similarly if the objective had been price stabilisation, then also the coverage and policy would be different from what it would be if the objective is promotional or service oriented one. One could go on. The objectives may be a complex-one, and policy-mix would similarly be a complex combination of alternatives working through trade-off matrix to

identify the result that is most acceptable. The Government has singularly failed to identify the objectives in clear terms and priorities in the mix ; therefore, logically the policy alternatives have not been worked out and a confused muddle of policies have been set to work resulting in inefficiency at the government level as well as in the economy including the corporate bodies. Hence the Ministry of Finance presses for returns on investment and generation of surplus, while Ministry of Commerce weilds its authority to fix a price below cost for consumer benefit ; Ministry of Industries sets production targets based on capacity, while Ministry of Finance and Commerce allocates foreign exchanges for much less utilisation of the given capacity and Investment Board goes on to sanction new capacities in private sector in the same field. Such confusions and contradictions can be listed one after another. When government fails to define objectives, when policies are confounded and unco-ordinated and when corporations are not masters to make best of what they can get, any evaluation of corporation based on precenceived notions can not be objective in itself.

postulate VI : No control is conducive to better management unless management function is properly understood.

Observation 12 : Government has failed to define objective for public corporations and as a result policy-mix has been a confused set and thus performance of these bodies with preconceived notions would only display bias.

Business mergers need long preparation and we have done it by fiat. All Chairmen have been removed treating good and bad equally. All Chairmen have been replaced by senior civil servants who could not find a place in the Ministry. The Chairman is the chief executive. "The purpose of the chief executive's position is to provide leadership to the company's total activity of a quality and nature that will result in growth, profitability and continuance, render service to society ; and provide opportunity for the people engaged in the operation of the enterprise to their fullest potential and gain a sense of accomplishment." The experience all over shows that this function can only be performed adequately by personnel with professional orientation. Management

is a professional task and not mere administration : chief executive is a professional who has seasoned himself in management to grow higher in order to be able to take an over-view, a long run view, a sharp view with the vision of a specialist who grows into a generalist. Adventures with civil servants and retired army personnel have not been happy either in India or U. K. or U. S. A. or even socialist countries. Incidentally, in the United Kingdom, a civil servant appointed to a Board of a Public Enterprise has to resign from civil service in order to ensure his identity with the enterprise. Our experience with civil servant chairmen and directors in general is one of non-serviceness and total ignorance of managerial capabilities. If the government believes in the future of public enterprise, it is time that they define their policy about the chief executive as it is he who makes or mars the organisation.

Postulate VII : Chief executive through his quality of leadership and perception, makes the organisation and professional identity is a need for performing the leadership function in an entity like industrial corporations.

Observation 13 : Recent changes in the top executive of corporations displays bureaucratic ignorance of the role of chief executive in public enterprise.

Factors involved in production is wellknown ; they are men, money, machine and management, Men are not different in private and public enterprises. Money has no character of its own ; nor has the machine. The differentiating factor is the management. The management can be different if the motivation-mix, control-mix, and efficiency-mix are different. The governments apathy to motivation is best demonstrated by the Pay and Services Commissions report and the treatment meted out by ministries as masters of corporations. The presence of unjustified salary ceilings and control of fringe benefits only prove the point. The control of government is not properly defined, its presence is stifling and hence it can not be conducive to improve of performance. The efficiency-mix is vitiated by government appointment and controls on personnel policies. The optimum is thus elusive.

Postulate VIII : Efficient public enterprise can only be the result of efficient management and bureaucratic management is no substitute for efficient management.

Observation 14: There is no reason for public enterprises to be inefficient unless the government policy in respect of motivation, control and efficiency mix of and for the management results in inefficiency.

Conclusion: Certain news items obviously make people feel that public enterprises are being given indecent hasty burial without creating objective conditions for its functioning. This cannot be a mere administrative decision; whoever is taking the decision must take it with full cognizance of its socio-political implications viz., creation of a privileged monied class and the probable reaction of the silent exploited majority. The consolidation that public sector corporations were able to make inspite of bureaucracy and political oprortunism. I believe, would be recorded in any impartial study. Only history can teil us whether reversal of policy and new-beginning of sponsored capitalism would bring us days of peace and prosperity with justice and equity. The Bureaucrcay and the Administration seem to be deliberate in diminuting the role that public enterprise can play in social transformation which in itself is as important as the growth of domestic product.

BETTER MANAGEMENT OF NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES : SEARCH FOR PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT

A. M. A. RAHIM*

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is not to analyse the wisdom of the decision to nationalise nor to advocate a case for denationalisation. The intention is to systematically examine the efficiency criterion of the nationalised units. The points for and against commercial profitability and social profitability will be scrutinised. In this context the alternatives available to policy makers to monitor the performance of the nationalised units will also be looked into. Additionally, the structural relationship of nationalised organisations with Government will be examined from broad principles of management. Institutionally, factors relevant to motivation and development of managerial skills will be briefly examined and in this context the issue of decentralisation and dispersal of authority to the nationalised units will be scrutinised. Comments will also be made on pricing and distribution rules of the nationalised units.

Section—1

Performance measurement of the nationalised enterprise has been a problem engaging the attention of the policy formulators, administrators and the researchers alike in the recent years. Measuring public enterprise performance has been related to the notions of both commercial and social profitability criteria. Recently,

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there has been a shift of sentiment in favour of profit as a performance criterion emphasizing the capital formation potential of surplus producing as well as the inflationary potential of a deficit incurring public enterprise sector. This approach is an off-shoot of the failure of the public enterprise to break even and in most cases becoming a perennial source of deficit financing to many Governments. Moreover, the mounting inflationary pressures has helped the profit criterion to get general acceptability among researchers and policy makers in the recent years. The accounting system of public enterprise generally is in consonance with the performance measurement based on profit maximisation. Most thinking about performance measurement has been in terms of commercial profitability adjusted to more or less defined public obligations. Assessing social or national profitability through cost benefit analysis is often undertaken in case of new projects rather than for assessing the performance of on-going enterprises.

Commercial profitability as a performance measure has much to commend it. The methods of measurement are well understood by the people in the trade and the rules are well established for ordinary accounting practice. This method also allows comparability with other units. A system of performance measurement by commercial profitability will appear simple to administer. Enterprise management can concentrate on a single overall profitability goal direct rather than a multiplicity often conflicting indices.

The commercial profitability criterion is subject to certain limitations and shortcomings. Since profit is a residual, it is a result of many factors which are not always controllable by enterprise management nor do they always reflect management contribution. Profits often can reflect the windfall income, market imperfection, oligopolistic power elements and other fortuitous circumstances. A nationalised enterprise may show higher profit following tighter restrictions on imports. Such reported profits may not be really 'earned'. In the same way the extent of management contribution can be fully submerged by overwhelmingly unfavourable situational forces.

No less fortuitous is the effect of market prices on profit measurement. A valid measurement of profit expressed in money

terms assumes the validity and reality of prices in both product and factor markets. Market prices are assumed to reflect the relative contributions and the relative availabilities of factors and products. Shown in a different way they are assumed to reflect the opportunity costs of resources used and the opportunity value of productions. Theoretically, the situation presumes perfect competition, where prices transmit information reliably and people supposedly respond to this information properly.

Market prices, however, reflect the economic situation as it is and not as it will be, underscoring the importance of speculative activity. In case of enterprises having external economies and diseconomies and/or linkages, market prices or designed institutional arrangement may not reflect marginal cost/revenues. Estimation of commercial profitability may, therefore, either understate or overstate its national profitability. Similarly, in case of price control and price administration, measurement of enterprise performance through commercial profitability may be far away from the truth. The fact is that the commercial profitability of a public enterprise is not invariably consonant with the public interest. To the extent, the performance of public enterprise has to be assessed in terms of the value of its operational results (value added) to the economy, commercial profitability is an imperfect measure. Such divergences not only have to be accounted for but will also have to be dealt with on a systematic basis by designing and pursuing appropriate policies.

Examples of such divergence between the net profit to the enterprise and cost and benefits to the country are quite frequent. The scarcity cost of various factors to the enterprise may be different from the costs to the economy. Similarly, the nominal sale receipts of the enterprise may be different from the real value to the economy of these sales. Of the many possible examples only a few need to be cited in connection with our nationalised enterprise. In case of our jute industry, the nominal receipts of sale proceeds of export are under estimated to the extent the scarcity value or accounting price of foreign exchange is much higher than the present value. In case of the textile industry, the reverse is true. To the extent, the same quality of goods can be imported into Bangladesh at c. i. f. price lower than the

cost of production in the domestic units, the real value of revenue is over estimated to that extent. It is, therefore, apparent that if the official exchange rate is overvalued (which undoubtedly is true in our case), a public enterprise with substantial foreign exchange earnings generates benefits which is worth more to the economy than to the enterprise calculates its profitability in Taka. The orderings of enterprises in terms of their national profitability as measured by this criterion will bear no relationship to their orderings in terms of the conventional commercial profitability. Because of restrictions on free imports, the domestic price of goods produced for import substitution reflects not only the supply price but also the scarcity margin. This has been confirmed beyond doubt by previous research work. In such situation higher rate of utilisation of installed capacity is not quite meaningful and if deployed as the dominant efficiency criterion may even be misleading and the improved profit performance of an import substitution enterprise (example: excess profit of Textile Corporation) is just an indication of a wider divergence between the individual enterprise interest and the public interest. To cut this story short, policy makers opting for the commercial profitability criterion need long develop clear guidelines as to where and when and to what extent, profit measure is likely to be a meaningful indicator of public enterprise performance and where and when and to what extent it is not likely to be so.

From the discussion above we can conclude that commercial profitability criterion will not be quite meaningful in situations characterised by—(1) imperfect competition, more so in oligopolistic/monopolistic situations, (2) administered prices, (3) import or export control, (4) operation of fortuitous factors rather than management contribution, (5) over-valuation of the currency when the net profit to the enterprise and the cost and benefits to the economy diverge, (6) situations where interdependence or linkage exist either in production or consumption. In such circumstances the use of cost benefit analysis or accounting prices need to be calculated to reflect relative scarcities and utilities.

What alternatives are available for policy makers to monitor the performance of the nationalised units? It is broadly agreed that a substitute to commercial profitability criterion in terms of

national profitability criteria may be provided by specifying in operational terms the national goals or targets expected of each enterprise. To indicate the goals or targets, suitable indices need to be formulated. Thereafter, the actual performance may be contrasted against the targets set up by the indices. The underlying philosophy of the system of performance measurement by performance indices is identical to the fulfilment system practiced in centrally planned economy. The accounting systems at the enterprise level in such regimes is geared to the success indicators consonant with the enterprise plan. A plethora of such indicators can be considered such as (1) maximising output, (2) maximising import substitution or foreign exchange savings, (3) export contribution, (4) maximisation of return on scarce resource (e.g. in our case foreign exchange), (5) by rates of utilisation of installed capacities, (6) maximisation of capital output ratio, (7) generation of surplus for autonomous capital formation, etc.

If the social profitability criterion is taken as a guiding principle, the commercial profitability will obviously not be pursued for pricing of output of the nationalised unit. Requirements of spillover or externality, may demand subsidy from the exchequer, (examples: fertilizer pricing, electricity for industrial use or operation of Railway or Road Transport). However, in case there is no externality involved, there is little case for not adjusting supply with demand. The operational implication of this principle is that the public exchequer need not subsidise activities which are not required by considerations of externality. This coupled with the fact that private sector operation of commercial enterprises tend to be more efficient, dictate a policy of limiting nationalisation to activities involving large-scale linkages only.

The performance measurement on the part of a supervising authority may involve different techniques varying with broad range of policy objectives. But few conditions can make for a performance short-fall than an attitude of inconclusiveness about performance measurement on the part of supervising authority. Such situation can signal conflicting messages to operative units, dilute their profit consciousness and slacken performance standards. To make a system of measurement operational it should be

reduced to a single, short-hand result index as a weighted linear combination of different indices reflecting varying goals. The weights should be carefully worked out in advance taking into consideration the social preference of the community at any given time. A defined operational system though less logical may produce better results than a more logical but less operational system. It follows as a corollary that the targets set for public enterprises will be of little significance unless they are used for the measurement of actual performance.

Rules on pricing and distribution.

Price and distribution policies for public enterprises need to be formulated in harmony with the overall public policy and the wider consideration of managing the economy. Pricing and distribution policies, while affecting profit performance of individual enterprises as well as turnover and scale of operation have far reaching implications for allocative efficiency, income distribution, price stability and economic growth. While formulating pricing and distribution policy, supervisory authorities may work out the precise implications of their decisions. Pricing and distribution policy of the nationalised sector may not be uniform althrough and may have to be oriented towards the specific needs and consideration of particular sector. Traditionally benevolent pricing policies are associated with public utilities or where mass consumption items are involved or where intermediate key capital goods are deemed crucial to the development of certain other sectors. However, with growing consciousness against deficit financing and increasing emphasis on price stability, considerations of pricing policies are shifting away from the traditional low price policy, focusing the priority of fiscal instrument in achiveing other major goals of equity and egalitarianism.

With almost exclusive concern for allocative efficiency, economists traditionally have been advocating marginal cost price policies. However, the marginal cost pricing is not operational enough. Issues like short-run or long-run marginal cost, private cost or public cost could the thinking on marginal cost pricing. It becomes all the more compounded when considerations of scarcity of foreign exchange, temporary balance of payments problems dictating slowing down or stoppage of production are

taken into account. A doctrinaire commitment to marginal cost pricing may prove unworkable in view of the frequency of departure that may have to be made in pursuit of public interest. However, the above rule can be tempered with some specific observations. In situations of aggravated shortages generating black-markets and calling for large-scale rationing, underpricing may prolong the difficulties and tempt the supervising authorities to engage in centralised price fixing and price administration which becomes increasingly proliferated giving rise to a top heavy administrative structure whose real cost to the economy is usually unaccounted for. In such situations, what is significant is the tendency for centralised pricing to be more amenable to political pressures with thoughts of economic performance giving way to political considerations.

As a general rule, keeping in mind the past performance of our nationalised units in generating inflation, public policy should clearly identify the producing units whose product is a necessity and is of mass consumption character. In case of these items pricing policy should be so designed that their consumption is maximised. This may necessitate granting of subsidy which should be clearly identified and taken into consideration, while assessing the profitability of the producing units. In all other cases, it appears that pricing policy may be based on the operation of free market demand and supply forces. It is plausible that occasionally market forces may not exist. Such situations may warrant the creation or strengthening of the market forces rather than resorting to rationing or other restrictive devices on the plea that no market exists to work with.

Motivation and development of managerial skill

The top management of the nationalised sector corporations consists usually of a Board headed by a Managing Director or a Chairman. This is the uppermost locus of executive authority for overall performance at the enterprise level. To constitute and reconstitute top management at the corporation level is the major responsibility of the supervising authority. Available evidence confirms the belief that public enterprise performance is directly correlated to the quality of the top people. The root performance problem, it is often maintained, is not the organisational structure

(although it is important too) but personnel, particularly at the top and upper middle levels of management. If the right men are placed on top of public enterprises with responsibilities matched by authority, performance in most cases tend to improve.

The supervising authorities should manage the Managing Directors or the top management of the sector corporations. This distinction between managing the managers and managing the affairs of the corporation or the enterprise although often blurred, sets the division of responsibility between the two authorities. While trying to improve management of the nationalised units this line of demarcation between supervising and operating responsibilities should be drawn as clearly as possible. Going beyond managing the top management of the nationalised enterprises may affect operating management motivation and morale. The need for a clear-cut demarcation of responsibility between the Ministry as the broad policy maker, the sector corporation as a regulating agency and the individual enterprise directly in-charge of productive operations is indeed very urgent. Absence of detailed rules of business, relating to their specific functions as well as their policy objectives contributed to a great deal of indecision with consequent indeterminacy in assigning responsibility for action and policies. Clearly defined objectives must be set for each sector including the banking sector. Within each sector objectives may be needed to be set up for each sections and sub-sections. Inconclusive performance system makes it difficult to evaluate performance, motivate workers and identify and correct lapses. A related objective is the development of a sound and efficient information system which keeps each tier of authority informed of the performance of the tier underneath. Some uniformity in the accounting system may also be necessary so that the basic data are generated in a form which is easily identifiable understood and fits the information system without disturbance.

Recruitment practices of the nationalised units must be wide and efforts must be made to catch the talents wherever they may be. Turnover among top management and middle level cadres can be reduced only by improving the service conditions. Unless the right environment is created there is always unwillingness to accept challenge and in the process initiative can be

forfeited. It is, therefore, not uncommon to see the top management avert rather than take risks, avoid difficulties rather than deal with them, escape frustration rather than take up challenge. This deep rooted phenomenon points invariably to the state of psychological flight on account of deficient motivation.

If operated under regular departmental controls, enterprise performance is bound to fall short of the level attainable. Subject to the budget appropriation process, enterprise management is not likely to be as cost conscious and innovative to cost reduction as it is bound to be a business like system of control. Management will be disposed to hide reserves, over-estimate difficulties, under-estimate capacity and the like. When an enterprise lacks the autonomy to procure its inputs by open market bidding, the freedom to strive for optimisation is at once reduced. To that extent it cannot be held accountable for enterprise performance. It is only through setting up of objectives and policy goals and follow-up inspection that autonomy and control can be reconciled. A differentiation of Financial management from departmental rules may generate the degree of autonomy which is a pre-requisite of effective management. Such differentiation certainly does not imply less integration of autonomous nationalised units with public policy or any less accountability. On the contrary, it means more. Although it sounds paradoxical, greater autonomy and greater control are not only compatible but mutually reinforcing. In a real way, a higher degree of operational autonomy could reinforce the degree of enterprise integration with public policy. Through better practices of direction, target setting, performance measurement and control, greater accountability of nationalised enterprise can be secured. Yet it does not imply accountability for each specific individual actions and decisions, but for results in achieving the broad national objectives which are pre-determined by public policy.

Quite often a distinction is made between supervising authority (Government) and the top management of nationalised units in that of policy and execution. In this view, operating management is, execute rather than make decisions, to implement rather than initiate, to receive instructions rather than steer out a course. Such facile distinctions between the role of the

supervising authorities and the top management is responsible for the anxiety of high talent man-power being diverted towards more prestigious jobs closer to the locus of power. Such conventional ideas are also responsible for tightening controls, strengthening sanctions, pressures and frequent reshuffling of top personnel at the management level. This may also inhibit management initiative, reducing their willingness to take risk and increasing their hankering after autonomy and esteem. The dichotomy between execution and policy making is based on the ground that the technical soundness of any policy can only be examined properly by the Ministry which is really the repository of all past precedents and which alone can have an over view of things. A secretariat scrutiny provides necessary objectivity essential to dealing with policy cases which cannot be effectively dealt with by the operating units. The operating units may not also be able to devote full time to national and international negotiations for loans or otherwise or to give due consideration to national and international implications of different issues. In the absence of policy-execution dichotomy there may be the acceptance of half-baked ideas formed into policy in an unco-ordinate fashion. Although there is some truth in this ideas, the proper position seem to be that policy and execution are inter-acting and cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. The initiator of a programme i. e. the autonomous bodies must at the same time feel concerned with administrative feasibility and a programme operator should also weigh the pros and cons of each proposal within their own area of competence. By associating the executive agency in the policy realm, procrastination consequent to the dichotomy is avoided. Organisation of the Government machinery should be flexible enough to suit varying circumstances of each case. However, it should be noted clearly that responsibility for policy will lie with the Government and the executive agency will have operational autonomy so that they may effectively execute the policy with maximum efficiency. It is generally agreed that the important fact affecting managers motivation is the style of supervision and the supervision authorities relation to operating managers. In the course of the interaction between the supervising authority and the top management, certain needs are satisfied or left unsatisfied and certain motivations can be reinforced or

extinguished. In many ways, therefore, a supervising authority may become a stimulant or a drag upon management motivation. Indeed, one can stir the insecurity and discouragement by mere blanket judgement on inconclusive, fuzzy performance criterion. What is desirable is to generate better diagnostic insight into management motivation, and of course greater decentralisation and autonomy to the operating units.

The need for training

Dividing a developmental approach to the management of public enterprise managers is urgently required. Formal management training has proved by all available evidence an important method of development talent. In our context, training and re-training needs of the new and the old recruits of public enterprise managers are very real and great. The need to develop problem solving schemes, the need to develop adequate generalist out of functional specialist, the need to professionalise the conventional generalists and to re-orient the stereotype to modern management concept is very urgent indeed. There is also the need to develop adequate base of personnel for the public enterprise sectors from whose ranks would emerge a second generation of top managers who have acquired work experience within public enterprises, replacing the generation which was formed in haste by drawing upon cadres shaped elsewhere. The cost benefit ratio of such investment in management training institutions are invariably the most favourable. Undoubtedly, management development presupposes the selection of right seeds. But it also needs a conducive climate, adequate fertilization and quite sometime for the greening of the cadres of the public enterprise.

Conclusion.

Recently Government has made reorganisation of the Corporations by merging several corporations. Although each corporation will now be a multi-product firm, the objective should be to optimise the operation of each individual unit. In this context the applicability of private profitability and social profitability should be clearly spelled out in case of different products of each corporation. The performance measurement criteria should be clearly laid down without any attitude of inconclusiveness. The pricing and

distribution policy should be adjusted according to the adoption of private or social profitability criterion. Where large-scale linkage is not involved, pricing policy should be designed to eliminate excess demand or excess supply. Whenever any subsidy is allowed the reasons for such subsidy should be clearly identified. Rationing or price control need not be introduced on the ground that market forces do not exist. In such situation efforts should be made to organise proper interplay of demand and supply forces. A clear distinction should be drawn up between managing the affairs of the Corporation and managing the Board. Clearly defined objectives must be set for each sector corporation including the banking sector. Operation of departmental controls should be avoided in administering corporations. Corporations should be allowed the operational freedom for execution of policies and achieving the defined objectives. The approach towards management of public corporations should be developmental. Training and retraining needs of the new and the old recruits of the corporations are very real and great. Immediate steps should be taken for training of personnel in broad management principles and problem solving techniques involving optimisation in production, cost control and market development.

CHOICE OF CRITERIA FOR PERFORMANCE EVALUATION IN THE NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES OF BANGLADESH

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About 85% of the modern industrial sector in Bangladesh is under public ownership. Out of the 10% contribution of the manufacturing sector to the G.D.P. in Bangladesh, the share of the large scale manufacturing industries is 6 per cent.

Local consumption goods industries (e.g. cotton textile, sugar, food & allied), local market input supplying industries (e.g. fertiliser, cement, gas etc.), export industries (e.g. jute manufacturing, tanneries) domestic raw-material-based industries (jute manufacturing, sugar, tanneries), imported raw-material based industries (e.g. cotton textile, steel etc.) are in the public sector.

The nationalised industrial sector, thus holds a key position in the economic structure of the country and is expected to play a very important role in the development process. It is, therefore, imperative that an efficient management of the nationalised industries and their development in the right direction is ensured.

A review of the problems faced by the nationalised industries of Bangladesh reveals the fact that an unsatisfactory situation exists in the major production units of the country. For a meaningful discussion of these problems which relate to (i) technical (ii) institutional (iii) even ideological, it is essential that the objectives to be achieved are clearly spelt out. But pronouncements and policy statements by the authorities concerned on these issues are not very clear.

The basic aim of nationalisation in Bangladesh seems to be the abolition of private ownership and the transfer of this ownership to the State. The mere act of nationalisation is not an end in itself. The programme must be beneficial to the whole

community. The objective of nationalisation may be spelt out as (i) state ownership of industrial assets (ii) pursuit of optimum efficiency of performance (iii) generation of surplus for the benefit of the community as a whole.

As for the goal of management in the nationalised industrial sector, again, apart from a few vague references to "efficiency of the public sector" there is no clear official statement.

Criteria for Performance Evaluation

On the question of performance evaluation & other problems the First Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh states, "Clearly defined objective must be set for each sector. Production targets, efficiency levels, cash surplus generation and other defined objectives should be spelt out for the corporations and by the Corporations for the enterprises ... Absence of precise targets makes it difficult to evaluate performance, motivate workers & other lapses".

The planning Commission appreciated the need for a performance criterion which as Q. R. Ahmad has pointed out in his *Aspects of the Management of 'Nationalised Industries in Bangladesh'*, (The Bangladesh Development Studies, Vol. II, July, 1974, p. 695) is capacity utilisation. In a situation of extreme scarcity of commodities as has been obtaining in Bangladesh, this measure is of high relevance. But this cannot be the only criterion for evaluating enterprise performance over the long run.

The criteria or indicators of enterprise performance, as has been rightly pointed out by Dr. Mohiuddin Alamgir, 'should be evolved with the framework of national objectives.' (Alamgir, Mohiuddin, *'Nationalised Industries of Bangladesh'*—The Bangladesh Development Studies Vol. II, July, 1974, pp. 709).

Though it was not made sufficiently clear, the vague references to 'efficiency of performance' in the First Five-Year Plan seems to have been used in the sense of maximum utilisation of capacity. It can be considered a correct measure for 'efficiency of performance' only on the assumption that the industries are operating on 'efficient cost curves.' But most industries in Bangladesh in post-liberation period were operating on higher cost curves in real terms even in relation to 1969-70, due to various reasons such as lack of appropriate production planning, ineffective

management, lack of effective budgetary and inventory control, excess labour etc. It therefore, has been correctly stated by Mr. Q. K. Ahmed that the goal of 'efficiency of performance' should be defined to mean maximisation of output subject to optimum utilisation of resources.

There is, however, no easy solution to the problem of choice of indicators for enterprise performance. Indicators such as the volume of output, value of output produced, the volume or value of trade turnover, index of the turnover of circulating assets etc. were used in the Socialist countries from time to time. But none of them were found totally satisfactory. Consequently, the Socialist planners had to think about alternatives. 'Profitability' as a criterion for performance evaluation was accepted by Yugoslavia in 1952, by Hungary in 1957, the USSR in 1967 and other European Socialist countries in the late 1960's. Even in China, 'Profitability' was accepted as one of the four criteria for performance evaluation as early as 1957.

It is claimed that the 'profitability criterion' takes into account not only the input sides but reflects the efficiency of all different operations combined.

The 'profit criterion' may mean the profit mass which is calculated as the excess of total income of the enterprise (Sales plus other income including subsidies) minus total expenditure (prime cost plus payments to the State plus capital charges plus other expenditures).

This criterion may also mean rentability rate which is percentage ratio of profit to the prime cost, while the 'profit rate' which simply is the rate of return on gross capital employed.

However, in a mixed economy like ours serious problems may arise in the application of this criterion due to divergence of private and social profitability. In the private sector, financial profitability is the indicator of success and the maximum profit and the output relevant to that is obtained by equating price with marginal cost.

For, 'profit' criterion to be meaningful in an economy like Bangladesh, the relevant concept, should be Social profitability.

Since rapid growth of output & income and its equitable distribution sustained by a high rate of accumulation are necessary

preconditions to attain the basic national goal of reducing poverty & achieving a higher standard of living in Bangladesh, profit maximisation can also be the operational goal in the nationalised industries sector. Indeed, the surplus generated this way would accrue to the State which can be most efficiently utilised for the benefit of the community as a whole.

For judging the performance of the nationalised industries all variants of the 'profit' criterion (mentioned earlier) should be calculated. It appears from the official announcements regarding the measure of success of the Sector Corporations, profitability has been accepted as the main indicator of performance evaluation in the nationalised industries Sector. But the 'profitability' criterion in this case can be meaningful only when the pricing policy adopted for the sector corporations is appropriate and satisfactory. The questions of (i) generation of surplus (ii) distribution of income & (iii) efficient allocation of resources are related to an appropriate & sound pricing policy.

For the efficient allocation of resources, shadow prices should be used. Q. K. Ahmad's recommendations of using shadow prices for calculating enterprise profitability is a sound one. But he has not ignored the necessity of using actual prices as the instruments for generating surplus as well as distribution of income.

The pricing policy of the nationalised industries of Bangladesh should be based on the following general principles :

- “(i) Prices must reflect the contribution of all resources in addition to labour.
- (ii) a closer correspondence between retail & producer's prices has to be ensured.
- (iii) Prices should reflect market supply & demand conditions.
- (iv) prices of tradable goods should have close links with international prices”.

(Alamgir, Mohiuddin, 'Nationalised Industries of Bangladesh-Problems & Prospects', The Bangladesh Development Studies-Vol. II, July, 1974 ; pp. 712)

The basis for the valuation of final and intermediate products should be international prices of such commodities which will reflect the opportunity cost of producing them at home

instead of importing. The assumption is that the international prices are insensitive to quantities bought & sold.

The problem of determining the rate at which the international prices is to be converted into domestic price will, of course, arise. As a solution to this problem, Dr. Muhiuddin Alamgir has suggested that for foreign exchange, the first approximation to the shadow price would be the official exchange rate inflated by a weighted average of the rates of Tariff and subsidy on various types of imports and exports respectively. The weights should be the value of imports and exports as a proportion of the total.

The second problem arises, when international prices differ from one source to another. In such case, an weighted average of the prices may be taken. The weights should be the proportions of supply in the international market from various sources.

It has been emphasised in the literature on this topic, that prices of primary inputs e.g. capital, labour etc. should reflect their real scarcity. The pricing policy of the public sector industries is related to generation of surplus. Investible surplus comes out of the profit of these enterprises. If the nationalised industries operating on business principles were free to fix their prices, then like the private Sector they could pursue profit maximisation goal on the basis of cost & demand conditions.

In such a case profit could be as good a performance evaluation criterion as in the private sector. But problems arise when the prices are regulated. There are, of course, valid reasons for the regulation of prices by the government.

Since their prices may have an important influence on the general price level and there may be a possibility of a price-wage spiral and in some cases, inefficiency of some enterprises may be covered by profit under scarcity conditions, and since the government is concerned that the consumers get a fair deal, there are strong grounds that prices be regulated by the government.

But the cost & percentage mark-up pricing system that was being evolved for the nationalised industries sector with the possible exception of export industries could have disastrous consequences by encouraging inefficiency, particularly in the scarcity situation as has been obtaining in Bangladesh. Since larger output would

mean larger profit and cost reduction would imply lower profits output expansion might be pursued without proper emphasis on cost reduction.

And when profit is a percentage of cost of production as Q. K. Ahmad has rightly stated that there is a premium on inefficiency. If the price is made the function of the cost of production, the use of profitability as a criterion for performance evaluation becomes meaningless.

If, however, the price is centrally fixed and the enterprises make an attempt to maximise profit on the basis of that price. (i.e. by equating marginal cost with the given price), efficiency of performance may be ensured. Profitability, under such circumstances, may be accepted as criterion for performance evaluation.

Productivity tests, in addition to profitability should also be used. In order to measure overall productivity, total productivity ratios (i.e., real cost per unit of output) may be computed.

A partial productivity ratio would indicate the efficiency with which particular resources are being utilised.

To measure changes in productivity overtime, a reference period reasonably free from abnormalities, has to be chosen. For such measurements, 1969-79 appears to be an appropriate base year for Bangladesh. Effective application of these criteria will help detecting problem areas and bottle-necks, if any, so that timely corrective measures can be taken.

Considering the important position, the nationalised industries Sector occupies in the national economy, the efficiency of performance of the various enterprises under the Sector Corporations must be ensured. It is, therefore, imperative that appropriate criteria for performance evaluation of the nationalised industries be evolved and effectively applied without any further loss of time.

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ON THE NATIONALISED INDUSTRIAL SECTOR CONTROVERSY

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I

During the last thirty years economists all over the world have discovered and re-discovered that economic-development is not merely a phenomenon of saving-investment and allocation of resources. Economic development not only increases the productive forces of the society but also changes the economic and its corresponding socio-political relationship among the individuals which in turn affects the rate of changes of the productive forces. A strategy of economic development, hence industrial development, cannot, therefore, be formulated by isolating the socio-political consequences of such a strategy.

Bangladesh has an economy with different modes of production which are related to one another by complex and changing interrelationship. It is not without significance that changes in economic relationship among classes of people were not always smooth but occasionally accompanied by unrestrained fury. During the recent period there has been significant changes in the economic and political balance of power and it is only natural that economic policies will also reflect such changes. While some of the economic policies since liberation facilitated this tilt in balance, it is basically a legacy of our history. The recent shift in favour of private sector in industrial policies is a direct reflection of this changing balance.

II

Perhaps the most debated economic policy today is the role of public-vs-private sector in the industrial development of Bangladesh. When large scale industries and banks were nationalised on March 26, 1972, two major justifications in favour of

the policy were advanced by the government : (a) nationalization of industries would create favourable condition for the eventual establishment of a socialist society and (b) it would help accelerate the rate of industrialization. It was also argued that a precondition to the socialist transformation of the economy is to increase the share of public sector in the industrial activity. Opponents of the leading role of the public sector have rejected either or both the proposition on various grounds. The most vocal and effective adversary of the leading role of the public sector are naturally those who reject socialism as a goal.

Those who advocate a strategy of industrial development based on private sector are not in favour of a completely open economy, floating foreign exchange and a neutral fiscal policy. They know the limitations of the private sector in Bangladesh ; it will not survive in such a competitive economic climate. What the private sector wants, and (if the current trend continues) will get, is the type of protection and encouragement by the government they used to get during Pakistan. It is, therefore, important to briefly review the experiences of industrialisation in Pakistan.

During Pakistan period access to investment in the industrial sector was selective—primarily by political but sometimes also by economic considerations. In the late sixties some Bengalis were allowed to invest in the industrial sector, but the privilege was restricted to those who were politically acceptable to the regime. But those who were allowed to invest were granted generous long-term loans—on the average about 75 per cent of the total capital. Needless to say, the government patronage was not limited to setting up of the industrial units. The government also adopted commercial and fiscal policies to guarantee the profitable operation of these units.

Firstly, to protect the market from foreign competition high rate of import duties was imposed on the commodities manufactured by these enterprises. The rate of tariff was not only high but went up over time. In the late sixties the average rate of tariff on consumer goods was about ninety per cent and for some industries it was close to two hundred per cent.

Secondly, the rate of import duty on machineries and raw-materials was kept at a low level. This has not only increased

the gap between buying and selling price of the manufacturing units but it also gave greater incentive to import substitution in the consumer goods industries relative to intermediate and capital goods industries, even though the greatest potential for import substitution existed in the latter industries.

Thirdly, the over-valuation of rupee and the system of multiple exchange rate turned the intersectoral terms of trade against agriculture. It has been calculated that in the sixties the agricultural sector in Pakistan had received only 50 per cent of the value its sales would have bought if they could have been traded internationally without the limitations imposed by government policy. The intersectoral terms of trade was only worse for East Pakistan's agricultural sector.

Fourthly, computation show that one half to two-thirds of actual value added by domestic manufacturers was the result of the distortions in the price structure. For example, over two-thirds of the value added in jute and cotton textiles were due to the fact that industry buys its principal input at less (due to export tax) and sells it at more (due to Export Bonus Scheme) than the official price of foreign exchange. If the industries were required to buy and sell at the same price for foreign exchange, some firms would have become unprofitable, and there would have been substantial drop in the rate of profit in the industries.

Finally, not only regional income disparity increased during the sixties but intra-regional income disparity also widened; the real income of the industrial workers actually declined.

The above discussion shows that the industrial policy of Pakistan imposed heavy burden on the people and their sacrifices rather than the efficiency of the industrialists contributed to the profitable operation of the industries. Yet these policies did not succeed much in raising the rate of saving and improve the managerial ability of the industrialists, particularly of the Bengali industrialists.

III

During the last four years, a huge amount of finance capital has been accumulated in the private sector.¹ As a direct consequence,

1. The principal sources of such accumulation is discussed in "Domestic Resource Mobilization in the First-Five Year Plan of Bangladesh: Some Comments" by Abdul Ghafur, *Political Economy*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Conference 1974.

the political and economic strength of this sector has been continuously growing. The rate of return on investment in the commercial activity has, however, been declining and as a result the owners of the accumulated capital have been seeking, with growing political and economic leverage, for investment opportunities, in the industrial sector. In alliance with the eppropriated industrialists, who demand their enterprises back, they have already succeeded in changing a number of important industrial policies which have far reaching economic and political consequences. The investment ceiling has been raised from Taka 2.5 million in 1974 to Taka 100 million. It should be noted that due to lack of foreign exchange many small scale industries remain on the waiting list. These small enterprises are often agro-based and labour intensive hence socially desirable. Until the need of the small enterprises can be fulfilled the hike in investment ceiling may be wasteful. Recently the government has announced that former owners of the nationalised industries and investment-bonds will be compensated. The beneficiaries of compensation also includes the foreign nationals. The terms of payment and method of assessment very much favour the reciepients. It is not quite clear what useful purpose will be served by compensating the former owners, particularly the foreign owners. The total payment will probably exceed the investment out of these payments. As an alternative government could undertake to invest the entire amount to be paid as compensation. In certain cases the government has decided to disinvest some of the public enterprises. Collaboration with foreign private capital is not only allowed but also encouraged. Since only the big multinational corporations are in a position to make large investment, one need not argue about the merits and demerits of foreign private investment as such. The focus should be on the role of the multinational corporations.

In spite of all the concessions made to the private sector, the amount of investment actually made so far is negligible. The private sector is already assured of getting the same package of policies as Pakistan days. Clearly, the tactics is to hold back investment and use it as a proof that not enough incentive has been given and that investment climate has not been created. These arguments and facts will then be used to gain further concessions.

IV

Bangladesh is an underdeveloped country with one of the lowest *per capita* income and rate of saving in the world. The contribution of the industrial sector in the gross national product is so small that in the foreseeable future even the best expected level of investible surplus would not, contrary to popular belief, make any noticeable difference in the economic growth of Bangladesh. Improved efficiency in the industrial sector will hardly make the effort to mobilize resources for development less painful.

Due to the scarcity of capital and lack of efficiency of the former owners of industries (not to speak of the new comer) it is clear that industrial development through the private sector is not possible without a very high cost. To increase the investible resources government has to adopt policies which will impose sacrifice on at least a segment of the population. It is impossible for the private sector to mobilize the required resources; but even if could, it is against the interest of the people to enrich a few favoured industrialists at the expense of the people, as was done in Pakistan. People can be asked to sacrifice for the society and the moral foundation of such an appeal is laid only when profit earned through their sacrifices becomes social and not private wealth.

The poor performance of the nationalised industries in Bangladesh has strengthened the adversaries of the public sector. Not only the managerial failure but also the wrong kind of political interference and misconceived pricing policy has convinced many that the public sector is incapable of playing a leading role in the industrial development of Bangladesh. There is no doubt that the performance of the public sector had been seriously constrained by a number of government decisions. It does not however follow that public sector is necessarily more inefficient than the private sector. In the development Western countries, as in many underdeveloped countries, public sector enterprises are running as efficiently as the private sector. These public sector enterprises however operate on the same principle as the private sector. The question then is whether the public sector should be allowed to determine its employment, pricing and other

policies. If not, then the performance of the public sector should not be measured by the same yardstick as that of the private sector.

In every underdeveloped country the government has to play an important role in economic development. Turning a backward economy into an advanced one is a formidable task. A faster growth rate and a desirable allocation is possible only when the government efforts are geared to raising the rate of saving, allocation of resources including human resources according to social priorities, curbing the growth of obsolete modes of production etc. The sum total of these efforts may be called planning (not necessarily in the formal sense) for development. Since the private sector allocates resources in response to private, and not social, profitability, the public sector has to play a vital role in this respect.

The course of the socialist transformation of Bangladesh will of course be determined by the sequence and outcome of the revolutionary class struggle. However, the success of such a struggle can be expedited by (gradually) eliminating the economic factors which sustain the classes hostile to building a socialist society at a particular stage of historical development. I think history has rejected the theory that socialism cannot be built in an underdeveloped country i. e., the precondition for a socialist revolution or socialist transformation is a certain level of capitalist development. Even if the theory were correct, it would be difficult to convince the implication of the theory to the working class, particularly the trade union activists.

Does nationalization and planning confuse the exploited people and dampens class struggle? Far from it. On the contrary income distribution through market mechanism not only camouflages the exploitative relationship but also divides the workers and allures them to the so-called economism. Planning and nationalization de-mystifies the class relationship and changes the area of class-struggle from economics to politics.

Economic efficiency is a desirable social objective but it is not the only one. Those who are familiar with economic history know that income distribution deteriorates during early period of industrialization. It has not been demonstrated that,

given the time preference of the poorer segment of the population, the eventual gain in consumption compensates the loss during the intervening period.

One of the ironies of our history is that even the public sector controversy has also been mixed up with national interest and patriotism. Historically those catchwords are used to conceal the embarrassment of naked class interest. It would be unfortunate if we let history repeat itself. In the final analysis only the people and people alone are patriotic and there is no national interest beyond the interest of the people.

REAL WAGES IN NATIONALIZED SECTOR IN BANGLADESH : 1971/72 to 1974/75

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I

INTRODUCTION

Planning with or without a clear political consensus.

Socialist planning, aiming at the attainment of socialist goals, presupposes a socialist political consensus. The political philosophy of Bangladesh, as reflected in its constitution, suffers from an internal contradiction by aiming to attain socialism through traditional parliamentary democracy. The ruling political order in Bangladesh has been primarily parliamentary, in spite of the short-lived ascendancy of a de facto dictatorial rule during the first half of 1975. Our First Five-Year Plan was launched in 1973. While the time for the evaluation of this plan is not just yet, what can be said as a first approximation is that socialist planning in this country has lacked an unambiguous political consensus.

This is an important and potentially explosive proposition and, therefore, owes an elaborate justification. I would justify myself primarily by high-lighting on the class character of the ingredients of the political order that has made the social and economic planning decisions on behalf of the population of this country. But first some prerequisites of successful socialist planning in Bangladesh which, apart from its undoubtedly unfavourable resource-man ratio, has recently been in the throes of an economically expensive war of liberation.

Probably the most decisive among such prerequisites is a programme of shared austerity¹ to help arrive at a desirable trade-off

1. Md. Anisur Rahman, "Priorities for Socialist Development," in E. A.G. Robinson and Keith Griffin (eds.) "The Economic Development of Bangladesh," (London ; Macmillan, 1974), pp. 18-20

between consumption and accumulation. Given the widespread and deep existing underconsumption on the other, the trade-off is bound to be very hard, both technically and operationally. A very large part of the national wealth of this country remains in the form of conspicuous consumption and concealed incomes. Shared austerity and accumulation are incompatible with conspicuous consumption and concealed incomes. A choice has to be made, add this choice hinges on the political consensus. But given the class character of those forming this country's parliamentary ruling order,² it is difficult to envisage how surplus farmers and hoarders/traders could ever politically sustain, as distinct from subvert, a process replacing the status quo of selfish opulence with shared austerity.

The problem stated : The need for an incomes policy in our nationalized sector.

Our above discussions and misgivings about the political content of planning, whether industrial or otherwise, in Bangladesh are meant to help a correct interpretation of a specific empirical illustration in this paper of how austerity in the recent pasts has indeed been shared by the workers in the nationalized sector. More specifically, this paper has the limited object of studying the movement of real wages in some of the important industries in this country. A cognate object is to analytically associate the relative behaviour of wages to the absence of a well-defined and-applied incomes and prices policy consistent with other essential prerequisites of growth with socialist planning.

With this necessary warm-up to our object in this paper, the discussion is arranged as under: section II presents a simple model of incomes and prices policy. Section III is an examination of the

2. Identification of classes is a very difficult empirical job. In so far as incomes and wealth are two crucial data, empiricism is unusually compounded, given that the lower and upper ends of income and wealth distributions are always badly specified. And yet the evidence available tends to suggest that the people who ruled this nation for most of its independent history are the lawyers, the surplus farmers and the rich traders. See Rounaq Jahan, "Members of Parliament in Bangladesh," a paper presented at a Conference of the Research Committee on Legislative Development of International Political Science Association in Penang, Malaysia, March 14-17, 1975, pp. 10-12

movement of real wage in five important industries of Bangladesh, constituting the largest portion of the nationalized sector. The results are interpreted. Section IV focusses on summary and conclusion of the study.

II

ISSUES CONCERNING INCOMES AND PRICES POLICY

The main ingredients

In this section, we are concerned with an incomes and prices policy that operates directly on wages.

$$\text{We define } Y = P \cdot X \quad \dots (1)$$

$$W = w \cdot L \quad \dots (2)$$

$$Z = \frac{W}{Y} \quad \dots (3)$$

$$X = \frac{X}{L} \quad \dots (4)$$

Where Y = money national income

P = general price level

X = physical national output

W = total wages

w = general wage level

L = Employed labour force

Z = share of wages in national income

x = average labour productivity

$$\text{Now it follows that } Z = \frac{W}{Y} = \frac{wL}{PX} = \frac{wl}{PxL}$$

$$\text{Or, } ZPxL = wL$$

$$\therefore w = ZPx \quad \dots \dots \dots (5)$$

$$\text{when } \log x \log Z + \log P + \log x$$

Differentiating with respect to time and applying chain of function rule, we have

$$\frac{\dot{w}}{w} = \frac{\dot{Z}}{Z} + \frac{\dot{P}}{P} + \frac{\dot{x}}{x} \dots \dots \dots (6)$$

In other words, the rate of change of wages is identically equal to the sum of rates of change of Z , P and x . Apart from prices,

according to this simple model, the only *real* factor that determines the trend of wages is the behaviour of productivity.^{3, 4}

Now an incomes policy that is always after the workers' heart is one that seeks to keep the share of wages in national income constant in real terms. That is

$$\frac{\dot{Z}}{Z} = \frac{\dot{w}}{w} - \left(\frac{\dot{P}}{P} + \frac{\dot{x}}{x} \right) = 0 \dots\dots\dots (7)$$

Incidentally, given the widespread poverty that has been the lot of the urban-based industrial workers in this country throughout the 1960s, especially the late 1960s,⁵ and the consequential desire

3. Note, however, that this a very simple model indeed, since it does not take into account any impact that monopoly power of employers might have on the wages. Most available studies on the subject in different countries have usually included the monopoly aspects of wage determination.
4. To be precise, a study of behaviour of wages has the statistical option of working through testing the following hypotheses:
 - (a) that the shift in the relative importance of various industries affects wage level;
 - (b) that increase in capital intensity is negatively related with the share of wages;
 - (c) that elasticity of substitution between labour and capital in different industries has impact on wages or conversely;
 - (d) that the effectiveness of union organization has positive impact on wages. Now of course, (a), (b) are subsumed under the blanket variable of X in (6) above since a move towards higher capital intensity in industrial techniques and a relative dominance of capital using industries will have a different effect on x/x than an opposite pattern in factor intensity and industrial structure would have. Our model cannot at all account for (d). See, in this connection, the work of M.M. Dadi, "Income Share of Factory Labour in India," (New Delhi: Shri Ram Centre of Industrial Relations and Human Resources, 1973)
5. I assume that the urban workers have fully shared the decline in real income and the considerable poverty that has haunted our urban areas throughout the 1960s to this day. For evidence on behaviour of real income and poverty in urban areas, see Mohiuddin Alamgir, "Some Analysis of Distribution of Income, Consumption, Saving and Poverty in Bangladesh," The Bangladesh Development Studies (BDS) Vol. II, No. 4, Octobe. 1974 and Mohiuddin Alamgir, "Economy of Baangladesh: Which Way are We Moving?" a background paper to the Presidential Address to the Second Annual Conference of the Bangladesh Economic Association, March 15-18, 1976.

to see this essentially inequitable trend halted and reversed in future, this is an incomes policy much after my own heart, too. Note that this policy would amount to an equality between the rate of change of money wages on the one hand, and the sum of similar rates for the price level and average labour productivity, on the other. If \dot{x}/x is assumed to equal zero, then this incomes policy would imply that money wages and prices change at the same rate. We have thus shown that income and prices policy should in this country always go in tandem.

It is thus in the context of this simplified model that we knit together the essential ingredients of what I think is an appropriate incomes policy with respect to wages, i.e. one that keeps Z constant in real terms. Is this a socialist incomes policy? It could be argued, somewhat appropriately, that a socialist incomes policy may, over the mid-term, try to reduce labour's share in income on the basis that this would raise the rate of net accumulation above what it would otherwise be by raising the income share of the state and thus accelerating the growth rate to a higher level than otherwise.

While the argument is situation-specific, I do not think it applies to Bangladesh. Beyond a certain, unspecified, critical income level, attempt to raise present investment at the expense of labour's current consumption may defeat itself, given that beyond that level underconsumption may *cause* underproduction.⁶ In such a case, the state may only be paying out in subsidies with it collects by reducing the wage bill.

We have already discussed the absence of a clear political consensus and produced evidence on the class character of those who have really mattered until recently. In spite of nationalization, our state sector is still decisively subjected to the subversive influence of the narrow class interests of the dominant socio-economic groups. That is why this state sector has been structurally unable to behave *à la* the model state underlying the argument at hand. After all, the state sector is an organic part of the

6. David Turnham and Ingelies Jagger, "Employment Problem in less Developed Countries," (Paris: OECD, 197)

large political entity of the state. One important way in which this entity displays its *true political character* is through how much of domestic resources it mobilizes for planning. By that, I mean primarily the internal tax effort. I hypothesize that inelastic tax structure in less developed countries in general and Bangladesh in particular essentially reflects the absence of a fiscally powerful political consensus and the class character of those who make social and economic planning decisions.^{6a}

Although no reliable data exist on the structure of income and wealth in the urban sector after liberation, there is a presumption, not refuted by any evidence to the contrary, that there has occurred considerable concentration of current income and income-generating assets in the hands of politically favoured few, particularly those involved in the trade sector.⁷ Granted this, the essentially regressive nature of even the direct taxes lends strong support to my previous hypothesis. Now, how can a state, which cannot attain even a proportional growth in direct taxes with income (if not more)^{7a}, be relied upon to be able to redistribute temporal consumption among workers? In the ultimate analysis, given our above discussions, all that will only be redistribution of consumption among workers on the one hand and the surplus farmers/traders, on the other. Keeping

6a. Since largely internal financing of development is ruled out by the political structure in these countries, they end up with considerable reliance on foreign aid, a reliance which may extend to the donors a lever the latter might use, if they choose, to subvert the process of thorough socialization. For the political economy of foreign aid, see M. Alamgir, "Foreign Capital Inflow: Some Observations," a paper presented to the National Seminar on the "New International Economic Order and UNCTAD IV" held at BIDS, March, 1976, pp. 11-16.

7. See, in this connection, the observations of Mohiuddin Alamgir, "Poverty, Inequality and Development Strategy in the Third World Economists, Algiers, 2-7 February, 1976, pp. 25-27.

7a. Note that our fiscal coverage in this table is not as complete as one might wish. (See the footnotes below it at the appropriate place). Nonetheless, the magnitudes have to be greatly different before the general validity of my hypothesis is seriously in doubt. I do not think a full fiscal coverage, even including all taxes, would raise the total-magnitudes by all that much.

aside for the moment an accumulation objective, such an inequitable redistribution is utterly nonsocialist. Compared to this, given accumulation, the distributive policy that I have advocated above is undoubtedly more socialist.

III

REAL WAGES IN BANGLADESH NATIONALIZED SECTOR

Methodology, concepts and data

Our simple method consists in comparing relative rates of change in wages relevant prices (prices affecting the workers) by computing real wages over time in the post-liberation period. A gradual decline in real wages will indicate that prices have outstripped wages. Of course, we are assuming a zero productivity growth in these industries.

To obtain data on representative nominal wages, an average of the various such rates reported for the major industrial locations is employed. Similarly, the estimated cost of living indexes calculated for Narayanganj, Chittagong and Khulna were first of all averaged for each of the months, when there emerged the index as of a given year. Simple averages for such indexes may introduce a bias; however, weighted averages were not attempted since data on distribution of the employed labour force by location was not available. The base was adjusted to 1972-73 from 1969-70. Necessary data not being available, the index for 1971-72 actually relates to only six months January to June, 1972.

Results

I do not attempt to compute any industry-wide index of the trend of real wages, frankly because I am ignorant of the relative weights for each industry. The Table 1 below puts things in even sharper relief. The major conclusion of this table is that real wages in two of the largest industries in the country, i. e., jute and cotton textiles, have less than halved themselves in four years. That the situation is not very different in the other industries is for all to see.

TABLE I
Comparative real wages for unskilled workers in
nationalised sector : 1971-72 and 1974-75

Industry	Real wage in 1974-75 as a % of Real wage in 1971-72
1. Cotton Textiles	43.5
2. Jute Textiles	40.5
3. Matches	42.4
4. Engineering	58.8
5. Edible Oil	56.7

Source : (1) Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics—Statistical Digest No-9
 1973 pp. 192-93

(2) " " " " —Monthly Statistical
 Bulletin of Bangladesh
 Vol. IV No-7 July,
 1975 pp. 12-13

Implications : Some hypotheses

Our results indicate that, in the first place, the income share of workers in the organized sector of this country has gone down over the years, provided that the industries at hand account for a very large proportion of manufacturing value added. (If this were not the case, then the above need not necessarily hold since one could argue that an offsetting rise in wages in industries not covered here was always possible.)

Secondly, we see that wages for unskilled workers have taken the largest relative cut in jute textiles. While it is beyond this paper to fully explain why this is so, we cannot do better than posing the following questions :

(1) Does this suggest that trade unionism is relatively the weakest in jute industries ; or that, given that trade unionism is quite organized in the largest industry of the country (which is quite likely), the unskilled workers were relatively less effectively represented on the trade unions in this industry ; or simply that, given both strong trade unions and effecting unskilled workers, representation, the falling real wages were only a deliberate offset to a tendency, which some trade unions pressed for, towards greater (unskilled) labour/output ratio, on the part of management ?

(2) Jute textiles have in the recent past been characterized by rather low capacity utilization of about 59%.⁸ The engineering industries, however, have attained much higher levels of capacity utilization.^{8a} Of course, excess capacity may be caused by demand factors as much as by supply factors. And yet the data tend to suggest that, over the relevant range of wages, capacity utilization and real wages correlate inversely. Surely, efficient living and efficient work interact and mutually reinforce each other. To what extent is the decline in productive efficiency in jute industries in Bangladesh a product of very depressed real wages? ⁹

It is not entirely out of context to mention here that we have already shown the government to be receiving a probably declining at best, a constant and, therefore, stagnant share of income. This section, moreover, shows that the main stream of the organized labour, too has taken a cut in their relative income share. Alamgir has shown that the rural poor, the landless and the small farmers, have taken relative income cuts too and are at the heart of the syndrome he calls Poverty, Inequality, Famine and Death (PIFD)¹⁰. Who then has been the beneficiary of the residual incomes. In our view, this beneficiary group is constituted by (a) the surplus farmers in the rural areas, and (b) in the urban areas, by national productive, merchant and finance capital, foreign capital, bureaucracy and political elites.^{10a} In a socialist Bangladesh, committed to equality of opportunity and incomes, there is most probably evolving a drift towards greater concentration.

8. See, S.M. Al-Hosainy, "Strategy of Industrial Development", a paper presented to the Second Annual Conference of the Bangladesh Economic Association, March 15-18, Dacca, p. 2.

9. Q. K. Ahmad of BIDS told me sometime back that a United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) expert, in a report on the problems of our jute industry, had concluded that *man* was the chief problem. Of course, *man* in the context of the jute relates to human agents of production from the chairman of the corporations to the unskilled worker at the loom. But yet the suggestion is well made that low incomes for workers may cause inefficiency.

10. Alamgir, "Poverty, Inequality", op. cit.

10a. Ibid, pp. 31-23-

The contradiction between socialism and parliamentary democracy is unfolding its dialectic.

Implications for incomes policy

I Basically, the exercise clearly shows that our industrial planning has not involved an incomes policy consistent with any desirable accumulation and distributive policy. The increases in nominal wages from one year to another have been of an ad hoc nature. Given the political realities, however, it would have been futile to look forward to an equitable wage policy. But I suggest that we cannot delay any longer the inception of a wage policy that serves both equity and efficiency.

A suggested incomes policy

Incomes policy, is a part of the distribution plan which, in turn, is deeply integrated into the details of resource allocation and determining sectoral priorities.¹¹ It is possible to outline a comprehensive incomes policy only in the context of a comprehensive planning exercise which is empirically implementable. Such an exercise, however, is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. We merely touch upon the cardinal ingredients of such a policy here.

The long-term incomes policy must be framed in the context of a perspective plan moving the economy to a socialist structure, with all that it entails.

The mid-term incomes policy should, aim at holding the line *vis-a-vis* the *current* income share for our workers. This share should *not* be allowed to fall further. In the second place, there should be a wage policy which arises organized labour's income share by, say, 0.5% a year, thus raising that relative share by approximately 5% in ten years. This would imply, assuming constant prices, that nominal wage increases should slightly exceed productivity increases. Such a scheme has the merit that since expected increases in nominal wage are an increasing function of productivity increases, the workers will

11. For a clear, but brief, discussion of these aspects, see Mohiuddin Ajamgir, "Priorities for Development and Allocation of Resources", in E.A.G. Robinson and Keith Griffin (eds.), *The Economic Development of Bangladesh*, op. cit., p. 29.

rationally seek to maximize the former and in the process will maximize the latter, too. Thirdly, however, is the question of how the increased wage bill is to be financed. After all labour is not the only factor of production but interacts with so many co-operant factors. The wage policy above may only raise the potential productivity of workers without, however, realizing fully that potential because of demand problems, or other supply problems. All this is quite true and the government may have to subsidize labour for some time. But we argue that such subsidization need not be inefficient, both efficiency and equity-wise.

Such subsidies may be self-financing by way of enhancing productive efficiency. Moreover, such subsidies may be made to fall on elitist consumption and income leakages of the unproductive rich, if the tax system is made more elastic. What is needed is to sharpen the socialistic political edge of our policy measures.

I opine that the structure of earnings in industry should be tilted in favour of the direct producers only gradually. Workers and managers are the direct producers in industry. Any policy treating labour earnings in isolation from managerial remuneration will only aggravate intra-enterprise tensions without producing much results. Relative inequalities must persist albeit on a more just basis, if the incentive system is to serve any purpose.

Lastly, a constant movement must exist towards the objective of giving both workers and management a stake in performance.

IV

CONCLUSIONS

In spite of four limitations, I believe I still have made my empirical point that organized sector labour has taken a cut in its relative income share in the post-liberation period. In fact, unpublished calculations indicate that even skilled labour in these industries has taken a substantial fall in their real wages. The two conclusions I think are of some importance. Alamgir has shown the largest single section of our rural population—the landless and the small farmers—to be receiving so little income and possess so little assets as to fall easy victims to PIFD. Add to this the (tentative) fact that the government has, over the past, been taking most probably a declining, at best a constant, share of incremental incomes.

Where has the largest share of increase in incomes gone ? I suggest that it has accrued to politically powerful surplus farmers and hoarders/traders, mercantile and financial capital, foreign capital and political elites.

The central conclusion of this paper is that, if socialism is to have an operational meaning in our country from distributive angle, an incomes and prices policy, which pitches itself at more modest socialist levels of attainment over the mid terms as a prelude to fitting into a broader, long-term perspective plan, should occupy our planners urgently.

ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE PROMOTION OF SMALL FAMILY SIZE NORM IN BANGLADESH

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I. Introduction

A staggering rate of population growth¹ among other socio-political factors may be considered as one of the deterring factors in achieving the desired socio-economic development of Bangladesh. A higher rate of population growth exerts a constant pressure upon the existing scarce resources of the country. The government of Bangladesh has recognized the implications of higher rate of population growth upon the process of economic development of the country and termed the population problem as a number one problem of the country. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to evaluate whether the government is right or wrong in terming the population problem as the most formidable one. However, in this paper, we would like to address to the strategies should the government of Bangladesh pursue in arresting the galloping rate of population growth in Bangladesh.

We know that the government of Pakistan attempted to slow down the higher rate of population growth of the country mainly through delivery of family planning services. This service-oriented programme stemmed out of the belief that there existed a latent demand for family planning, i.e., couples had unwanted pregnancies and a large part of that demand would become overt and could be met by making available the necessary information and services and in this process, the growth rate would be slowed down. The service-oriented programme of erstwhile Pakistan did not make a strong headway. This is borne out by the fact that only 3.6% of the rural

1. The annual rate of population growth is estimated to be 3% (Sirageldin et. al. "Fauyl Plauyin Bangladesh---An empirical Investigation---*Bangladesh Development Studies* vol. III No--I, gan. 1975.

and 6.5% of the urban couples of erstwhile East Pakistan were practising contraception in 1968/69 i.e., after at least three years since the inception of the programme.² The failure of the service-oriented programme of Pakistan is further attested by the fact that only 6.5% of the urban couples were practising contraception where the availability of family planning supplies is not a major concern. The lesson, therefore, one learns from the experience of Pakistan programme that it is not the supply constraints but the failure to generate sufficient demand is the major bottle-neck in the diffusion of family planning practices among the eligible couples.³ It, therefore, follows that a sound population policy should not only combine in itself the provisions of smooth and efficient supply of family planning services but it should also contain the provisions to promote small family size norm and to generate demand for the family planning services. Promoting the norm of small family size and to generate demands calls for bold measures that go beyond family planning. One of such bold measures often recommended is the advancement of the level of education of the general population. It is argued that increasing the level of education among the general population will create favourable conditions to limit family size. It is the concern of the present study to explore the extent to which level of education influences family size and practice of contraception in the socio-cultural milieu of Bangladesh.

II. Role of Education in the Promotion of small family size norm and Practice of Contraception

One of the most important questions for the countries where high rate of population growth is considered as constraint for economic development refers to relation between education and fertility behaviour. Interest in the role of education in promoting small family size norm and diffusion of family planning practices is grown out of the important role almost universally attributed to education in the reduction of fertility of those countries who have already experienced fertility decline. It is opined that education not only provides opportunities for personal advancement and awareness of

2. Sirageldin--op cit.

3. *Ibid.*

social mobility but it also provides, "new outlook, the freedom from tradition, the willingness to analyse institutions, the values and patterns of behaviour and the growth of rationalism."⁴ It is with this new outlook that education seems to have an effect on fertility and the practice of contraception. However, it should be noted here, that it is extremely difficult to attribute the changes in fertility behaviour to one single factor like education, their being whole complex of factors intricately meshed together affecting the motivation of the couples to limit the size of their families.

Jaffe notes that it is not the formal education per se but formal education along with urban life, economic development and other factors combinedly produce what he calls, "a heightened aspiration" that motivate couples to control their fertility. However, education is found recently to be an important factor influencing economic development and because of this it is associated with other variables that go with modernization.⁵ In this study, we have made no attempt to isolate the effect of other variables while examining the relationship between level of education and fertility behaviour. We are simply interested in this paper to explore whether the historical role of education in the reduction of fertility is also replicable here, i.e., in the context of Bangladesh. No intensive study has yet been conducted in Bangladesh to examine the intricacies of education-fertility relationship. The present study may be viewed as a modest step in this direction wherein we intend to examine the effect of male and female education separately on fertility and practice of contraception in a metropolitan urban setting. The reasons for confining the study to an urban setting is due to availability of data and to hold availability of supplies constant to examine independent effect of education on fertility behaviour.

III. Data

Data employed in this study are those collected by a socio-economic survey of working-vs-non-working women of Dacca city. There are altogether 1260 respondents comprising of women

4. Daudekhan K—"LH est of edcation on fertihly "Proceedings of the world population conference Vol-IV 1965,

5. Daudekhan K—op cit

in the reproductive ages who are currently living with their husbands and reported to be fecund.⁶ These women are drawn from the cross-section of the city. The procedure of data collection is described in appendix A.

IV. Findings

The findings are arranged as follows: First, we have examined the relationship between wife's education and fertility and husband's education and fertility. Then we have examined the effect of wife's and husband's education both separately and combinedly on practice of contraception.

Wife's Education and Fertility

On the basis of the relationship between wife's education and fertility it is observed that there exists an inverse relationship between education level of wife and her fertility as measured by number of children ever-born. This relationship holds true at every age group. It is further observed that average age-standardized fertility declines by almost one child or 18.82% as one moves from zero level of education to below high school graduation level. The decline in the average age-standardized fertility is well marked as one moves from zero and/or below high school graduation level to secondary and higher secondary level. There is 38.35% decline in average age-standardized fertility as one moves from zero level of education to secondary and higher secondary level and the corresponding change is 24.56% as one move from below matric level to secondary and higher secondary level. The decline in the average age-standardized fertility further accelerates as one moves from secondary level to college graduation level and this trend of decline continues as one moves from college graduation level to master level but this trend of decline is not very steep. It, therefore, appears from the findings that the depressing effect of education on fertility starts before one attains the secondary and/or higher secondary level of education. But the appreciable decline takes place at secondary and higher secondary level.

6. Fecund women are those who can produce another child if they want to.

Husband's Education and Fertility

The study shows an inverse relationship between husband's education and fertility pattern of relationship holds true for almost every age-group. If we compare wife's education and fertility husband's education fertility we will find that at every age level the female education has relatively more depressing effect upon fertility than the male education and fertility. Moreover, the inverse relationship between education and fertility is more clear when we relate female education to fertility. From the above findings one may possibly say that given the same dose of education to male and female, the female education will have more depressing effect upon fertility.

We now examine the relationship between the level of education and practice of contraception. We have noticed earlier that the level of one's education is closely related to one's fertility. Now the question arises what accounts for this relation? The major explanation lies in deliberate attempts on the part of couples to control their fertility. The explanation seems to be too obvious but sometimes it is seemingly denied by some who imply that education could be a substitute for birth control.

Wife's Education and use of Contraception

The study shows a strong positive relationship between education and current and ever use of contraception. And this pattern of relationship holds true at every age-group with only one or two exceptions which could be attributed to chance. The above pattern of relationship between education and use of contraception holds true even when we control for parity. The study reveals that the use of contraception gets its momentum as soon as one moves from zero level of education to below high school graduation level.

Husband's Education and use of Contraception

The study further shows a strong positive relationship between husband's education and current and ever use of contraception and this relationship still holds true when we control for age and their level of contraception. However, if we compare husband-wife education level we will find that the magnitude of

use of contraception does not go up as high with husband's education as with wife's education. Moreover, we have seen that there is a sharp rise in the use of contraception as the level of women's education increases from zero to below high school graduation level but such a rise in practice of contraception is not noticed when we look at husband's education. We have also examined the effect of wife's education on use of contraception holding husband's education constant and observed that within the same education category of the husband, the level of practice of contraception goes up with the increasing level of wife's education. The above findings indicate that wife's education is relatively more strongly associated with use of contraception than of husband's education.

V. Discussion.

We have found that both husband's and wife's education is related to fertility and practice of contraception. Education is inversely related to fertility positively associated with practice of contraception. However, the female education is found to have relatively more effect on fertility and practice of contraception than husband's education. It also appears from the findings that female education upto secondary level can go a long way to have a depressing effect upon fertility and increasing the use of contraception. The findings further suggest that mere availability of services do not ensure a guarantee of practice of contraception by the couples unless other motivational factors like education is also present. If availability of the supplies were the only key to the wide diffusion of family planning practices, we would have expected most of the couples to practice contraception irrespective of their educational background but this was not found rather the use of contraception is found to vary positively with one's level of education. Couples with no education are found rarely practicing contraception even after holding age and parity constant though the availability of the services is not a big problem in Dacca city. However, we don't like to stretch further as the present study is based on a limited area and on fewer cases and the findings may not be generalized for the entire country. To enhance the reliability of the present findings, one needs to extend the scope of the study to wider areas and to ensure representation of cross-section of people.

VI. Concluding remarks

It is logical to raise question here that what policy implications, one can derive out of the present findings. We have found that increasing the level of education at least upto secondary level along with availability of the family planning services, can go a long way in depressing the level of fertility and wide diffusion of practice of contraception. But the question arises can economy of Bangladesh afford to extend compulsory educational facilities at least upto secondary level to all of its citizens? This issue deserves careful examination. But one may argue that compulsory educational facilities upto secondary level may be gradually introduced by striking a more balanced expenditure in different sectors of formal education continued and by cutting down other non-productive expenditure. At present more money is disproportionality spent on higher education.⁷ And the benefits from this education goes to a few privileged ones. However, benefits from formal education could be largely reaped if minimum education (say upto secondary level) be extended to greater number of people. Therefore, more money should be spent at the primary and secondary level for the greater number of people. Effect of introduction of compulsory secondary level of education on fertility and practice of contraception may not be immediately foreseen as it is a long and arduous task to reach the stage where a majority of the eligible couples of the country will have at least secondary level of education from its present state. At present, only 3.44% of the male and 0.55% of the female are matriculates.⁸ Though the journey is long and arduous but the process must be started very vigorously. However, it should be borne in mind that we should not sit idle till a majority of the married couples attain the secondary level of education to take care of the population problem. If we do so, we will have to wait for a long time and in the meantime more and more population

7. The annual development programme has earmarked Tk. 8 crore, 3.5 crore and 11 crore for primary, secondary and for the 6 universities, respectively for the year 1975-76 [Govt. of Bangladesh---Aumal Developmt Programme (Revised) 1975-76].

8. Though the data are based on 1961 census, we expect no substantial change in 1974 census.

will be added. In the interim period along with the efforts of compulsory introduction of secondary level of education, one must also think of introducing some kind of informal education at community level. But what type of informal education and content will motivate couples to restrict fertility still to be explored. Last but not the least it should be mentioned here that mere availability of the family planning services will not lead to a wider diffusion of family planning practices rather education, particularly the female education coupled with availability of the services will usher in the limitation of family size and, therefore, wider diffusion of family planning practices.

ZERO POPULATION GROWTH—SOME OBSERVATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF BANGLADESH

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I

Introduction.

Recently some people in Bangladesh have begun to talk about Zero Population Growth (ZPG) or stationary population which means that in a closed population birth rate equals death rate. But we have to see that how far this ZPG campaign is feasible, how far this stage can be achieved and how long will it take to reach that stage. Since the population problem in Bangladesh is thought to be the root of all the complex social, economic, political and cultural problems. Let us see the merits & demerits of ZPG first.

II

Merits and demerits of ZPG

(i) The advocates of ZPG are of the opinion that it is eminently desirable because the countries of the world as a whole will run out of space due to the growing size of the population. (ii) ZPG is advocated on the ground that we are using up the resources of the earth; polluting the atmosphere; causing smog, noise, fallout, waste disposal problems, tension, traffic jams, suicides, crime, congested parks and so on. Some of the above problems (if not all of them) are caused at least in part by the increasing population. (iii) Prevention of unwanted births would be beneficial for the poor parents. They will be relieved of the burdens of additional children which they cannot afford.

* acknowledges the benefits derived from the comments of Dr. Monowar Hossain, acting Chairman BIDS and Mr. Nuimuddin Chowdhury of BIDS with gratitude. The errors and inadequacies are of the authors alone.

Because the parents would suffer from less of financial and mental strains (for no. of children will be small), children would be raised in a much better environment. (iv) Children in smaller families are brighter, more creative and bigger and taller than children from large families. (v) Closely spaced infants are more unresponsive and letaratic right after birth. These are important consequences of ZPG.

In addition to these factors, (vi) there would be a reduced demand for all kinds of child services and goods. (vii) The housing requirements for smaller families would make urban living as well as rural living more comfortable. (viii) Families will have high incomes. In general economic terms, *the reduction of Population growth and the reduction of growth of the child population would mean a lightened burden of dependency.* This means that resources can be diverted from current consumption to investment in production, the ultimate advantage of which presumably would be increased *per capita* income.

The most conspicuous disadvantage of ZPG is the (i) age composition especially at the low mortality that has been achieved in advanced countries. There would be more older people. The avarage age of the population would be nearly 40. There would be the same proportion of persons under age 15 as over age 65. This would represent a sharp change from the age. Composition in the country today in which the proportion of youth under 15 is three times as great as the proportion of elderly persons. A society with such an age structure is not likely to be receptive to change. This would have a strong tendency toward conservatism. (ii) The chief disadvantages attributed to older age composition of the ZPG seem to be that it will decelerate the rate of social change. This is because of a lower proportion of youth and a higher proportion of older people who presumably tend to be conservative which will reduce the fluidity of movement in the class system by reducing opportunity for advancement with age.

The larger the size of the population, the higher the consumption and pollution. More people need more houses, so forests are cut down; people crown the cities and pollute the quality of life. The man who has ever enjoyed the sweet smell of fresh air cannot deny the chocking stonch of diesel exhaust

from the trucks and buses on our roads and streets. The smoke and waste products from the factories blankets certain cities. We cannot afford better sewage disposal, plants for all the waste the people create. The cost of schools and colleges increase.

III

ZPG in Bangladesh

(a) Is ZPG desirable in Bangladesh ?

Yes, ZPG in Bangladesh is desirable, but it is debatable whether a Zero rate of growth is feasible or whether it can be achieved ultimately in Bangladesh either through regimentation or expensive government propaganda.

It is also debatable whether a ZPG for Bangladesh is a pragmatic policy, how immediately serious the problem is, how far we would be willing to take to reach that goal. This is really a difficult as well as serious matter. This embraces national policy, personal consciousness and morality and other values. The issue is certainly gaining momentum which is reflected by the emergence of propaganda organisations.

The population policy needs the consideration of the economic implications of rates of population growth of different socio-economic groups. However, the consensus of economic theory on this subject is that a slowing of the rate of population growth would not be disadvantageous.

Let us assume that our planetary ecosystem can support so many people. "But we cannot indefinitely expect nature to correct our errors, to subsidize our follies or to tolerate our continuing political, economic and social excuses for failure to act. Like any life support system, earth's ecosystem has a finite ability to support human weight."

It may be debated how much of the fertility decline is attributable to the family planning programme. Following Avery Freedman we can say that even under these favourable circumstances a developing country like Bangladesh can expect to have a large length of continuing population growth, partly because of the population age structure created by its past demographic history and partly because net reproduction rates do not fall to 1 instantaneously.

The Government has given top priority to population control through the first five year plan-programmes did not achieve the target of reducing the rate of population growth from 3 to 2.8 per cent annually during the 1973-75 period, because the programmes were not implemented properly and effectively.

It is expected that implementation of the control programme will gain momentum after 1978 when this programme will be applied extensively in villages. At present the basic need is an adequate size of manpower including women workers in the field, exhaustive training for them, research, proper evaluation of progress, extension of maternity service and child centres. *It is encouraging that the rural people began to think about family planning with greater interest than before.*

The main task for our country is to educate the masses and liberate them for the age old culture of silence (conservatism, ignorance, religious bar etc.).

b) Age-Structure and ZPG

The length of time required for the age composition of the population to change to that which goes with a stationary population depends on the previous history of population. A country which has had a low birth rate for a long time will go through this transition more quickly and easily. *Bangladesh has a history of high birth rates and there is a large number of young persons in Bangladesh which means that age-structure of Bangladesh is unfavourable to fertility decline.* The younger the age structure, the longer the transition takes.

According to the facts published by the Government that at present nearly half the population is under 15 years age. There are about 14 million women of child bearing age. Because of the youthfulness of the present population this number will increase and by 1978 the number of women of child-bearing age will be well over 20 per cent of population. About 65 per cent of these women will be under 30 years of age with many reproductive years ahead. *The age structure of a population is not only a function of fertility, mortality and migration but also a function of the age structure of the population.*

In view of the above fact we cannot expect that the birth rate in Bangladesh will fall so rapidly that the net reproduction rate

would become 1 immediately. How rapidly the transition occurs depends on the existing age structure, which in turn depends on prior fertility levels. Where fertility levels have been relatively high the age structure is relatively young, as in Bangladesh. This younger age-structure will surely affect the particular course of transition in Bangladesh.

IV

Issues concerning ZPG

We do not as yet know enough about the fertility determinants in low income countries to even tentatively, let alone confidently, talk about what structural variable have bearing on ZPG and about how they interact. Had we known enough about fertility in these countries, then why should there have been a world-wide "Fertility Survey." It has further been argued that declines in fertility in Bangladesh, which has been reported by various researchers, may have been due to biological as distinct from behavioural causes.** When in effect, we know so little about fertility determinants, which is only of the issues determining the length of the transition from high to zero population growth, we know even less about the latter. We cannot do better focussing on what, apparently, are the key issues.

It has been observed that the family planning and population control annual targets fixed up for the first five year plan of Bangladesh, were not fulfilled, even to some extent which can be termed as satisfactory, during the 1973-75 period. But the activities of the concerned agencies associations were geared up almost all on a sudden from June, 1975 especially after population policy seminar at Dacca. A Project should be taken up for proper

* For these lines of arguments, see Mohiuddinn Alamgir, "Economy of Bangladesh: Which Way are We Moving? a background paper to the Presidential Address to the Second Annual Conference of the Bangladesh Economic Association, 15-18 March 1976, pp-68-71; Nuimuddin Chowdhury, "Some Negative thoughts on labour Intensive Development; a Comment," a comment on a paper with that title in *Malayan Economic Review*; Forthcoming.

** Ismail Sirageldin, Douglas Norris, Mahbuddin Ahmet, "Fertility in Bangladesh: Facts and Fancies", in *Population Studies* Vol.29, No. 2, July 1975.

evaluation of the performance of the concerned agencies in the field of Population Control and Family Planning and the reports should be analysed for adopting future strategies in this respect.

Some legislative measures like withdrawal of having rationing and other govt. subsidised programs should be applied in case of working people, especially educated people who will cross over the approved size of family members. This type of measures is being taken up by the govt. of India for its employees.

Due to young age structure of Bangladesh though ZPG is not feasible in short run considerations, but long run programs if properly implemented and executed very efficiently and if the present age structure can be re-shaped accordingly ZPG can be a reality as it is clear from the experience of developed countries.

The characteristic age structure is a reflection of historical experience and population transition process involved and this sufficiently justifies very careful and detailed measures to be taken up on national basis for targeted implementation of our national population control goals both short-run and long-run.

The government is very much encouraging the concept of ZPG but we are not aware of the period involved for the achievement what strategies will be followed, even the extent of resource-requirements in this process. Whether the government will extent this particular campaign to some selected areas or on national basis that is yet to be known.

In so far as, in the light of the ongoing debate, ZPG in Bangladesh can be argued not to be at all bound by voluntary behaviour directed at fertility, the conventional measures, like family planning procedures, which the ZPG programme is using. It can be argued whether we can attain a ZPG in Bangladesh right at the stage. This is so because fertility by presumption, is not explained by volitional behaviour in our country. But it is true that we have reached in such a position that ZPG is desirable and should seek for a tangible solution as soon as possible. We agree that population in our finite land has to stop growing eventually or reach zero population growth but what is in dispute is how soon this goal of a non-growing or stationary population should be and what the implication of zero growth at any point in time will be.

Appendix

In the appendix some policy measures and programmes are mentioned which may be relevant to create favourable conditions of fertility decline in Bangladesh. These programmes need to be examined in detail before launching campaign for achieving ZPG in Bangladesh.

From the demographic point of view the following kind of studies may be carried on for analyzing feasibility of ZPG.

(1) The expected course of population growth, internal migration and related demographic developments between now and the end of the century.

(2) The resources in the public sector of the economy and the foreign aid required to deal with the anticipated growth in population.

(3) The ways in which population growth may affect the activities of government, local bodies, voluntary organisations, research priorities and the population control plan.

(4) Impact of population growth on the limited natural resources.

(5) The different means appropriate to assess the religious and ethical values and principles and culture of our society on the basis of which our nation can find out the appropriate population level suitable for its environment, natural resources and other needs.

Since population problem is multidimensional, there should be multi-front attacks to have a desired level of population size. The size and growth of the national population has got direct impacts on development and welfare expenditures. Therefore, we shall have to investigate how a change in the rate of growth of population can affect our basic requirements of food, clothings and shelter; expenditure on health; education and employment and ultimately influence the savings and investment of the national economy. I believe that right at this moment adoption of the family planning program is basic human right and that a balance between the population of the world and its natural resources and productivity is a necessary condition for human happiness, prosperity and peace.

1. In Yugoslavia, a system of family allowances was adopted coincident with liberalization of abortion and contraception laws. Liberal abortion laws in the U. S. S. R. are also in existence.

In Japan the birth rate was halved between 1947 and 1957, with the government supporting policies to encourage reduced fertility. Among the larger developing countries, India was the first to adopt a growth reduction policy in 1952. There is evidence to suggest that growth limitation policies were introduced in China in the mid-1950s.

From the experiences of the countries which achieved ZPG and which have been able to curb their population growth (Socialistic and Capitalistic), we can take the following measures which can reduce the population growth, if not ZPG, in the short run. In the short run, ZPG can be achieved in a particular small area in Bangladesh, but for the long term perspective we can suggest following measures :-

1. Effective utilization of contraception, sterilization etc. These are the principal technical methods of birth control, which are underway in Bangladesh should be designed, (in terms total systems) not only to provide necessary services and supplies, but to stimulate motivation, evaluate programmes, and provide effective management as well so that all people in our country can get the benefit of this arrangement.

Basic components of the family planning services are to be :-

- a) Program organization, management and administration.
- (b) Physical facilities
- (c) Staffing and training
- (d) Contraceptive methods and supplies
- (e) The "delivery" systems
- (f) Information, education, and the requirement of acceptors.
- (g) Evaluation
- (h) Finance
- (i) Plan of action

2. Abortion may be legalised like Japan, Yugoslavia and other socialist countries

3. Like China, legal age of marriage should be raised to 25 for men and 20 for women.

4. Sex education and population education may be incorporated into School curricula, as well as making them a part of postnatal care in public clinics. Like Malayasia, we should integrate the population education into the regular curricula at both the primary and the secondary level. In Philippines such education was introduced through presidential decree 3 years ago.

5. In the Social area, raising the status of women and the extension of social security system may have important impacts on sharp decline of birth rates. More direct results may be seen in the liberalisation of abortion laws and the widespread use of contraceptives.

Though the family planning is the primary tool used by National Government to reduce population growth rates, numerous auxiliary measures are needed in our country. Summary of the above measures These include improvement in the status of women, expanded educational opportunities, raising the legal age of marriage, incentive payments for sterilizations and periods of non-pregnancy, reform of tax laws to favour small families and penalize large ones, population education programs in the schools and fuller use of mass media campaigns. Whatever be the plans, programs and policies, it must be implemented and for that matter programmes should be action oriented.

6. Spacing of child birth interval at 5 years on the average may be taken as a direct policy measure in reducing population growth.

From the experiences of the Chinese model of birth control, it may be instructive to apply some of the models in Bangladesh as they are designed for low-cost mass application in a country with a low income, a large illiterate rural population, and a scarcity of trained personnel. Lessons put-forward by Pi-chao chen in this context are as follows :-

1. Services and delivery system.

(a) Services should be provided free or less expensively—a dual system of local and state financing may work well.

(b) Organizations that employ people should provide some or all of their employees family planning expenses or services.

(c) Compensation for lost income and work time should be a part of making family planning free.

(d) Family planning service should be provided at or near the home or place of work.

(e) Regional preferences in contraceptive methods should be taken into account and services should be provided accordingly.

(f). Local records can be important for local work, even if they are not standardized, nation-wide or amenable to statistical analysis and evaluation.

(g). Cooperative organizations and groups may provide health and family planning services in addition to the development function which they are originally formed.

2. Personnel and training

(a) Sophisticated mobile medical units (staffed with physicians, surgoens, and the like) may be used to train local people and not just to provide curative treatment.

(b) Urban medical personnel may be induced to work in rural areas or small town hospitals on a rotational basis.

(c) Recruitment of paramedical and non-professional should be from local areas.

(d) Paramedical workers may continue non-medical activities or other employment part-time.

(e) Where feasible, non-professionals may be recruited for non-medical tasks to supplement an over-taxed health service system.

(f) Married women, preferably mother, should be used in motivational and educational work and in the distribution of contraceptive.

3. Educational and motivational work

(a) Motivational appeals should cover a board range of explanations of the benefits of family planning with reasoning clearly relevant to the cultural context and values, and understandable to the average person.

(b) Performance and acceptance may be publicized to arouse public awareness and peer presure and legitimize late marriage, birth spacing and small-family norms.

(c) Leaders and other influential people in all fields should be encouraged or perhaps pressured to set an example by adhering to late marriage and small-family norms.

(d) Educational and motivational work should be directed towards all parties concerned in family planning decisions.

(e) Traditional popular entertainment media may be used where they exist.

(f) Setting practical goals in ways comprehensive to the people is important.

4. Social development measures and reinforcements for social change

(a) Methods of sharing experiences and problem solving techniques should be institutionalized, both vertically and horizontally.

(b) Where feasible the family planning programmes may be entrusted to units responsible for other local development programs at the grassroot level.

(c) Research to enable couples to predetermine the sex of a child might revolutionize fertility behaviour.

(d) Rewards or compensation may be given for family size limitation or lack of child bearing, not just for acceptance of contraceptives that may go unused or be used by those not likely to have additional children.

(e) The incentives may be graduated according to the contribution, a particular acceptor's action is likely to make to lowered fertility.

(f) Legalizing all contraceptive operations and removing any stigma attached to them may facilitate acceptance.

(g) Legislation may prohibit early marriages and other policies may be designed to encourage late marriage.

(g) The provision of child care facilities helps keep women in the labour force.

(i) Government policies that reduce the traditional dependency on sons should be pursued wherever feasible.

Some of the above Chinese measures may be introduced on experimental basis in addition to undertaking the following conditions :—

(a) Socio-economic development (b) Mortality decline (c) Preference for moderate no. of children (d) Effective social networks transcending local communities through which family planning ideas and services and other modernising ideas can be disseminated (e) Effective availability of contraceptions (f) Levels of educations (g) Industrialisation (h) Social security system (i) Adequate development of public health.

The family planning efforts in Bangladesh is extensive and longstanding (from the period of Pokistan), but the problems here are so over-whelming that progress has been slow.

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বাংলাদেশের জনসংখ্যানীতি : (সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা ও সার্বজনীন জন্মশাসন)

অধ্যক্ষ, আলী হায়দর চৌধুরী

সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন, কানাডা, মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র, অস্ট্রেলিয়া প্রভৃতি দেশ
আগতনে বিশাল। অস্ট্রেলিয়া আগতনে বাংলাদেশের মত পঞ্চাশটি দেশের
চেয়েও বড়, অথচ লোকসংখ্যা দেড় কোটিরও কম। পঞ্চান্তরে বাংলাদেশের
লোকসংখ্যা সাড়ে সাত কোটিরও বেশী।

মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র, কানাডা, রাশিয়া ইত্যাদি দেশে সামাজিক নিরাপত্তার
সুদৃঢ় ব্যবস্থা আছে। এই সকল দেশে শিক্ষিতের হারও প্রায় শতকরা একশত
জন। তাহাছাড়া উক্ত দেশসমূহে বাধ্যতামূলক বিবাহ নিয়ন্ত্রণের বিধিও বলবৎ
রহিয়াছে। কিন্তু আমাদের দেশের অধিকাংশ লোকই অশিক্ষিত এবং এখানে
বিবাহ নিয়ন্ত্রণের কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই। উপরন্তু, অতি প্রয়োজনীয় সামাজিক
নিরাপত্তার জ্ঞাতও আমাদের দেশে কোন পরিকল্পনা করা হয় নাই। ফলে
আমাদের দেশে “পরিবার পরিকল্পনা” তথা জন্মনিয়ন্ত্রণ (জন্ম শাসন) সফল
হইতেছেন। আমাদের মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে, যে সকল অবস্থার ও পরিবেশে
জন্মশাসন অত্যন্ত দেশে সফল হইয়াছে, বাংলাদেশেও সে পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি করিতে
হইবে। ইহা ব্যতীত আমাদের দেশে এ প্রকল্প কখনও কার্যকর হইতে পারিবেনা।

সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা কি ?

কোন ব্যক্তি, শিশু, কিশোর, যুবক অথবা বৃদ্ধ যে কোন বয়সে যখনই
কোন প্রকার আর্থিক সাহায্যের জন্য সমাজের উপর নির্ভর করিতে বাধ্য হয়,
তখন সে সাহায্য দেওয়ার জ্ঞাত সমাজের পক্ষ হইতে সরকার কর্তৃক উপযুক্ত
ব্যবস্থা করিতে হয়। এই ব্যবস্থার নামই সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা। যেমন, অনাথ
শিশুদের লালন পালন, খাওয়া-বস্ত্র-বাসস্থান শয্যা, ঔষদ, চিকিৎসা, শিক্ষা
ইত্যাদির ব্যবস্থা করা; বেকার লোককে বেকার ভাতা দান, রুগ্ন ও অচল
ব্যক্তি এবং বৃদ্ধদের ভরণপোষণের জন্য নিয়মিতভাবে ভাতা প্রধান ইত্যাদির
ব্যবস্থা করা।

উন্নত দেশসমূহে এই সকল সুবিধা রহিয়াছে বলিয়া জনসাধারণ অযথা এবং অনর্থক সন্তানের সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি করিয়া আর্থিক ও সামাজিক সমস্যা সৃষ্টি করেন। উক্ত দেশসমূহে পিতামাতাগণ সন্তানের উপর মোটেই নির্ভরশীল নন, বরং তাহারা এই জাতীয় নির্ভরশীলতার প্রথা বা ব্যবস্থাকে অত্যন্ত অবমাননাকর বলিয়া মনে করেন। অনুরূপ, পূর্ণবয়স্ক পুত্র কন্যাগণও পিতা মাতার উপর নির্ভর করে না। এই ধরনের নির্ভরশীলতাকে ঐ সকল দেশে অচিহ্ননীয় ও অত্যন্ত অসম্মানজনক ব্যাপার বলিয়া মনে করা হয়।

পক্ষান্তরে আমাদের দেশে পিতামাতার উপর পূর্ণবয়স্ক পুত্র-কন্যাদের বিশেষতঃ পুত্রদের স্থায়ী নির্ভরশীলতা অনেকটা সার্বজনীন এবং স্বাভাবিক ব্যাপার। উন্নত দেশসমূহের মত এই পরনির্ভরশীলতাকে কখনও অপমানজনক বলিয়া মনে করা হয়না, বরং এই ব্যবস্থাকে গৌরবজনক বলিয়া মনে করা হয়।

অপরপক্ষে আমাদের দেশে পিতামাতা যখন বিপদে পড়েন, রুগ্ন, অচল কিংবা বৃদ্ধ অবস্থায় পড়েন, তখন তাঁহারা বিনাধিয়ার এমনকি কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে কন্যাদেরও গলগ্রহ হওয়ারকে অপমানজনক মনে করেন না।

পুত্র সন্তানের প্রয়োজনীয়তা

আমরা সকলেই পুত্র সন্তান কামনা করি এই আশায় যে ভবিষ্যতে বিপদে পড়িলে কিংবা বৃদ্ধকালে পুত্রদের কাছে আশ্রয় পাইব। কারণ, পুত্রগণ রোজগার করিয়া বৃদ্ধ মা-বাপকে খাওরাইবে অথবা বাপ-মায়ের সমস্ত ভার তুলিয়া লইবে। পুত্রগণ নানান ধরনের কাজ যেমন চাকুরী, গৃহভৃত্যগিরী, ফেরিওয়ালাগিরী, ক্ষুদ্র দোকানদারী ইত্যাদি, অথবা অন্যের ক্ষেত্রেখামারে, কিংবা মা-বাবার সাথে নিজেদের ক্ষেত্রে কাজ করিয়া রোজগার করিয়া বাপ-মাকে দিবে-এই আশায় এবং বংশরক্ষার জন্তও অনেকে পুত্র সন্তান কামনা করে।

আমাদের সমাজজীবন হইতে এমন অনেক দৃষ্টান্ত দেওয়া যাইতে পারে যে, পুত্রসন্তানের জন্মের আশায় জন্ম শাসন না করিয়া দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ কন্যা সন্তানের সংখ্যা বাড়াইতে থাকেন। আমার পরিচিত কয়েকজন ভদ্রলোকের প্রত্যেকের বার-তেরজন কন্যা সন্তান রহিয়াছে, এখন পর্যন্ত তাহাদের পুত্রসন্তান জন্মান নাই।

পুত্র হউক কিংবা কন্যাই হউক-শুধু দুইটি সন্তান হওয়ার পর কোন মা-বাপই স্থায়ীভাবে জন্মশাসন করিতে চাহেন না। কেননা, যদি কোন

কারণে এই দু'টি সন্তান অকালে মারা যায়, তাহা হইলে বাপ-মায়ের ভবিষ্যত অন্ধকার ও বিপদজনক হইয়া পড়ে।

কিন্তু আমাদের দেশেও যদি সামাজিক নিরাপত্তার ব্যবস্থা থাকিত, তবে এদেশের পিতামাতার মনেও তাহাদের “ভবিষ্যত অন্ধকার” এই ধরনের কোন প্রশ্নই জাগিত না। সুতরাং আমাদের দেশে পরিবার পরিকল্পনাকে সফল করিতে হইলে কতকগুলি আনুষঙ্গিক ব্যবস্থা অবশ্যই করিতে হইবে :—

১। ক্রী-শিক্ষার প্রসার ও চাকুরীর বা আয়ের নিশ্চয়তা প্রদানঃ ব্যাপক ক্রী-শিক্ষার (পরিবার পরিকল্পনা ও জন্মশাসন সংক্রান্ত শিক্ষাহস) ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে, যাহাতে মহিলারা দুঃসময়ে স্বাধীনভাবে অন্যের উপর নির্ভর না করিয়া চাকুরী অথবা অন্য কোন কুটীর শিল্প দ্বারা জীবন ধারণ করিতে পারে।

২। বাধ্যতামূলক রেজিষ্ট্রেশন এবং গ্যারাণ্টিপত্র দান : সকলেই জানেন যে, সিনেমা-টেলিভিশন, সভাসমিতি, মেলা, খবরের কাগজ, পরিবার পরিকল্পনা ও জন্মশাসন সপ্তাহ পালন, প্রত্যেক বিবাহিত নরনারীকে পরিবারকল্যাণ কর্মীদের দ্বারা ব্যক্তিগত ভাবে উদ্ভুদ্ধ করা, ইত্যাদি ব্যবস্থা দ্বারা আমরা বহুলোককে উপদেশ দিতে পারি, কিন্তু উপদেশ অনুযায়ী কাজ করার জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় আকর্ষণের ব্যবস্থা না থাকিলে আমাদের সকল প্রচেষ্টা ব্যাহত হইবে।

আমাদের দেশের অধিকাংশ লোক অশিক্ষিত ও দরিদ্র বলিয়া জীবিকার-সন্ধানে দিশাহারা থাকে। তাহারা রেডিও, সিনেমা, টেলিভিশন, সভা-সমিতির ইত্যাদির দ্বারা আশানুরূপ প্রভাবিত হয় না। সুতরাং আমাদেরকে এমন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে যাহাতে দেশের আপামর জনসাধারণ জন্মশাসন আওতাভুক্ত হইতে পারে। এই সম্পর্কে নিম্নোক্ত কর্মসূচী বাস্তবায়নে প্রস্তাব দেওয়া হইল।

(ক) বাধ্যতামূলক রেজিষ্ট্রেশন :

প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে একজন মহিলা জন্মশাসন অফিসার এবং অন্ততঃ দশজন মহিলা সহকারী জন্মশাসন অফিসার থাকিবে। তাহারা ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের চেয়ারম্যান এবং চৌকিদারের মারফত ইউনিয়নের প্রত্যেক বিবাহিত নরনারীকে রেজিষ্ট্রি করতঃ প্রত্যেককে একখানা রেজিষ্ট্রি কার্ড প্রদান করিবেন। এই কার্ডে

দম্পতির নাম, বয়স, পুত্রকন্ঠার সংখ্যা, তাহারা জন্মশাসন করার শিক্ষা ও স্বেচ্ছা পান কিনা, এই সম্পর্কে উল্লেখ থাকিবে। এই রেজিস্ট্রেশন প্রথা অবিলম্বে বাধ্যতামূলকভাবে প্রবর্তন করিতে হইবে। প্রয়োজনীয় কর্মচারীর অভাবে চৌকিদারের মারফতে ইহা আপাততঃ চালু করা যাইবে। এই কাজের জন্য তাহাদিগকে কিছু ভাতা প্রদান করিলেই চলিবে। এই রেজিস্ট্রেশন কার্ড দেখাইয়া কার্ডধারীগণ তাহাদের মালিক আর অনধিক পাঁচশত টাকা হইলে বিনামূল্যে জন্মশাসনের ঔষধ, কনডম প্রভৃতি সরকারী ক্লিনিক হইতে পাইবে।

(খ) ভরণ পোষণের গ্যারাণ্টি পত্রের ব্যবস্থা ও বাধ্যতামূলক বধ্যত্বকরণ :

যাহাদের তিনটি কিংবা ততোধিক সন্তান রহিয়াছে তাহাদের সকল দম্পতিকে বাধ্যতামূলকভাবে বধ্যত্বকরণের ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে। এই সকল দম্পতিকে নিম্নোক্ত নিয়মে পুরস্কারের বা বোনাস্, এবং সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা ভাতা ও তদনুযায়ী গ্যারাণ্টিপত্র দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা থাকিবে। যথা :

(অ) যে পুত্রহীন দম্পতি শুধু তিন বা ততোধিক কন্যা হওয়ার পর বাধ্যতামূলক জন্মশাসনের আওতায় পড়িবে, তাহাদিগকে মাসিক টাঃ ১০০'০০ হারে ১৫ বৎসর পর্যন্ত জন্মশাসন বোনাস্ দিতে হইবে। তাহা ছাড়া অচল, রোগগ্রস্ত, বৃদ্ধ বা বেকার অবস্থায় প্রত্যেককে আজীবন মাসিক টাঃ ১০০'০০ হারে সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা ভাতা দিতে হইবে। প্রত্যেক গ্যারাণ্টি পত্রে এই সকল বিষয়ের জন্য সরকারী গ্যারাণ্টি দিতে হইবে।

(আ) যে দম্পতির পুত্র ও কন্যা মোট তিনজন অথবা ততোধিক মাসিক টাঃ ২০০'০০ হারে পাঁচবৎসর পর্যন্ত জন্মশাসন বোনাস্, এবং উপরি উক্ত সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা ভাতার গ্যারাণ্টি দিতে হইবে।

(ই) যে পুত্রহীন দম্পতির দু'টি কন্যা জন্মের পর স্বেচ্ছায় স্থায়ীভাবে জন্মশাসন করিবে তাহাদিগকে মাসিক ২০০'০০ টাকা হারে বিশ বৎসর পর্যন্ত জন্মশাসন বোনাস্, এবং উপরিউক্ত সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা ভাতার গ্যারাণ্টি দিতে হইবে।

(ঈ) যে দম্পতি দু'টি পুত্র-কিংবা একটি কন্যা ও একটি পুত্র মোট দু'টি সন্তান জন্ম হওয়ার পর স্থায়ীভাবে স্বেচ্ছায় জন্মশাসন করিবে, তাহাদিগকে মাসিক ১০০'০০ টাকা হারে জন্মশাসন বোনাস্, এবং উপরোক্ত সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা ভাতার গ্যারাণ্টিপত্র দিতে হইবে।

(উ) বাধ্যতামূলক জন্মশাসনভুক্ত সকল দম্পতিকেই সামাজিক নিরাপত্তা ভাতার গ্যারান্টিপত্র দিতে হইবে এবং ইহা ইউনিয়ন পরিবার-পরিকল্পনা অফিসারের তত্ত্বাবধানে প্রদান করার ব্যবস্থা থাকিবে।

৩। বিবাহ ও বহু-বিবাহ প্রথা নিয়ন্ত্রণ :—

বাল্য বিবাহ ও বহু-বিবাহ প্রথা বিলোপ করিতে হইবে। প্রত্যেক ছেলে ও মেয়ের বিবাহের বয়স নির্ধারণ করিয়া দিতে হইবে এবং বিবাহের নির্ধারিত বয়সের পূর্বে কোন ছেলে বা মেয়ে বিবাহ করিলে আইনের মাধ্যমে তাহা প্রতিরোধ করিতে হইবে। অনেক সময় আমাদের দেশে এক স্ত্রী সক্ষম অবস্থায় থাকা সত্ত্বেও স্বামী পুনরায় বিবাহ করিয়া থাকে, এই বহু বিবাহ প্রথাও বন্ধ করিতে হইবে।

৪। প্রাইমারী ও মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষায় পরিবার পরিকল্পনা আবশ্যিক পাঠ্যসূচীর অন্তর্ভুক্ত করিতে হইবে।

৫। তাহা ছাড়া, জাপান, ফ্রান্স, অন্যান্য উন্নত দেশের মত আমাদের দেশেও প্রস্তুতির স্বাস্থ্যগত কারণে অনধিক দু'তিন মাসকালের গর্ভ-অপসারণ প্রথা বৈধ করিতে হইবে। যাহারা নানা অযুহাত দেখাইয়া এই প্রস্তাবের বিরোধিতা করিবেন তাহাদিগকে বিনীতভাবে স্মরণ করাইয়া দিচ্ছি যে, জাপান এসিয়াতে সবচেয়ে উন্নত ও অন্যতম সুসভ্য জাতি হিসাবে পৃথিবীতে নিজকে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করিয়াছে।

৬। উপরোক্ত পরিকল্পনাগুলি কার্যকরী করিতে হইলে প্রয়োজনমত বাহিরের দেশগুলি হইতে কারিগরি অর্থনৈতিক সাহায্য গ্রহণ করিয়া এই পরিকল্পনা কার্যকরী করিলেও ভবিষ্যতে তাহার সুফল পাওয়া যাইবে। জাতিসংগ, মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র, যুক্তরাজ্য সরকার ও অন্যান্য উন্নত দেশ এ ব্যাপারে সাহায্য প্রদানে আশ্বাস দিয়াছেন। কারণ যদি জন্মশাসন না করা হয় তবে বর্তমানের ন্যায় ভবিষ্যতের বাড়তি জনসংখ্যার জন্যও আমাদের বিশ্বের বাজার থেকে প্রচুর টাকার খাণ্ড আমদানী করিতে হইবে। কিন্তু যদি বাধ্যতামূলকভাবে জন্মশাসন করা হয় তবে ভবিষ্যতে বাড়তি জনসাধারণের জন্য কষ্টাজিত মূল্যবান বৈদেশিক মুদ্রা খরচ করিয়া খাণ্ড আমদানী করিতে হইবে না।

৭। স্বস্তর এই সকল ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করিতে না পারিলে জন্ম-নিয়ন্ত্রণ (শাসন) প্রথা আমাদের দেশে কখনও সফল বা কার্যকর হইবে না। সুতরাং কাল-বিলম্ব না করিয়া একটি উপযুক্ত অডিন্যান্স পাশ করিয়া উপরিউক্ত প্রস্তাবগুলি বাস্তবায়নের জন্য সদাশয় জনপ্রিয় সরকার এবং দেশের সুধী সমাজ সমীপে সবিনয়ে পেশ করা গেল।

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

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1. Introduction :

Importance of human resource development has been always emphasized and stressed by the economists of all times since the very development of Economics as a systematized body of human knowledge. Adam Smith in his famous book '*The Wealth of Nation's*' has specially mentioned about it and included "acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of a society" in his "fixed capital."¹ Alfred Marshall known to be the father of Modern Economics emphasized the importance of education as "a national investment" and according to him "the most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings."² All of us throughout the world want economic development and obviously increased and better food, clothing, shelter, medicines and perhaps all modern amenities and facilities of life to make life more comfortable. 'Wealth' has to be produced and provided out of the natural resources given for their transformation into consumable goods and services to satisfy the wants of men in the way manner and quantity they desire. Of all the resources and factors, the key to economic development is the human element. The national resources are converted i.e. produced into 'wealth' with the help of human labour. Specially educated and trained manpower is, therefore, most important resource which is able to convert the resources of a country into more consumable wealth. Educated and specially trained manpower can perform all economic activities more efficiently and effectively than illiterate & layman on the street. Africa though endowed with enormous natural resources

1. Adam Smith :— An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, Random House Inc. 1937, Book II, pp. 265-266.
2. Alfred Marshall :—Principles of Economics, 8th ed., 1930 Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London pp. 216-564.

yet most of her people are 'poor' because the African countries have few doctors, engineers, teachers, scientists & educated people than those of the economically more advanced European & North American countries.

Precisely speaking, education & training are crucially important in economic development. An educated farmer or a factory worker is more likely to perform his job more efficiently & effectively and can run his business more successfully than one who does not possess any formal education. Formal and informal education is, therefore, recognized and has been emphasized as most important & valuable for any economic development to take place and absence of it is a great handicap and hindrance to economic development in all countries, in all societies on all occasions at the initial stage of economic development of a country.

2. The economic analysis of investment in human resource :

From what has been said in the foregoing paragraph, it can be safely concluded that human resource development is the process of increasing human knowledge, the skill, abilities and capacities of the people to perform desired and necessary economic activities for productive purposes. In economic terms it may be described as the accumulation of human capital for development purpose. From the political standpoint human resource development prepares favourable ground for the adult people to actively participate in political processes and activities of the economy particularly in running the government administration democratically as good and responsible citizens. From the social and cultural point of view, the development of human resources help people lead fuller and richer lives less bound by traditionalism in social & religious taboo and age long obsolete cultural behaviour and rigid attitudes towards life and values. The process of human resource development is likely to unlock the door to modernization and help open a new horizon for a change towards bettering conditions of oneself in all aspects of human life.

3. Measurement of return from education :

Expenditure on education is 'investment' in the sense that it creates men and women into more income generating human

assets and capital. The fact whether expenditure on education is really an investment may be established by putting it on test through measurement of its return to income. Curiously enough measures of capital formation based on fixed capital are deficient because many people are inclined to exclude expenditures on education, non-profit research, health, recreation etc. from investment which make valuable contribution to economic growth through increasing the complex productive efficiency and system. In the absence of any consensus about a relationship between better health and efficiency of labour force to productivity and economic growth, the very recent efforts made by Schultz & others has led to incorporate investment on education into mainstream of economic analysis and they have tried to link up economic development with investment in human capital through 3 different approaches:- (a) Determination of the relationship between expenditures on education and growth in income or on physical capital formations over a period of time in a country, (b) The residual approach in determining the contribution of education to Gross National Product (GNP), and (c) Calculation of the rate of return from expenditures on education and making inter-country correlation of school enrolment ratio and (GNP).³ In spite of these limitations of measurement of economic growth the efforts made by many economists has the merit of calling attention and interest of the policy makers to the evident and established contribution to material output likely to be made through improvement in the quality of human resources through the educational process in general, as well as by scientists, physicians and engineers (all of them product of education) who improve technology and the quality of capital improvement. To be more precise economists have tried to correlate investment in human resource to vary directly with income & development with slight exception (case of Ceylon, Table 1).

Intense statistical correlation has been established between indicators of pattern of human resource development and economic growth as will be evident from Table 2. The same trend can also be established through a comparison between percentage of

3. Harbison & Meyers: *Education Manpower & Economic Growth*, McGraw Hill Book Company, New York, 1964, pp. 8-9.

Table 1

Countries grouped by levels of human resource (around 1960)
development according to composite index.

<i>Level-I Underdeveloped</i>	<i>Level-III Semiadvanced</i>
0.3 Niger	33.0 Mexico
0.75 Ethiopia	35.1 Thailand
1.2 Nyasaland	35.2 India
1.55 Somalia	35.5 Cuba
1.9 Afghanistan	29.6 Spain
1.9 Saudi Arabia	40.0 South Africa
1.2 Tanganyika	40.1 Egypt
2.6 Ivory Coast	40.8 Portugal
2.95 Northern Rhodesia	47.3 Costa Rica
3.55 Congo	47.7 Venezuela
4.1 Libya	48.5 Greece
4.75 Kenya	51.2 Chile
4.95 Nigeria	53.9 Hungary
5.3 Haiti	53.9 Taiwan
5.45 Senegal	55.0 South Korea
5.45 Uganda	56.8 Italy
7.55 Sudan	60.3 Yugoslavia
	66.5 Poland
	68.9 Czechoslovakia
	69.8 Uruguay
	73.8 Norway
<i>Level-II Partially developed</i>	<i>Level-IV Advanced</i>
10.7 Guatemala	77.1 Denmark
10.7 Indonesia	79.2 Sweden
10.85 Libya	84.9 Israel
14.2 Burma	85.8 West Germany
14.5 Dominican Republic	88.7 Finland
15.25 Tanganyika	92.9 USSR
17.3 Iran	101.6 Canada
19.5 China (mainland)	107.8 France
20.9 Brazil	111.4 Japan
22.6 Colombia	121.6 UK
22.7 Paraguay	123.6 Belgium
23.15 Ghana	133.7 Netherlands
23.65 Malaya	137.7 Australia
24.3 Lebanon	147.3 New Zealand
24.4 Ecuador	261.3 United States.
25.2 Pakistan	
26.8 Jamaica	
27.2 Turkey	
30.2 Peru	
31.2 Iraq	

Source : Higgins : Economic Development (Review Edition) Norton & Co.
Inc. N. Y. 1968 p. 22.

Table 2

Indicators of human resource and economic development arithmetic means by levels of human resource development

Indicator	Level I 17 Countries	Level II 21 Countries	Level III 21 Countries	Level IV 16 Countries
1. Composite index (Secondary & Higher education).	3	21	50	115
2. GNP <i>Per Capita</i> , (US Dollars)	\$85	\$182	\$380	\$1,110
3. % of active population in agriculture	83	65	52	23
4. Teachers (1st & 2nd levels) per 10,000 population	17	38	53	80
5. Scientists & Engineers per 10,000 population	0.6	3	25	42
6. Physician & dentists per 10,000 population	0.5	3	8	15
7. First level enrollment ratio (un-adjusted)	22	42	62	73
8. First level enrollment ratio (adjusted)	20	45	66	89
9. 2nd level enrollment ratio (adjusted)	2.7	12	27	59
10. 3rd level enrollment (un-adjusted)	0.15	1.6	5	11
11. Per cent enrolled in Scientific & technical faculties.	24	28	26	28
12. Per cent enrolled in humanities fine arts, and law faculties.	34	39	33	32
13. Public expenditure on education as % of NI.	3.7	2.1	3.1	4.2
14. Per cent in age group (4-14)	24	24	22	18

Source : Higgins, Op. Cit. 9,23.

Indication : Level-I means underdeveloped, level-II means partially developed, Level-III means semi-advanced and Level-IV means advanced countries.

Table 3

Percentage of national income spent on education and (Around 1960)
GNP per capita in different countries.

Countries	GNP per capita	Expendi- ture on education as % of NI.	Countries	GNP Per capita	Expendi- ture Edu- cation as % of NI.
<i>Level-I</i>			<i>Level-III</i>		
Nyasaland	60	3.2	Thailand	96	2.6
Tanganika	50	3.0	India	73	1.7
Kenya	87	3.3	Spain	293	1.4
Nigeria	78	1.9	Egypt	142	3.7
Congo	92	5.1	Portugal	224	2.0
Uganda	64	5.9	Taiwan	161	3.3
<i>Level-II</i>			Greece	340	1.6
Indonesia	131	0.8	Chile	379	2.4
Burma	57	3.6	Hungary	490	2.9
Tunisia	173	3.4	Italy	516	3.2
Brazil	293	2.6	Yugoslavia	265	2.8
Colombia	2.1	263	Poland	475	4.8
Lebanon	362	2.1	Norway	1,130	5.5
Pakistan	70	1.2	<i>Level-IV</i>		
Jamaica	316	2.3	Denmark	1,057	2.9
Turkey	220	2.2	Sweden	1,380	3.2
			West	927	3.6
			Germany		
			Finland	749	6.3
			U.S.S.R.	600	7.1
			Canada	1,947	4.5
			France	943	3.0
			Japan	306	5.7
			U.K.	1,189	4.2
			Belgium	1,196	5.6
			Netherlands	836	5.2
			Australia	1,316	2.2
			New Zealand	1,310	3.7
			U.S.A.	2,577	4.6

Source : Harbison & Myers : Op. Cit. pp. 45-48

National Income spent on education and GNP *per capita* in different countries of the world (Table 3). New Zealand spends 3.7% of her National Income on 2.2 Million people whose *per capita* income is \$ 2577, while Poland spends 4.8% of her NI whose *per capita* income is only \$ 475 with larger population. Therefore, when population is brought into the picture it is found that New Zealand, like all advanced countries spends comparatively more *per capita* on education than those countries which are relatively less developed.

4. Education and agricultural growth

Education is a process of acquiring knowledge, experience and ideas to be transmitted by man to man. New knowledge perceived does alter the behavioural pattern and attitude of human being. It is recognized without any controversy that economic growth depends to a large extent upon alterations and change in human behaviour patterns and attitudes because man is recognized as the primary catalyst in the productive process through the application of his mental and physical labour. Apparently education, training and learning process are very likely to change traditional character of behaviour and attitude of the farmers which are crucially important to economic growth both from micro-and macro-standpoints. It is the man i. e. the farmer who is the decision maker in the production process; what and when to plant and in what quantity, how to select a crop for a particular soil and climatic and environmental condition, how to use better inputs and in what quantity, when to sell his crops etc. all are crucially important decisions for better farm management and successful farming for higher income and development of agriculture. An educated farmer is, therefore, a better manager and enable competent and efficient manager which ensures increased income opening a new horizon for further growth and agricultural development breaking the traditionalism and barriers to change and growth through widening his outlook. creating new hopes, aspirations and incentives for better living standard resulting in a breakthrough in his very rigid attitude towards life, comfort, satisfaction and welfare, eliminating narrow outlook, unambitious conduct and character, religious, cultural and social taboos and his entire value-judgement notoriously bound by traditionalism and stagnation.

5. Pattern of Developmental Education :

Though there is no consensus as to what type and standard of education is necessary for a country for speeding up economic development yet to emphasize further the role of education in economic development, general education is found to affect agricultural growth by changing values, human attitudes to one self and increasing skills and dexterity to perform multifarious jobs. Special mention may be made of developmental education and its efficacy on efficiency of farming, primary focus upon extension education methods and "On-the-field-demonstration", about knowledge of new inputs and their efficient utilization and application, new techniques of production and their suitable adoption and efficient management of farms etc. all of which require sufficient and suitable education and training to realize desired objectives.

6. Creation of human Resource and High-level manpower :

Needless to say that accumulated human capital may be efficiently utilized & employed in a country or it may be wastefully and hopelessly underutilized or misused, it may be used for really a constructive purposes or used for worthless capricious purposes depending on the efficiency and competency of the administrative machinery to make proper and efficient use of the manpower in the way they are best suitable and desirable. Educational system, type of training and education of the manpower, determination of the levels of training and education suitable and necessary for a country may not be suitable for each and every country all over the world and these must be determined very cautiously according to the special & peculiar needs, circumstances and conditions to suit the special requirements of a country. Needless to mention administrative machinery to be effective and efficient requires educated personnel who are themselves the products of education.

7. Strategies for human resource Development in Bangladesh

Form the foregoing discussion we have come to two inseparable aspects of human resource development and these go together just like Siamese-twins'. This includes (1) creation of desired and skilled manpower, (2) suitable utilization of such manpower. In order to realize these objectives the entire educational

system should be thoroughly overhauled so that trained manpower both men and women may take part in and contribute to economic development of the country with the skill, ability and capacity they may have acquired. Needless to say the economy of Bangladesh being mainly agricultural, the educational system should be made agriculture oriented. About 92% of the population lives in rural areas and the benefits of education must be made available to this vast majority of her people for rural development first. 'Education for Rural Development, should be the slogan.

8. Strategy for allocation of human resource in Development :

Another aspect of the strategy for development of human resource in Bangladesh is 'manpower projection'. This includes the determination of number of a particular type of manpower and their level or standard of education and training according to the demand and requirements of the country for implementation of development plans. As the situation exists we should give more emphasis on compulsory universal primary education rather than on M.A., M.Sc. or Ph. D's. We require more extension workers than M.Sc., Ph.D. passed agricultural graduates, we require more technicians than highly qualified engineers, we require more medical certificate holders than M.B.B.S. or post graduate medical degree holders to utilize their services for large number of people in the remotest corners of rural areas where 92% of our people lives.

9. Rural urban gap :

About 92% of our people are rural and the little facilities for most technical and professional education and higher learning are concentrated in urban areas. The modern amenities and facilities of life whatsoever inadequate they may be are concentrated areas. Mills and factories, commercial firms etc. all are concentrated either in or around urban areas. So the process of developments and its benefits tend to gravitate towards a small fraction of the total population resulting in widening the gap of income between rural and urban people. Even the people getting education migrate on mass towards the town and the rural people are deprived of the benefit of educated

people. So called educated people prefer town life and a job in a town to those in rural areas. So centre of all our administrative and development activities must be dispersed from the districts and sub-divisional head quarters to Thana and ultimately to Union levels and all decision making government staff should be stationed there and not only the title of the posts such as Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner be changed to District and Subdivisional Development Officers but their fields of activities and functions be changed also. Highly paid government officers are not necessary to open a bank office, preside over prize distribution ceremonies of schools, colleges etc. or for issuing permits for consumer goods all of which are non-developmental works. This is very wasteful use of educated personnel and manpower.

10. Manpower Planning and requirements :

There has been no attempt in Bangladesh after or before the liberation to assess the needs and requirements of the type, quality and quantity of manpower in the country and the educational system which has come down to us from the colonial rule of the Britishers is unlikely to satisfy our needs and realize our national aspiration and economic goal. There may be surplus in one particular category of manpower whereas there may be serious dearth in others resulting in wastage of resources, money and materials and inhibiting tempo in development activities and its un-interrupted and continued process of development.

11. Love for and Status of Educators :

The future of a country depends upon the quality of manpower we can produce to take over the responsibility of a sovereign and independent state. The youth of today will be the future citizens of tomorrow who will have to shoulder the responsibility of running the state in different fields of activities as teachers, as doctors, as engineers, as administrators, as politicians and social leaders etc. Their quality, skill and dexterity, ability and capacity to discharge this great responsibility depend on the good quality of teachers of all categories. But unfortunately and unlike the advanced countries teachers in our country are most unfortunate people. They are not only object of pity but their salary, remuneration pay and status in comparison with other jobs appear

to be lower. So good people normally go to administrative jobs for higher pay and remuneration, power, and additional facilities in other jobs. If the teachers are not paid the highest salaries to attract the best talents, the standard and quality of education are bound to gradually deteriorate. Inferior quality of education are bounds to gradually deteriorate. Inferior quality of teachers will produce inferior quality of products.

There is also deterioration in the teacher-student relation. Friendly and good teacher-student relation help promote healthy academic atmosphere and raising in the standard of education. We should inculcate the habit of respecting teachers and love for teaching as the most noble and highest level of profession. We have records that administrative jobs of highest category can be performed by persons without any formal education but a university Professor must be at least an M. A. degree holder. How then an M.A. passed professor or a teacher with highest academic degrees can be valued less and paid less than any other person in other jobs which may require no formal education at all. People without formal education has performed the duties of heads of states, ministers etc. in many countries of the world and on most occasions with great success but this has never been experienced in case of teaching. I have seen an old invalid Head Master of a school begging in a railway compartment. This is most unfortunate and this is only possible in this country. If we want to produce good and quality citizens the status of teachers must be raised and teaching profession must be given highest honour and place in the society. There are university professors and scientists in the U.S.A. and other advanced countries who get higher emoluments and amenities and facilities of life more than those enjoyed by the Heads of states in those countries. Raising the status and provision of more attractive service conditions salaries, and all other benefits are indispensably necessary to attract talented people to teaching to raise the standard of education and advancement of human knowledge, science and technology to enable Bangladesh to make room for her in the community of modern nations. It must be borne in mind that an ass cannot produce a horse.

THE MOST ABUNDANT RESOURCE AND ITS USE AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY : EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

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1. Introductory

1.1 After a generation of development effort, many of the developing nations found to their dismay that they were fighting a losing battle against the problems of mass-poverty, mass-unemployment and mass-illiteracy. By the end of the decade of 1960 ; the deepening crisis [I : pp. 24-45] led many a developing country to a searching reappraisal of the development concept and strategy. The purpose of this paper is briefly to examine the conceptual basis of the human resource strategy and underline some of its educational implications.

2. The conceptual basis of the strategy

2.1 The prime facie rationale for the human resource deployment strategy is provided by the serious distortions in the growth-pattern of the developing countries over the last two decades. The following brief analysis of the earlier strategy attempts to high-light its major features and the distortions caused by it in the growth pattern in the Bangladesh situation :

(a) In this strategy development was very narrowly conceived and equated with economic growth and the latter with the growth of a capital intensive modern sector. The strategy was based on a dual sector concept concentrating on the expansion of the modern sector until it was in a position to absorb the vast traditional sector. An important underlying assumption was an unfettered flow of capital-based technology at an adequate rate, which, however, turned out to be unrealistic [1 & 7] thus, slowing down the pace of growth even in its narrow sense.

(b) The stress of the strategy was on the use of capital intensity without regard to the factor endowments of the country. The import of capital intensive technology (sometimes dictated by extra economic considerations) together with an import

substitution policy supported by subsidization and protected market created a specificity of function favouring the production of light consumer goods, preponderantly luxury goods, with very little linkage efforts and little scope for the free interplay of the market forces. In some cases capital intensity was carried to such a preposterous length that technologies used in Bangladesh were found in one study [6: pp. 18-19] to be more intensive than those in use in Japan and equally intensive to those in U. S A.

(c) The focus of the strategy was on the GNP and its growth rate regardless of its structure and quality. Thus, the sector of agriculture, the major source of employment (75 p. c.) and GNP (60 p. c.), was relegated to a position of low priority and allowed to stagnate. In 1959-60 factor cost, the rate of growth in agricultural value added was a meagre 2.2 per cent for the period 1949-59 to 1969-70, which was below the rate of growth of agricultural rural population and labour force.

(d) The planning strategy relied entirely on the central planning machinery and the centrally commanded resources. As a result, it failed to capture the stock of human and material resources in the vast rural non-monetised sector.

(e) As a result, the net effects of the plan-strategy were :
(i) virtual stagnation during 1950's, slow and faltering growth during 1960's and decline in output and income during the 1970's. "Between 1949-50 and 1969-70, the rate of growth of GDP at 1959-60 factor cost was found to be 3.3 p. c. which is about the rate of growth of labour force. 1960's started with a fall in output and income. In the last 2 years there had been slight improvement in the situation, but we are yet to catch up with 1969-70 in real terms" [6: p. 17]. (ii) Unemployment among the active labour force in 1974 was estimated to vary from 6.9 million (20. p. c.) to 9.8 million (40 p. c.) in the agricultural rural sector and from 0.48 million to 0.65 million in the urban sector. The educated unemployment was estimated at 44 per cent of the educated labour force consisting of economically active persons of S. S. C. degree or above [6]. (iii) Rural wage earnings also declined well below the minimum subsistence level, for example, 50.3 per cent for unskilled urban workers and 57.5 per cent for helpers in urban construction in 1974 (in 1966 prices).

In the rural areas, 44 million persons (i. e. over 73 per cent of the total population of the country) were estimated to live below the poverty line [4 : pp. 15-17].

(f) The most serious flaw of the plan model despite its technical sophistication was its failure to recognize the central role of man in development both as the end and the agent of development and the crucial part played by attitudes and values. It also overlooked the profound influence exercised by social structures on the course of development. Even an economic-growth model was part of a social milieu, the product of a multiplicity of forces operating within a society. As such it could not be just lifted from one social context and planted in a different one without producing serious distortions. This was amply demonstrated by the failure of the market mechanism to be operative in Bangladesh situation and erosion of the country's value-system by the propensity for profiteering and unethical practices in various forms.

2.3 Several significant conclusions seem to follow from the foregoing analysis about the conceptual basis of the human resource strategy :

(a) The driving force provided by a motivated innovative and creative people for development is central to this strategy and its stress is as much on the human aspect of man-power development as on its economic aspects.

(b) As a logical corollary, it implies the broadening of the concept of development to include as its integral components a minimum of living level above the poverty line,* equitable income distribution, and generation of productive employment.

(c) The plan strategy will have to be so designed as to bring within its ambit the vast human resource of the country now lying un-utilised or under-utilised both in the urban or rural sectors.

(d) In order to capture the local resources bulk of which still lies in the non-monetised traditional sector, the concept of planning should be extended to include locally evolved plans using locally available resources.

* Income below Taka 288 in urban areas and Taka 252 in rural areas in 1966 prices is regarded to be below the poverty line [5]

(e) Dependence on human resource (labour) in substitution for capital is clearly warranted by the present economic and social realities of Bangladesh. While in the short run top priority in the new strategy is assigned to agriculture as the major source of employment which has the most potential for employment generation, the strategy implies the exploration of the possibilities in the intermediate fields between the small modern sector and the vast traditional sector through short term and long term plans for development of labour intensive agro-industries and other industries of various types, small and medium and related services in the rural areas.

(f) The strategy also implies a dynamic approach to the use of a technology. Development is viewed essentially as a process of technological change accompanied by increasing application of scientific knowledge with a greater division of labour with more individuals concentrating on more specific tasks with increasingly specialised knowledge so that the tasks are better done. Thus, the human resource strategy is not a stationary concept of generation of employment mainly in the traditional sector at a low productivity and low wage level though this may be inescapable in the initial phase. On the contrary, it implies a dynamic process of transition from a high man-resource ratio to a high resource-man ratio through a series of adjustments in technology which will have to be evolved and innovated to fit the realities of the changing development scene.

(g) In like manner, it also implies the use of various man-resource combinations during a given period depending on the technology and skill level of manpower available in different productive sectors. An important task will be the discriminatory use of varying types and levels of education and training of different segments of manpower so as to maximise their productivity by innovating appropriate technologies for the purpose.

3. Educational Implications

3.1 The process of development of human resource into viable human capital and its productive utilisation appear to be governed by several interacting and interdependent factors. The supply of raw human resource is determined by the structure of population and its growth trend and the demand by the

structure and quality of economic and social structures including those of employment and wages.

3.2 The population in Bangladesh has been growing at the rate of 3 per cent with one of the highest density and dependency rates in the Asian region as shown in Annexure I. While this includes the potential in terms of human resource, it also poses a challenge both for the country's economy and education in fruitfully exploiting the human resource potential. (a) The high density and growth rate taken together imply a rapidly growing pressure on the agricultural and rural sectors and a proportionately greater burden on both economy and education of the country. If through the population control (it is now rightly assigned the topmost priority by the Government) the rate of growth can be reduced, it will have the beneficial effect of reducing the dependency rate; but it will have no effect on the active labour force during the next 15 years which is already born. (b) A comparison of the structure of population in 1960 and 1974 in Table I below shows (i) an increase in the population of 15 years and above (constituting the labour force) from 27.4 million in 1961 to 39.8 in 1974 i. e. by 44 p. c. and (ii) also an increase in the population between 5 and 14 (1st level school age population) from 14.18 million in 1961 to 20.66 in 1974 i. e. by 66 p. c. thus, indicating the increase in the quantitative magnitude of the task of employment generation and education.

Table 1
Structure of Population in Bangladesh is 1961 & 1974

	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	Over 25 years and above
1961	9,264,236 (18.3%)	9,529,436 (18.7%)	4,646,884 (9.0%)	3,905,471 (7.7%)	3,813,180 (7.5%)	19,681,028 (38.7%)
1974	11,946,382 (16.7%)	13,685,550 (19.1%)	6,570,000 (9.2%)	5,860,000 (8.2%)	5,718,000 (8.0%)	27,700,000 (38.8%)

Source : Based on Census Reports 1961 and 1974.

3.3 It is against the above backdrop of the economic and social realities in Bangladesh that the educational implications of using the human resource as the key factor in development have to

be examined. Education in Bangladesh as at present structured is for all intents and purposes formal in character and organised sequentially into age-specific and 'lock-step' stages known as primary (6-II), secondary (II-16), higher secondary (16-18), higher (18-24) with technical/professional branches, namely, medicine (18-23), engineering (18-22) and agriculture (18-22).

3.4 The following table shows the estimated population of the various age groups, the number enrolled and the number outside the educational system. It will appear that the education system, as at present structured regardless of the quality of education and external efficiency (fitness for productive employment) is utterly inadequate even quantitatively to meet the basic educational needs of the vast population of school age and the active labour force.

Table 2

Level of Education (with age-group)	Year	Enrollment (in Million)	Age-group population (in million)	Participation rate in percentage	Out-of-school population (in Million)
Primary (6-10)	1950-51	2.449	6.017	41.0	3.568
	1960-61	3.330	7.630	44.0	4.300
	1972-73	6.000	10.260	58.0%	4.260
Secondary (11-15)	1950-51	0.514	4.610	11.0	4.096
	1960-61	0.533	5.990	9.0	5.457
	1972-73	1.700	9.890	17.0%	8.190
College-Intermediate (16-17)	1950-51	0.013	1.804	0.69	1.827
	1960-61	0.037	2.220	1.67	2.183
	1972-73	0.230	3.550	6.48%	3.320
College-Degree (18-19)	1950-51	0.005	1.480	0.34	1.475
	1960-61	0.014	1.660	0.84	1.646
	1972-73	0.098	3.431	2.86%	3.329

Source: F.Y.P. of Bangladesh, P. 445.

3.5 If the finished output at the end of each stage is taken into consideration, the picture becomes grimmer and more disturbing. It will appear from the following table that the wastage at all levels both in terms of human and financial resources continues to be very high ranging from 65% at primary level and 42 to 66 p.c. at the second and third levels of education.

Table 3
Wastage in primary stage indicated by drop-out rate in Bangladesh

Cohort year	Drop-out rate (in Bangladesh)
1947-48	91.2
1952-53	81.7
1957-58	81.7
1962-63	72.2
1967-68	64.67

**Wastage in Secondary and Higher stages as indicated by
 examination results in Bangladesh
 1967-68**

Stages	Number appeared	Number passed	%	Wastage %
S.S.C.	141,767	82,111	57.90	42.10
H.S.C.	66,870	35,166	52.58	47.42
Degree (pass)	30,342	10,391	34.24	65.76

Source: Annual Reports on Public Instruction, Directorate of Public Instruction.

3.6 It is not, therefore, surprising that the total number of illiterates actually rose from 32.6 million in 1961 to 46.3 million in 1974. The high incidence of illiteracy among the various age groups of the labour force in 1974 will be evident from the following table :

Table 4
 1974

Age-group	Age-group population (in million)	Labour force % of illiterates	Total number of illiterates (in million)
15-19	5.86	72	4.22
20-24	5.72	74	4.20
25 yrs. & over	27.70	80	22.16

Source: Census Report, 1974 and projections by the Foundation for Research on Educational Planning & Development (FREPD), Bangladesh.

3.7 If an additional criterion, namely, the fitness of the system is employed to evaluate its performance in providing education and training to fit its product for employment, the picture becomes quite alarming. By 1973 the number of educated unemployed including those inappropriately placed with secondary school certificates and above mounted to 666,181 [2]. What was most disquieting was that nearly 30 per cent of the unemployed with H.S.C. certificates had the science background and the corresponding ratio for the graduates (with B.Sc. degree) was 24 p.c. Besides, as many as 638 engineering technicians were also unemployed or inappropriately placed.

3.8 The educational system in its present form is also characterised by investment rates rising according to the levels of education with participation rates declining as the following table will show :

Table 5
(1973-74)

	Total Recurring Expenditure	Total enrol- ment	Per Capita cost
Primary	254,537,000 (56.6%)	7,879,460	32.30
Secondary	87,454,000 (19.2%)	1,691,017	51.71
Intermediate & Degree Colleges	41,042,000 (9.2%)	398,184	103.07
University	66,771,000 (14.9%)	27,902	2,393.05
General	46,334,000	23,679	1,956.75
Agriculture	12,366,000	2,486	4,974.33
Engineering	8,071,000	1,737	4,646.51
Total	449,804,000		

Source : Directorate of Public Instruction and 'Returns from Universities', University Grants Commission, 1974.

3.8 Another striking characteristic of the system is the observed inverse relationship between participation rates at various educational levels and the degree of economical and educational back-wards as indicated by the high drop-out rates of the economically and socially disadvantaged in the primary stage estimated at 70 p. c. in one study [8] and the low participation rate of the same group in higher education. A recent study [9] based

on a random sample of 729 male and 274 female students of Dacca University showed that students with illiterate parents were under 1.8% and those with parents earning Taka 500 or less a year were under 0.41% (Annexure II) of the total number. It will thus appear that education as at present structured instead of proving to be a social education as it is generally believed to be is actually operating to widen the existing social and economic inequalities.

3.9 By and large, education in the present system is viewed as a preparation for jobs in the modern sector. The increasing stress laid on scientific and technological education is also in effect a part and means of entry into the modern sector. In Bangladesh and also in many other developing countries, education is designed essentially as pre-employment education with high level education being linked with high level jobs.

The vast majority of them including the bulk of the labour force do not have any access to education as already indicated earlier. What is most tragic is that the plan strategy has failed to generate enough jobs to absorb even the limited output of the present education system. The growing mismatch between job opportunity and the rapidly rising output of formal education system has created a vicious circle with qualifications becoming upgraded accompanied by an increasing demand for higher education and increasing competition for the limited opportunity.

3.10 Thus the fundamental weakness of the present system of education is indicated by its structural incapacity to respond to the needs and aspirations of the contemporary society in Bangladesh and its inability to cope with the central problems of mass poverty, mass unemployment and mass illiteracy.

4. The new role for Education and its implications

4.1 The analysis in the foregoing section indicates that if education is to perform its new role as an effective change-agent in converting the best human resource into viable human capital for economic and social development, education must also transform itself in concept, structure, content, technology, delivery system and planning and institutional arrangements.

4.2 The proposed educational transformation has many dimensions which are outlined below:—

(a) *Education must become abundant enough to reach that vast mass of population* now left outside the ambit of the education system including the uneducated labour force, out of school youths and school drop-outs. It may be noted in this connection that the conventional approach towards achieving this goal as envisaged in educational plans including reports of committees and commissions beginning with the Post-War Educational Reconstruction Plan in India (based on the report of the Sargent Committee) after World War II laid the main stress on universal basic education upto the age of 14 apparently on the assumption that over time the active labour force drawn from the population in the dependency age-group would also become educated. Two main impediments to the realization of this goal were rapidly rising population and cost of education which rendered all projections of school age population and cost infructuous.

(b) *Education must have an economic content to meet the skill-needs of the various occupational groups.* Happily, there is a growing awareness of the need to make education employment oriented. Here also, it will appear that the conventional approach is to include technical-vocational subjects in the school curriculum at various levels within the present formal system of education. As such, this approach is unlikely to be able to achieve the goal of capturing the vast mass of population at present not reached by the educational system. Besides, considering the lead-time in the formal education system, this approach is, if anything, likely to widen the mismatch between the supply of trained manpower and the demand for it. It seems imperative that for the vast majority of people representing the un-utilized or under-utilized manpower of the country, programmes of training will have to be job-specific based on the identification of the various target groups and their occupational needs organised outside what is now known as the formal system of education.

As regards the population in the dependency age group, an important planning strategy for reducing the incidence of mismatch relates to the design of educational courses. "In view of the long lead-time in formal education and the comparatively higher cost of specialisation, wisdom seems to warrant that not only

at the secondary level but upto the first degree level, the curriculum should be diversified as well as broad-based, leading to intensive but relatively shorter programmes of specialised training according to needs" [1 : p. 191].

(c) *Education must also have a general education content for personal development* through the development of an individual's innate powers and abilities. An important function of education derived from man's central role as an agent of development is to stimulate and sustain his impulses of intellectual curiosity, creativity and innovativeness which are inborn but are stifled by an inhospitable educational and social environment. One of the recent studies (1:p.77) shows the existence of a high degree of co-relation between general education and production norms among other reasons due to the effect of general education on learning new skills, management ability, attitudes towards work and general alertness and self-reliance. A recent study (10) on selected development projects in Bangladesh under taken by the Foundation for Research on Educational Planning and Development (FREPD), Bangladesh showed that while some of these projects achieved notable success in the initial stages, they subsequently declined because the programmes were deficient in general education content that was necessary to equip participants with an understanding of their problems and an urge to be creative and innovative in seeking their solutions.

(d) *Education must have also a social, moral and political content necessary for development of values and attitudes* conducive to honest, self-reliant and responsible participation in social life and a sense of national identity and public duty. As observed earlier, one of the most tragic consequences of a planning strategy based on the narrow concept of growth without regard to the social milieu was the disruption of the country's value system. How well-intentioned programmes of development may run into difficulty if they are not supported by adequate programmes of social and political education can be seen in the capture of the majority of the cooperative societies by the large farmers and landlords in Comilla Thana, who turned them into pocket societies (11).

(e) *Education must also contribute towards reducing economic and social inequalities.* As earlier stressed, educational programmes should be linked to employment needs within an overall development

programme so that the participants can see the tangible benefits flowing from it in the form of increased employment, productivity, income and better living conditions. Employment needs should also be thought of in a dynamic sense, for example, in terms of additional knowledge and skill, including new knowledge and new skill needed for progressive improvement in income and occupational status of the participants. For this purpose and also for avoiding the growing mismatch between the supply of high level trained manpower and the demand for it, the pre-employment education level should be delinked from high level employment so as to channel all entry to higher education through occupations.

5. The new structure of education and some plan-strategies :

5.1 The new design of the educational structure emerging from the foregoing discussion is one that is multi-dimensional, flexible and dynamic. It is a broad-based national structure of education alternating between work and learning, with many paths to enable more people to reap the benefits of education according to their ability and aptitude in meeting their economic, social, political and cultural needs.

5.2 Some of the important features of this structure are summarised below :

(i) Instead of the present rigid monolithic structure with a single point of entry, the new design envisages multiple points of entry with streams of students, many of them drawn from various occupations at various times for various lengths of time.

(ii) The frame of education will be broad and flexible with a wide variety of courses, full-time and part-time, on the campus and off-the-campus, correspondence and media based, credit and non-credit, to fit the varving individual and occupational needs, thus, allowing easy movement between study and work, thus opening the door to 'work-oriented education' and 'education-oriented work' and setting into motion a dynamic process of continuous renewal of education, stimulating occupational mobility and narrowing the social and economic inequalities. [In U.S.S.R., about half the students on the various engineering courses at the universities are part-time students with regular jobs.]

(iii) Training of high level manpower for the various sectors will continue to be one of the functions of higher education. But, this training will follow and not precede employment. This, of course, postulates a change in the recruitment policy (as also earlier pointed out) requiring selection and recruitment to these cadres to be made at the end of the second level education. The course in higher education after appointment may with great advantage be tailored to knowledge and skill needs in a specific job situation. The present practice of training, on the average, three persons for every high-level job (the ratio will be 7 : 1 if the gross output is taken into consideration) [2] is not only far too expensive for a poor country in terms of scarce resources, but it also involves a high social cost in terms of wasted human resource and the pain and frustration caused in the process.

(iv) A radical change in the system of selection at the end of the second level education is essential. The increasingly vast numbers completing second level education rendering the traditional examination increasingly unreliable has already highlighted the urgency for such a change. The realities of the situation seem to indicate that in order to cope with such vast numbers and growing malpractices. The examination at this level should be essentially a test of intellectual ability rather than of capacity to reproduce. If objective tests consisting largely of a battery of intelligence tests replace the present system of examination, most of the work including evaluation and tabulation of results can be underertaken more competently and also economically by a computer, thereby reducing the chances of error and corruption, while improving the life-chances of those endowed with real ability discounted in the traditional examination system.

(v) The new educational structure needs to be supported by changes in the economic and employment policy. If the volume of employment does not rise above the present level, selection for jobs at the end of second level education will not solve the problem of employment and will rather aggravate it by a number that will now enter the job market instead of proceeding to higher education. A change in the economic policy by shifting the focus to agriculture, agro-industries, small and medium industries and related services is likely to generate new jobs for productive employment of increasingly larger numbers. But, a more positive

policy of employment creation seems to be warranted by the realities of Bangladesh situation particularly for speedy development of the vast rural sector.

(vi) Not only the universities but also all the colleges (Government and non-Government) brought under a unified scheme can play a creative role which they have not played in the past in development by coming into grips with the economic and social problems which are at the root of mass-poverty, rural decline and degeneration in the quality of rural life. The colleges in the districts and other mofussil areas can be transformed from centres of coaching of doubtful value as at present into nerve centres of education and development for the regions they serve through the development of creative programmes of both training and research including skill training and research for innovation of technologies relevant to local needs.

(vii) Technical-vocational education should be designed as a part of both formal and non-formal education within the overall multidimensional pattern of the educational system, as outlined in the foregoing section. This strategy is warranted on the one hand by the resource constraint and on the other by the necessity of making the education system more responsive to developmental needs. The needed skill training is placed in perspective when it is viewed in the context of the actual situation in which it is likely to be used. Technical-vocational education should aim at turning out, as quickly as possible, more technically trained people at the intermediate level and below than at the higher level.

(viii) In the realities of Bangladesh situation an imperative is the development of low-cost programmes with short gestation periods. The various types of non-formal education, including adult education and part-time courses, can be directly related to the observable tasks within a community. Since most of these tasks require comparatively technical skills, such as in agriculture, weaving, smithy, carpentry, storage of seeds, and use of fertilizer and pesticides, etc., the required skills can be produced locally and most of the tasks performed within a short period of time, thus practically eliminating or greatly reducing the chances of a mismatch. The utilization of existing educational institutions is

another strategy to keep down the cost. The facilities in these institutions, now very much under-utilized, should be available at little or no cost and the part-time services of the teachers at a fraction of what the services of full-time personnel would cost. In the second place, the programmes in the existing technical and professional schools can also be adapted to meet the skill needs of various occupational groups.

6.5 *Decentralized planning*: If education is to perform its multi-dimensional and vastly expended role in converting the available human stock into viable human capital as indicated in the foregoing sections, the task involved will be massive not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of the diversity of the needs of diverse age and occupational groups. A task of such a magnitude cannot obviously be performed without community participation and without mobilising local resources, both human and material. Decentralised planning is, therefore, an imperative in Bangladesh situation. What is evidently a task of massive magnitude in its totality involving equally massive implications in terms of resources for planning, financing, execution and supervision can be reduced through the strategy of decentralised planning into many divisible parts of a wide variety the size and design of each of them and the means to accomplish it being left to respective local community. The strategy of decentralised planning and local community approach are intended not to supplant but supplement and reinforce the planning machinery at the national level.

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ANNEXURE 1
Population in elected Asian countries compared with that in selected industrialized countries, midyear, 1968

	Population (in thousands)	Density (per sq. Km)	Rate of Growth (in percentage)	Age (Distribution in percentage) under 15 15-59 60 and over
<i>Asian countries</i>				
Bangladesh	74,000	530	2.5	44.5 49.5 6.0
Burma	26,389	39	2.1	41.3 53.5 5.2
Cambodia	6,557	36	2.4	44.7 51.3 4.0
Ceylon	11,964	182	2.6	40.7 54.0 5.3
China Republic of (Taiwan)	13,466	374	3.2	45.1 50.7 4.2
India	523,893	160	2.5	41.1 55.1 4.8
Indonesia	112,825	59	2.9	42.1 53.8 4.1
Korea Republic of (South)	43,470	441	2.8	43.3 51.4 5.3
Malaysia	10,385	31	3.0	43.8 51.6 4.6
	(67 in West Malaysia)			
Pakistan	60,000	74	2.5	44.5 49.5 6.0
Philippines	33,993	120	3.5	45.7 50.0 4.3
Singapore	1,988	581	2.7	42.8 53.4 3.8
Thailand	33,693	66	3.1	43.2 52.2 4.6
<i>Industrialized countries</i>				
Japan	101,090	273	1.1	26.0 64.0 10.0
France	49,920	91	1.1	25.6 57.1 17.3
United Kingdom	55,283	227	0.5	22.8 60.7 17.2
United States	201,152	21	1.7	31.1 55.7 13.2

Sources: UNESCO Statistical year book 1969 (Paris, 1970); for population of Bangladesh, Planning Commission, Bangladesh, "January 1973 Estimate," First Five year Plan 1973-78, November 1973; for rate of growth of Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China (Taiwan), South Korea, Singapore and Thailand, UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, *Progress of Education in the Asian Region*; A Statistical Review (Bangkok); the United Nations, 1969; for rate of growth of the industrialized countries, Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, *Economic Development and Human Resources, ECAFE Growth Studies Series No. 3* (Bangkok); the United Nations, 1966 (p. 8); for age distribution, UNESCO, *An Asian model of Educational Development* (Paris); the United Nations, 1966.

Annexre II
Socio-economic background of students of Dacca University
1970-71 & 1972-73 [9]

	Father's Education				
	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	Matric & Intermediate including Diploma holders	Bachelor & above
Male (729)	13	55	151	250	215
%	1.8	7.5	20.7	34.3	29.5
Female (274)	0	2	4	77	179
%	0	0.7	1.5	28.1	66.3
					45
					6.1
					12
					4.38

	Father's Occupation				
	Farming	Business	Service Lower	Service Middle	Service Higher
Male (729)	166	136	103	165	103
%	22.7	18.6	14.1	22.6	14.1
Female (274)	10	49	17	97	88
%	3.6	17.5	6.2	35.4	32.1
					43
					6.0
					5
					1.82
					2.9

	Father's Income				
	Below 500	500 to 3,000	Ab. 3000 to 6000	Ab. 6000 to 12,000	Ab. 12000 to 24000
Male (729)	3	254	290	82	38
%	0.41	34.8	39.77	11.2	5.21
Female (274)	0	34	119	60	48
%	0	17.1	43.4	21.9	17.5
					12
					1.67
					8
					2.9
					1.82
					44
					6.01
					5
					1.82

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF THE HUMAN RESOURCE IN BANGLADESH

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I like to confine my analysis to only two aspects of our manpower situation, namely, the change in the activity rates and the occupational composition of the manpower with reference to agricultural and non-agricultural occupation. The source of the data that I am going to use, is the population census of 1274. The deficiencies in the data will not be considered here.*

The activity rate or the labour force participation rate, is defined as "the ratio of the working population to the total population" (Vide U. N. Multilingual Demographic Dictionary, p. 23). There are substantial variations in this rate among countries according to their levels of economic development. In view of conceptual difference regarding female activity rates among countries comparisons are often made at the international level in respect of the male activity rates. It has been found that developed countries have higher overall activity rates than under-developed countries, (as may be noticed from the following table) in spite of their early start and late finishing (in terms of the ages of entering and leaving the labour force).

Table 1
**Male Activity Rates by Age groups (per 100 males) observed in
or about 1950 in three groups of countries classified
by level of economic activity :**

Countries	Age groups (in years) :									
	All ages	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	& 65	& over
Under-developed :	58.5	30.8	81.8	93.1	96.2	97.2	96.2	90.7	78.5	
Semi-developed :	57.3	8.6	7 0.9	91.8	96.1	97.1	96.0	90.0	62.5	
Developed :	61.5	4.8	68.9	90.7	96.8	97.2	94.9	83.5	40.6	

*Source : U. N. The Aging of Populations and Its Economic
and Social Implications, p. 52).*

* Portions of this paper were prepared earlier and circulated among the post-graduatedents studies of demography in the Department of Economics University of Dacca.

We have not yet revealed the age-specific details of the "Civilian Labour Force" (which roughly corresponds to the activity rates—male and female—except for the fact that the military personnel are left out in the count) which is reported in Census Bulletin No. 2. The age of entry into the labour force is taken to be 10 years. It is possible to make a comparison of the "all ages" column of Table I with third ("Male") column of Table II below. However, since we already have the data for both male and female participants in the labour force in the Census Bulletin mentioned above, it will be enlightening to have a discussion of both.

We find that 35.2 per cent of the total population of Bangladesh are in the civilian labour force according to the 1974 census. Out of a total population of 7,14,79,071, we have 2,51,81,323 persons in the labour force. The number was 1,74,42,957 (out of a total population of 5,08,40,235) in 1961. This accounted for 34.3 per cent of the total population at that time. (I am not seeking to examine the possibility of inaccuracies in the census data). We thus see that there has been a rise in the proportion of the labour force in the total population. If we look into the sex-wise breakup of the labour force data, we find that the increase in the proportion of the civilian labour force during the inter-censal period has mainly been the result of an increase in the participation of the female population in labour force. (A word about why we are including the female participants in this study while the U.N. study quoted above has left it out. We do not have the conceptual difficulty involved in an international comparison, since it is concerned only with one nation and one census).

While in 1961, the proportion of the female population in the labour force was 10.78 per cent it is found to be 18.7 per cent in 1974. The size of the female component of the civilian labour force inquired above has left out: we increased by 143.9 per cent. The proportion of the male component, on the other hand, fell from 56.18 per cent to 50.6 per cent. The inter-district variations in these data are noted in the following table.

Table 2
Inter-district variations in the proportions of labour force in the
populations with their sex-wise break-down and
variations during 1961-74 :

District	Proportion of Civilian Labour Force in the 1974 Population (per- centages).			Intercensal variation (increase) of the Civi- lian Labour Force during 1961-74 (percentages).		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Dinajpur	35.7	52.5	17.7	54.5	28.5	344.9
Rangpur	44.9	57.9	31.1	94.6	43.7	558.8
Bogra	35.7	51.1	19.7	70.8	27.2	2103.1
Rajshahi	34.7	47.5	21.3	74.1	26.4	1322.5
Pabna	34.1	48.9	18.3	73.5	30.8	2408.2
Kushtia	29.5	49.3	4.3	41.9	37.2	141.8
Jessore	32.3	48.0	15.6	61.7	21.3	824.8
Khulna	22.2	46.9	9.9	36.8	18.2	643.1
Patuakhali	34.1	48.0	19.6	48.6	7.7	3801.5
Bakerganj	35.2	48.6	20.9	58.9	15.3	2286.3
Faridpur	33.2	48.6	16.8	44.6	11.3	1622.1
Dacca	34.3	50.5	15.7	73.4	42.1	824.5
Tangail	32.2	47.1	16.5	46.2	21.2	289.8
Mymensingh	37.2	53.9	19.3	24.8	22.5	32.2
Sylhet	37.1	54.6	18.5	35.7	30.5	55.0
Commilla	36.6	49.1	23.1	4.2	20.7	-20.5
Noakhali	28.1	46.1	9.1	2.7	21.9	-44.3
Chittagong	35.8	49.4	20.1	37.1	29.5	64.3
Chittagong Hill Tracks	52.8	58.1	46.7	24.7	17.6	36.4
Bangladesh	35.2	50.6	18.7	44.4	26.6	143.9

Other Countries :

India (re : 32.1 53.2 12.3
1971 Census)

Japan (re : 49.6 6.22 38.5
1970 Census)

Source : Bangladesh Population Census Bulletin, No. 2 for 1974
Census Table 7 and U.N.

Demographic year book, 1973, Tables 2 and 40, Computations by the
author).

It may be noticed here that the extent of variation in the proportion of women in the labour force is much wider than that of men. As such it seems advisable to compare the male and the female participants of the labour force separately. We notice that the lowest proportion of males in the labour force is found in Noakhali district and the highest proportion of them in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (46.1 per cent and 58.1 per cent respectively). The lowest proportion of female in the labour force is found in Kushtia district and the highest proportion of them in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (4.3 per cent and 46.7 per cent respectively). If we want to consider the Chittagong Hill Tracts separately in view of the overwhelming majority of its population being tribal, we notice that Rangpur comes next in having the highest proportion of both the male and the female participants in the labour force (57.9 per cent and 31.1 per cent respectively). Whether we take Rangpur or the Chittagong Hill Tracts, it is clear that the range of variation is much wider for the female participants than for the male participants in the labour force.

Again, the last column shows some startling data. The increase in the number of female participants in the labour force has been as high as 3801.5 per cent in Patuakhali district and quite high in Bakerganj, Bogra, Pabna, Faridpur and Rajshahi. In each of these cases, the increase has been more than 1000 per cent. In several other districts, we notice the increase to be more than 100 percent. Only in four districts do find it to increase at a rate lower than the average rate of increase of the total labour force in Bangladesh—in two of these there has been an absolute decline in the number of females in the labour force.

These are Comilla and Noakhali districts, while Chittagong Hill Tracts and Mymensingh show increases at rates lower than the average rate of increase of the labour force for Bangladesh. Interesting investigations can be made of factors influencing such variations in the rates of growth of the female labour force. Why Rangpur and Bogra or Mymensingh and Tangail should present such great divergences in the rates of female participation in the labour force in spite of these districts being contiguous would call for detailed socio-economic investigations. More interesting would possibly be an investigation into the causes of a decline in the female participation in the labour force in Comilla and

Noakhali while there have been substantial increases in these rates elsewhere during the inter-censal period.

One startling phenomenon revealed by the census of 1974 is the decrease in the size of the agricultural labour force since 1961. While the number of persons in the agricultural labour force was 1,4872,004 in 1961 it was found to be 1,39,60,743 in 1974 thus showing a decline of 61 per cent over a period of 13 years. (Census Bulletin No. 2, of 1974, P. 178). This is a unique experience on the part of our country which underwent an increase of the agricultural labour force by 33.79 per cent during 1951-61 while the population increased by 21.4 per cent during that period. Thus we see that the agricultural labour force has declined during 1971-74 while the population increased by 40.6 per cent.

Such a decline in the agricultural labour force is by no means an unfamiliar phenomenon in industrially developed countries. A projection has been made by the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) that there will be further declines in this labour force in developed countries during the rest of the century in spite of the expected increase in the sizes of population during the same period in those countries. It has been estimated that there will be 23 million persons in the agricultural labour force in the year 2000 as against 101 million in 1970, in the developed countries of the world, while underdeveloped countries will have 842 million members of this labour force in the year 2000 as against 669 million in 1970, thus showing a 26 per cent increase. (FAO) Projections of World Agricultural Labour Force and Population, (1965-2000). The decline in the size of the agricultural labour force in Bangladesh goes contrary to the expected trend for underdeveloped countries as a group.

It is generally agreed that Colin Clark's thesis of structural change taking place along with economic development is, by and large, valid (Colin Clark: *The Conditions of Economic Progress* passim). Economic development may, therefore, be a cause of the fall in the proportion of agricultural labour force in the total labour force. Has economic development taken place in Bangladesh adequately to provide such an explanation? We notice that while population has increased since 1961 by 40.6 per cent, the civilian labour force has increased by 44.4 per cent and the agricultural labour force has declined by 6.1 per cent. It is, therefore,

noticed that while in 1961 about 85 per cent of the total labour force was in the agriculture sector, and about 15 per cent in non-agricultural sectors, the distribution of the labour force between agriculture on the one hand and the other sectors on the other works out at about 56 per cent and 44 per cent respectively, thus showing a trebling of the non-agricultural sectors in the labour force (1974 Census Bulletin, No. 2, pp. 169,179 Computations by the author).

Table III

The growth of the Agricultural Labour Force, the Civilian Labour Force and Population during 1661-74 in the districts of Bangladesh : (in percentage)

Growth in tems of pertage			
District.	Agr. Labour force.	Civilian Lab. force.	Population
Dinajpur	18.9	54.5	50.3
Rangpur	26.7	94.6	43.5
Bogra	24.8	70.8	41.7
Rajshahi	20.9	74.1	51.8
Pabna	17.4	73.5	43.7
Kushtia	17.4	41.9	61.5
Jessor	12.5	61.7	51.9
Khulna	-6.2	36.8	45.3
Patuakhali	-8.6	48.6	25.6
Bakerganj	-9.9	58.9	28.0
Faridpur	-2.0	44.6	37.7
Dacca	7.9	73.4	49.4
Tangail	1.0	46.2	39.8
Mymensingh	-13.3	24.8	33.9
Sylhet	-12.0	35.7	36.4
Comilla	-38.2	4.2	32.6
Noakhali	-37.2	2.7	35.7
Chittangong	-28.4	37.1	44.7
Chittangong Hill Tracts	-24.3	24.7	32.0
BANGLADESH	-6.1	44.4	40.6

Source : 1974 Census Bulletin No, 2, Tables 1,7 and 8

It seems that there has been a substantial flight of the labour force from the agriculture sector. Whether there has been a corresponding increase in the employment capacity of the non-agricultural sectors we do not yet know. We may, however, suggest the hypothesis that agriculture has been saturated as far as employment capacity is concerned. This hypothesis needs to be tested by empirical investigations. For the present the space available being limited, I want to confine my analysis to the variation of the growth and decline in the agricultural labour force among the districts of Bangladesh, as revealed by the 1974 census. This may be taken as the point of departure for the empirical investigation suggested above, I should again note here that for the present I am not going into the possible errors in the census data.

We thus see that in ten out of the nineteen districts of Bangladesh there has been a absolute decline in the agricultural labour force in spite of increases in the total civilian labour force. There seems to be no correlation between the growth in the agricultural labour force on the one hand and the extent of increase in the proportion of the female participants in a labour force. As such there is no immediately available explanation for the decline in the agricultural labour force in some of the districts. Nor is there any such explanation available for the variation in the rates of this growth among the districts. I would like to step here by pointing out the existence of the tendencies mentioned. Further investigations may, some day, reveal the causal factors involved and the deficiencies of the census data.

শিক্ষা ও জনসম্পদ উন্নয়ন

মোহাম্মদ সেলিম

ভূমিকা

বর্তমান বিশ্ব সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় যে কোন একটি দেশের প্রকৃত শক্তি, মর্যাদা ও জীবন ধারণের মানের দুইটি প্রধান নিরূপক হল সে দেশের প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদ ও শিক্ষিত জনশক্তি। সম্প্রতিকালে মধ্যপ্রাচ্যের কয়েকটি দেশের প্রতি বিশ্বের অনেক উন্নতশীল দেশের দৃষ্টিই কেবল বিশেষভাবে নিবদ্ধ হয়নি ঐ সকল দেশের উপর পাশ্চাত্য দেশগুলির সমৃদ্ধিও অনেকাংশে নির্ভরশীল হয়ে পড়েছে। তার প্রধান কারণ মধ্যপ্রাচ্যের বিপুল তৈল সম্পদ। একই ভাবে সীমিত প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদের অধিকারী হয়েও দক্ষ জনশক্তির স্বজনশীল প্রয়াসের মাধ্যমে তুলনামূলকভাবে অনেক ক্ষুদ্র দেশ পর্যাপ্ত পরিমাণে তাদের জনগণের জীবন ধারণের মান উন্নয়নে ও বিশ্বের অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার প্রভাব বিস্তার করতে সক্ষম হয়েছে।

আরও তনে বাংলাদেশ একটি ছোট দেশ। অষ্ট্রেলিয়া মহাদেশের ১/৬৬ অংশ। অপরপক্ষে জনসংখ্যার দিক হতে বাংলাদেশ পৃথিবীর বৃহত্তম দেশগুলির অগ্রতম ও অষ্ট্রেলিয়ার জনসংখ্যার প্রায় ছয় গুণ। জানা মতে, বাংলাদেশের প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদ অতি সীমিত বা যে সম্পদ বিদ্যমান তার পূর্ণ আবিষ্কার ও ব্যবহার এখনও হয়নি। শতকরা আশি ভাগের অধিক লোকই নিরক্ষর ও বাস করে গ্রামে। প্রধান জীবিকা কোন একপ্রকার কৃষিকাজ। মাথা পিছু আর অতি নগন্য। শিক্ষার দিকে দৃষ্টি ফিরালেও এর চেয়ে ভাল রূপ চোখে ধরা পড়ে না। প্রাথমিক স্কুলে যাওয়ার বয়সের ছেলেমেয়ের শতকরা আনুমানিক ৪২ ভাগ এখনও স্কুলের বাইরে, আর যারা স্কুলে যায় তার শতকরা ৫০ ভাগ প্রথম শ্রেণী অতিক্রম করার পরই স্কুল ত্যাগ করে। অপর প্রান্তে কৃতিত্বের সাথে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সর্বোচ্চ ডিগ্রী নিয়েও বেকার বসে আছেন বা যাদের এই শিক্ষার সদব্যবহারের সুযোগ নেই ওন্লে এদের সংখ্যাও নেহায়েত কম হবে না।

বাংলাদেশের এই পশ্চাদপদতা কোন একটি বিচ্ছিন্ন ঘটনার ফল নয়। অনেক দিনের পুঞ্জীভূত অবহেলা, ঔদাসিন্য ও অব্যবস্থাই এই বর্তমান দুর্ভোগের

জগৎ দারী। এই দুর্যোগ কাটিয়ে উঠে একটি আত্মনির্ভরশীল, স্বাধীন ও সমৃদ্ধ সমাজ ব্যবস্থা গঠনের মূল চাবিকাঠি নিহিত রয়েছে এদেশের জনসম্পদের প্রকৃতি বিকাশের মধ্যে। সে ক্ষেত্রে শিক্ষার ভূমিকা যে অপরিহার্য তা নূতন করে বলার আর প্রয়োজন হয় না।

জনসম্পদ উন্নয়নের অর্থ

শিক্ষা শব্দটির অর্থ যেমন ব্যাপক তেমনিভাবে জনসম্পদ উন্নয়নের অর্থ উদ্দেশ্য ও পদ্ধতি বিভিন্ন সময়ে বিভিন্নভাবে দেখা হয়েছে। বস্তুনিষ্ঠ রোমানরা এককালে জনসম্পদ এর প্রকৃত বিকাশ দেখতে পেয়েছিল শক্তিশালী বোদ্ধাদের মধ্যে, স্বর্ণযুগে গ্রীকরা দেখেছিল অক্সিচিবান স্বজনশীল ব্যক্তিত্বের মধ্যে, ক্রুসেডাররা দেখেছিল ধর্মাত্মতার মধ্যে, আর এ যুগে জাপান দেখেছে কঠোর শ্রমের মধ্যে। এ কথা হরত সত্য যে, এই বিভিন্নতার সংমিশ্রণ ঘটিয়ে জনসম্পদ বিকাশের স্বীকৃত লক্ষ্য বা পদ্ধতি গ্রহণ করা হয়নি বা হওয়ার প্রয়োজনও বোধ হয় নেই। তবে আনুষ্ঠানিক অর্থে শিক্ষাকে আমরা একটি পরিচালিত কার্যক্রম বলে মনে করি এবং সেই প্রেক্ষিতে জনসম্পদ উন্নয়ন বলতে কি বোঝায় সে সম্পর্কে শিক্ষাবিদদের সাধারণ কিছু স্বীকৃত ধারণা আছে ও তা থাকা উচিত। সেই ধারণার উপর ভিত্তি করেই শিক্ষা কার্যক্রম প্রণয়ন করা হয়।

ইউনাইটেড নেশন ডেভেলপমেন্ট ডিবেড রিপোর্টে উন্নয়নের যে সংজ্ঞা দেয়া হয়েছে তাতে উন্নয়ন বলতে বুঝায় সম্পদের বৃদ্ধি ও পরিবর্তন। এই পরিবর্তন ঘটে সামাজিক, সাংস্কৃতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে—পরিমাণগত ও গুণগত উভয় দিক থেকে। ফেডারিক হারভিসন শিক্ষা পরিকল্পনার দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে জনসম্পদ উন্নয়নের আরও পরিষ্কার সংজ্ঞা দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করেছেন। তার মতে সাধারণ ভাবে জনসম্পদ উন্নয়ন বলতে বুঝায় একটি সমাজের সর্বস্তরের সকল মানুষের জ্ঞান দক্ষতা, কার্যক্ষমতা এবং মৌলিক যোগ্যতা বিকাশের পদ্ধতি। তার কথায় এ উন্নয়ন হয়ে থাকে অনেক প্রকারে এবং তার মধ্যে প্রধান হল আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা। এ শিক্ষা প্রাথমিক পর্যায় হতে শুরু হয়ে কলেজ, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় পর্যন্ত পরিব্যাপ্ত। দ্বিতীয়তঃ সরকারী ও বেসরকারী প্রতিষ্ঠানে কার্যরত থাকা অবস্থায়ও আনুষ্ঠানিক বা অনানুষ্ঠানিকভাবেও জনসামর্থ্য বিকাশের সুযোগ থাকে। তৃতীয়তঃ নিজের উদ্যোগে এবং প্রচেষ্টাও যোগ্যতা বৃদ্ধির ঘটানো সম্ভব হয়। এ ছাড়া জনসম্পদ উন্নয়নের অগ্রতম উপায় হচ্ছে পুষ্টির খাণ্ড ও জনস্বাস্থ্য

কর্মসূচীর মাধ্যমে কর্মরত ব্যক্তিদের স্বাস্থ্যের উন্নতি সাধন করা। তাই, যদি একমাত্র অর্থনৈতিক পরিবর্তনের দৃষ্টি ভংগিতে জনসম্পদ উন্নয়ন বিষয়টি বিবেচনা করা হয় তবে তা ভুল হতে পারে।

বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষা কমিশন রিপোর্ট

উপরি-উক্ত ধারনার প্রেক্ষিতে এবারে বাংলাদেশের দিকে দৃষ্টি ফেরান যাক। শিক্ষার মাধ্যমে জনশক্তি তথা দেশের সাবিক উন্নতির উদ্যোগ ও প্রচেষ্টা অতীতে বিভিন্নভাবে গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। ইংরেজ শাসন-উত্তর কালে ১৯৪৭ সন হতে আজ পর্যন্ত অনেক কমিশন ও কমিটি নিয়োগ করা হয়েছে। কয়েকটি জাতীয় উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন করা হয়েছে। অনেক সুপারিশ তারা করেছেন যার কিছু কিছু বাস্তবায়িত হয়েছে, কিছু রিপোর্টেই সীমাবদ্ধ রয়েছে আর কোন কোন বিষয় শিক্ষার্থীরা ও জনসাধারণ গ্রহণ করতে অস্বীকৃতি জানিয়েছে। সব কিছু মিলিয়ে এ সকল পরিকল্পনা প্রচেষ্টা শিক্ষা, সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে কি অবদান যোগাতে পেরেছে এবং প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় তা কতটুকু প্রতুল হয়েছে সে সম্পর্কে প্রশ্ন করার ও সন্দেহ প্রকাশের যথেষ্ট কারণ আছে।

সম্প্রতিকালে বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন হবার প্রথম জাতীয় পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন করা হয়েছে ১৯৭৩-৭৮। তা ছাড়া শিক্ষা কমিশনও অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কমিটির রিপোর্ট প্রকাশ করা হয়েছে। শেষোক্ত কমিটির রিপোর্টে শিক্ষার চাহিদার পরিমাণ নির্ধারণের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে যে ভাবে তা করা হয়েছে তা নিম্নে দেয়া হল।

শিক্ষার স্তর	বছর	এ বয়সে জনসংখ্যা	এ বয়সে শতকরা কতজন শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানে আছে	এ বয়সের শতকরা কতজন শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানের বাইরে আছে	যে সংখ্যক লোকের জন্ম শিক্ষার প্রয়োজন
প্রাথমিক ৬-১০	১৯৭৪	১০০২৩১৮৪	৫৮	৪২	৪২১০০০৬
মাধ্যমিক ১১-১৫	১৯৭৪	৯৬৬২০২২	১৭	৮৩	৮০১৯৪৩৮
কলেজ ১৬-১৭	১৯৭৪	৩৪৬৮১৯৩	৬.৫	৯৩.৫	৩২৪২৭১৬

ডিগ্রী	১৯৭৪	৩৩৫১৯১০	২.৯	৯৭.১	৩২৫৪৭১১
১৮-১৯					
বয়স্ক অশিক্ষিত					
ও অন্যান্য	১৯৭৪	৩২৬৬৩৯৮৬	১.৫	৯৮.৫	৩২১৭৪০১৭
		৫৯১৬৯২৯৮			৫০৯০০৮৮৮

এই পরিসংখ্যান হতে শিক্ষা সমস্যার ব্যাপকতা সহজে অনুমান করা যায়। সমস্যাটি এত ব্যাপক যে পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনা ও শিক্ষা কমিশনে যে পরিসংখ্যানের উল্লেখ আছে তার সাথে উপরিউক্ত পরিসংখ্যানের কিছু পার্থক্য থাকলেও তা সমস্যার গুরুত্বের উপর বিশেষ কোন প্রভাব বিস্তার করবে না। শিক্ষার মাধ্যমে এই বিপুল জনসংখ্যাকে প্রকৃত অর্থে কার্যক্ষম করে তোলা নিঃসন্দেহে একটি জটিল ও দূরহ কাজ। তাই বাস্তবধর্মী সংস্কার ও পরিকল্পনার মাধ্যমে প্রচলিত শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থাকে সমরোপযোগী ব্যবস্থায় রূপান্তরিত করার উদ্দেশ্যেই ১৯৭২ সনের ২৬ শে জুন শিক্ষা কমিশন নিযুক্ত করা হয়।

দেশের প্রখ্যাত শিক্ষাবিদ, শিক্ষক ও সুধিমণ্ডলী সমন্বিত ২৯টি অনুধ্যান কমিটির সহায়তায় ১৯৭৪ সনে শিক্ষা কমিশনের রিপোর্টটি সর্ব প্রথম সরকারের বিবেচনার জন্ত আত্মপ্রকাশ করে এবং ১৯৭৫ সনের শেষের দিকে রিপোর্টটিকে শিক্ষা মন্ত্রণালয়ের পক্ষ হতে জনসাধারণের জ্ঞাতার্থে প্রকাশ করা হয়। কিন্তু এই রিপোর্টে সন্নিবেশিত সুপারিশের উপর ভিত্তি করে শিক্ষা সংস্কারের উদ্দেশ্যে এখনও তেমন ব্যাপক কর্মসূচী গ্রহণ করা হয়নি, কেননা এ সুপারিশগুলি সম্পর্কে জনসাধারণের মতামত চাওয়া হয়েছে। তবে শিক্ষা কমিশনের সরাসরি ফলশ্রুতি না হলেও সরকার যে একটি বাস্তব পদক্ষেপ ইতিমধ্যে গ্রহণ করেছেন তা হল জাতীয় শিক্ষাক্রম ও পাঠ্যসূচী প্রনয়ণ কমিটি গঠন করা। “কমিশনের সংশ্লিষ্ট প্রস্তাবাবলী ও সুপারিশসমূহ পুংখানুপুংখরূপে বিচার-বিশ্লেষণের মাধ্যমে বাস্তবায়নের জন্ত এবং পাঠ্যক্রম ও পাঠ্যসূচীর উপযুক্ত পুনর্বিদ্যাসের উদ্দেশ্যে প্রয়োজনীয় বাস্তব পরামর্শদানের জন্ত” এই কমিটি গঠনের সিদ্ধান্ত নেয়া হয়েছে। কমিটির কাজ সমাপ্ত হতে আরও এক বছর বাকী।

২৯৪ পৃষ্ঠা ব্যাপী শিক্ষা কমিশনের মূল রিপোর্ট ৩৬টি অধ্যায়ে বিভক্ত এবং মূলত কমিশনের চিন্তাধারা ও সুপারিশসহ আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রমের সাথেই জড়িত। এ প্রসঙ্গে উল্লেখ্য যে একটি বিশেষ রাজনৈতিক ও সামাজিক পটভূমিতে এই কমিশন নিয়োগ করা হয়েছিল এবং তারই প্রেক্ষিতে কমিশন

শিক্ষার লক্ষ্য ও উদ্দেশ্যাবলী নির্ধারণ করেছে। সংক্ষেপে এই উদ্দেশ্যাবলী হল : “জাতীয়তাবাদ, সমাজতন্ত্র, গণতন্ত্র, ধর্মনিরপেক্ষতা, দেশপ্রেম ও স্নানাগরিকত্ব, মানবতা ও বিশ্বনাগরিকত্ব, নৈতিক মূল্যবোধ, সামাজিক রূপান্তরের হাতিয়ার হিসাবে শিক্ষা, প্রয়োগমুখী অর্থনৈতিক অগ্রগতির অনুকূলে শিক্ষা, কায়িকশ্রমে মর্যাদা দান, নেতৃত্ব ও সংগঠনের গুণাবলী, স্বজনশীলতা ও গবেষণা এবং সামাজিক অগ্রগতি, অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন এবং রাজনৈতিক প্রগতির ক্ষেত্রে শিক্ষা। উদ্দেশ্যাবলীর কোন কোন বিষয়ে মতপার্থক্য থাকলেও শিক্ষার এই নিঃস্বন্দেহে ব্যাপক-ভিত্তিক এবং জনশক্তি বিকাশের সুস্পষ্ট ধারণা এই উদ্দেশ্যাবলীর মধ্যে চিহ্নিত হয়েছে।

রিপোর্টের বিভিন্ন অধ্যায়ে বর্তমান প্রচলিত শিক্ষাব্যবস্থার বিভিন্ন স্তর ও বিষয় সম্পর্কে বক্তব্য রাখা হয়েছে। কিছু ব্যতিক্রম ছাড়া এই বক্তব্য সাধারণ যে একটি ধারা লক্ষ্য করা যায় তা হল সংশ্লিষ্ট স্তর বা বিষয়ের বর্তমান দুর্বলতা চিহ্নিত করা, উদ্দেশ্যাবলী নির্ণয় করা ও তার প্রেক্ষিতে ভবিষ্যতের পরিমাণগত ও গুণগত উন্নয়নের জ্ঞান সুপারিশ করা। কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে কিভাবে সুপারিশ সমূহ বাস্তবায়িত করা হবে তার ইংগিতও পরিষ্কারভাবে দেয়া আছে। যেমন কোন শ্রেণীতে কি কি বিষয় শিক্ষা দেয়া হবে, স্কুলে স্কুলে ছাত্র-ছাত্রীরা কোন বিষয়ে কত ঘণ্টা শিক্ষা লাভ করবে, কোন্ কোন্ প্রতিষ্ঠানের সংখ্যা কি পরিমাণে বর্ধিত করা হবে, শিক্ষার্থীদের কি আর্থিক সুবিধা দেয়া হবে, শিক্ষার স্তরে কি পরিবর্তন হবে, বর্তমানে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষাকে সার্বজনীন করা হবে ইত্যাদি।

পূর্বেই বলা হয়েছে যে, কমিশনের চিন্তাধারা ও কাজ প্রধানত আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা ও কার্যক্রমের মধ্যেই সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল। সে উদ্দেশ্য কমিশন দীর্ঘ দুই বছর পরিশ্রম করে যে সুচিন্তিত সুপারিশগুলি করেছেন তার অনেকগুলির সত্যিকার বাস্তবায়ন যে শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে এবং সেই অর্থে দেশের জনসম্পদ উন্নয়নে এক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পরিবর্তন আনতে সক্ষম হবে সে সম্পর্কে দ্বিমতের বিশেষ অবকাশ নেই। উন্নয়নশীল দেশের রিপোর্টের মত এই রিপোর্টটি সুন্দরভাবে প্রণীত হয়েছে এবং বিশেষ কোন অভিনবত্ব না থাকলেও সুপারিশগুলি সুপারিশ হিসাবে সমরোপযোগী ও সুদূর প্রসারী। তবে শিক্ষার সাথে জড়িত যে তিনটি মূল প্রশ্ন বাংলাদেশে অতি বড় হয়ে দেখা দেয় তা হল :

- (১) কত দিনে এই আনুষ্ঠানিক ও সনাতন শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার মাধ্যমে সমাজের বিভিন্ন স্তরের ও বিভিন্ন বয়সের বিপুল সংখক লোকদেরকে প্রয়োজনীয় শিক্ষা দেয়া সম্ভব হবে

- (২) শিক্ষা কমিশনের সুপারিশসমূহ গ্রহণযোগ্য বলে ধরে নিলেও বাংলাদেশের রূঢ় বাস্তবতার প্রেক্ষিতে তার বাস্তবায়ন আর্থিক ও অগ্রগত দিক হতে কতটা সম্ভবপর
- (৩) আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষার পরিপূরক হিসাবে শিক্ষাকে সার্বজনীন ও ও জীবিকা-ভিত্তিক করার অর্থ কোন বিকল্পব্যবস্থা বিবেচনা করার সুযোগ আছে কি ?

সহজেই এই প্রশ্নগুলির উত্তর দেয়া সম্ভব নয়, আর দেয়াও হয়ত বাঞ্ছনীয় নয়। কমিশনের রিপোর্টেও এসম্পর্কে নির্দিষ্টভাবে কিছু বলা হয়নি। তবে আমাদের সম্পদ, প্রস্তুতির সন্ন্যতা ও বিগত তিন দশকের শিক্ষার ক্রমোন্নতির সম্পর্কে আমরা কম-বেশী অবহিত আছি। এই অভিজ্ঞতা হতে যা দেখতে পাওয়া যায় তা খুব আশাব্যাজক নয়। উদাহরণ স্বরূপ উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে সাধারণ লোকের জীবনযাত্রার মানে আজও তেমন কোন উন্নতি পরিলক্ষিত হয় না। আজও লক্ষ লক্ষ ছেলেমেয়ে শিক্ষার সুযোগ হতে বঞ্চিত হয়ে দিশেহারা ভাবে নিজেদের ভাগ্য খোঁজার চেষ্টা করছে, এখনও দিন দিন নিরক্ষর লোকের সংখ্যা বেড়েই চলেছে। আজও ডাক্তারের অভাবে অনেক লোক আধুনিক চিকিৎসার সুযোগ হতে বঞ্চিত, সুদক্ষ ব্যবস্থাপকের অভাবে অনেক কলকারখানা ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত। তাই অতীতের অগ্রগতি, ধারা ও প্রকৃতি এবং বর্তমানের বাস্তবতা যদি আমাদের ভবিষ্যতের পথ নির্দেশক হয় তবে কেবল চিরাচরিত নিয়মে শিক্ষার বাস্তবমুখী সংস্কার করা কতটা সম্ভব হবে সে সম্পর্কে অতি আশাব্যস্ত হবার উপযুক্ত কারণ খুঁজে পাওয়া কঠিন হয়।

অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা

এমতাবস্থায় অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষার পরিপূরক হিসাবে অর্থ কভাবে সকল স্তরের জনসাধারণের কাছে শিক্ষাকে পৌঁছে দেয়া ও তাকে অর্থবহ করে তোলা যায় অনেক উন্নয়নগামী দেশে বর্তমানে তা নিয়ে পরীক্ষা চলছে ও প্রয়োজনীয় কার্যক্রমও গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। বিশ্বব্যাংক ও ইউনেসফের সহায়তায় ইন্টার-ন্যাশনাল কাউন্সিল ফর এডুকেশনাল ডেভেলপমেন্ট এ সম্পর্কে পৃথিবীর বেশ কয়েকটি দেশে জরিপ কাজ চালিয়েছে। এ সকল জরিপে আহবিত তথ্য হতে এ ধারণাটি পরিষ্কার হয় যে, অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রমের মাধ্যমে কম সময়ে ও স্বল্প ব্যয়ে অধিক লোককে জীবিকা অর্জনে কার্যক্ষম করে তোলার মত নূতনতম শিক্ষা দেয়ার পরিকল্পনা ঐ সকল দেশে জনপ্রিয় হয়ে উঠছে। যদিও এর সঠিক কার্যকারিতা মূল্যায়নের সময় এখনও আসেনি।

বাংলাদেশের প্রথম পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় এই অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষার গুরুত্ব উপলব্ধি করা হয় এবং সে সম্পর্কে ভবিষ্যৎ জাতীয় কার্যক্রম কি হবে শুধু তাই বলা হয়নি, এর জ্ঞান প্রচুর অর্থও বরাদ্দ করা হয়। তারই ফল হিসাবে ১৯৭৪ সনে প্লানিং কমিশন অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কমিটি গঠন করে এবং কমিটি তাদের রিপোর্টটি ১৯৭৫ সনে সরকারের বিবেচনার জন্য পেশ করেন। এই রিপোর্টের মূল বিষয়বস্তু ছিল অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষার অর্থ ও লক্ষ্য ব্যাখ্যা করা, অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষার পরিমাণগত চাহিদা নিরূপণ করা, বাংলাদেশে প্রচলিত কয়েকটি প্রধান অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রম পর্যালোচনা করা এবং দেশে কিভাবে অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রম প্রচলন করা যায় সে বিষয়ে নির্দিষ্ট সুপারিশ করা। তবে এই কমিটির সুপারিশের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে নুতন ভাবে অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রম প্রচলনের কোন উদ্যোগ সংশ্লিষ্ট কর্তৃপক্ষ হতে এখনও গ্রহণ করা হয়নি।

গবেষণার উপর ভিত্তি করে লিখিত এই রিপোর্টের প্রধান বৈশিষ্ট্য ছিল প্রচলিত আনুষ্ঠানিক ব্যবস্থার যারা শিক্ষা হতে বঞ্চিত অথচ যাদের শিক্ষার প্রয়োজন অতি জরুরী তাদেরকে সুস্পষ্টভাবে চিহ্নিত করা ও তাদের জ্ঞান উপযুক্ত শিক্ষা কার্যক্রমের সুপারিশ করা। তারা হল দেশের জন সংখ্যার প্রধান অংশ এবং তাদেরকে বাদ দিয়ে দেশের জনসম্পদের সার্বিক উন্নয়ন সম্ভব নয়। তাই অগ্রাধিকারের ভিত্তিতে এই শিক্ষার প্রধান গ্রাহক হিসাবে যাদেরকে ধরা হয়েছে তারা হল :

- (ক) কৃষক
- (খ) ভূমিহীন কৃষক ও ক্ষেতমজুর
- (গ) তাঁতী/কামার/কুমার
- (ঘ) মৎসজীবী
- (ঙ) শ্রমিক
- (চ) বিদ্যালয় বহির্ভূত যুব সম্প্রদায়
- (ছ) স্ত্রীলোক।

অবশ্য এই প্রধান দলগুলির মধ্যে আরও ছোট ছোট দল থাকবে এবং তাদের শিক্ষার চাহিদার ধরণ বিভিন্নতর হবে।

আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রমের পরিচালনার দায়িত্ব প্রধানতঃ শিক্ষা মন্ত্রণালয়ের উপর ন্যস্ত এবং সারা দেশে তার জন্য কয়েক হাজার শিক্ষা

প্রতিষ্ঠান ও কয়েক লক্ষ শিক্ষক, প্রশাসক ও অন্যান্য কর্মচারী নিয়োজিত আছেন। কিন্তু অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থাকে কোন মন্ত্রণালয়ের একক দায়িত্ব হিসাবে দেখা হয়নি বা দেখা সমিচীনও নয়। অনেক মন্ত্রণালয়ে, স্বায়ত্বশাসিত প্রতিষ্ঠানে, কলকারখানায় এবং স্বেচ্ছাসেবী প্রতিষ্ঠানে এ ধরনের শিক্ষাকার্য বর্তমানে প্রচলিত আছে। তা ছাড়া এ শিক্ষার উদ্দেশ্য হল সমন্বিত উপায়ে সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক ও ব্যক্তিগত উন্নতি সাধন করা। এ ধরনের কার্যক্রম পরিচালনার সাবিক দায়িত্ব নির্দিষ্ট কোন সংস্থা বা মন্ত্রণালয়ের পক্ষে সঠিক ভাবে পালন সম্ভব নয়। তাই কমিটি অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রম স্বেচ্ছাভাবে পরিচালনার জন্য বিভিন্ন মন্ত্রণালয় ও সংস্থার সমন্বয়ে কেন্দ্র হতে শুরু করে নিম্ন পর্যায় পর্যন্ত একটি প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক কাঠামোর সুপারিশ করেছে।

এ ক্ষেত্রে মনে রাখা দরকার যে অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা ও আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা পরস্পর বিরোধী নয় বা একে অণ্ডের বিকল্প ব্যবস্থা নয়। অধিকন্তু অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা সাধারণ শিক্ষার পরিপূরক হিসাবে কাজ করে। এটা স্বীকৃত যে শিক্ষার একটি প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য উপযুক্ত জনশক্তির সৃষ্টি করা। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে সে লক্ষ্য অর্জন একমাত্র আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষার মাধ্যমে সম্ভব কিনা তা বিশেষভাবে চিন্তা করা দরকার। একথা আমাদের স্বীকার করতে হবে যে এদেশের সাধারণ লোকের দায়িত্ব মোচন, উপযুক্ত কর্মসংস্থান ও জীবন সম্পর্কে সচেতনতা সৃষ্টি করার জন্ম যে শিক্ষা, সাহায্য ও কর্মসূচীর প্রয়োজন তার স্থান আমাদের প্রচলিত শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থায় নেই। তার জন্ম প্রয়োজন ভিন্নতর কৌশল ও ব্যবস্থা। সেখানে অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা বিশেষ অবদান রাখতে পারবে। সাধারণ শিক্ষা, কৃষি সম্প্রসারণ, পরিবার পরিকল্পনা, জন-স্বাস্থ্য সমন্বয় ও স্বেচ্ছাসেবী ইত্যাদি প্রতিষ্ঠানে নিযুক্ত কর্মীবৃন্দ তাদের সমন্বিত প্রচেষ্টায় এই শিক্ষা কার্যক্রমের দ্রুত প্রসার ঘটাতে পারেন।

উপসংহার :

বর্তমান সম্মেলনের মূল আলোচ্য বিষয় : বাংলাদেশের অর্থনীতি : আমরা কোন পথে। দেশের বিশিষ্ট অর্থনীতিবিদগণ যারা এই সম্মেলনে অংশ গ্রহণ করছেন তাঁরা জানেন এ প্রশ্নের জবাব তাঁরা কি দেবেন। যারা শিক্ষার সাথে সরাসরি জড়িত যেমন ছাত্র, শিক্ষক, অভিভাবক—তাদের জিজ্ঞাসা, আমাদের শিক্ষা আজ কোন পথে? কাব্যিক ভাষায় যদি উত্তর দেয়া যায় তবে বলতে হয় : এতদিন যে পথে ছিলাম আজও সেই পথে। সহজে এই

জবাবটি এড়িয়ে যাওয়ার উপায় বা অযোগ্য আজ আর হয়ত নেই। শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার বহু দিনের এই স্থবিরতাকে দূর করে যে আশার প্রত্যয় নিয়ে, যে জুদর ও স্মৃদ্ধ সমাজের স্বপ্ন নিয়ে বাংলাদেশ জন্ম নিয়েছিল তার আলোকে শিক্ষাব্যবস্থাকে ঢেলে সাজাতে হবে। বলিষ্ঠতার সাথে নূতন ভাবে ধারা ও কর্মসূচী প্রবর্তন করতে হবে। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতেই উপসংহারে এমন কয়েকটি প্রস্তাব করা হল যা শিক্ষার মাধ্যমে দেশের জনশক্তি উন্নয়নে ও কার্যকর ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণে সহায়ক হতে পারে।

- ১। শিক্ষা কমিশনের সুপারিশ সমূহ সম্পর্কে অনেক বিতর্কের অবতারণা হয়েছে। কিন্তু বস্তুনিষ্ঠ পর্যালোচনায় দেখা যাবে যে এমন অনেক পরিবর্তন হয়ত কমিশন প্রস্তাব করেছেন যা সকল বিতর্কের উদ্দেশ্যে, কিন্তু সংস্কারের দিক হতে অতি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। ঐ সকল সুপারিশ যথা শীঘ্র বিবেচনা করে বাস্তবায়নের জ্ঞ প্রয়োজনীয় উদ্যোগ ও ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা যেতে পারে।
- ২। উচ্চ পর্যায়ের দক্ষ জনসংখ্যার চাহিদা যথাসম্ভব নিরূপণ করে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় ও উচ্চতর পেশাগত প্রতিষ্ঠানে শিক্ষার গুণগত মানউন্নয়ন ও পরিমাণগত বৃদ্ধির মধ্যে বাস্তব সমতা আনা যেতে পারে। এই সমস্বয় অপচয় রোধে ও শিক্ষিত বেকারত্বের হার কমাতে সহায়ক হবে।
- ৩। শিক্ষার নিয়ন্ত্রণে প্রাথমিক ও মাধ্যমিক কার্যক্রমকে বাস্তবমুখী ও পরিবেশ-ভিত্তিক করা যেতে পারে। বিশেষ করে গ্রামীণ জীবন ও কৃষি উন্নয়ন উদ্দেশ্যে বর্তমানে যে সকল কার্যক্রম গ্রহণ করা হচ্ছে আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষাকে ঐ সকল কার্যক্রমের সাথে সংযুক্ত করে শিক্ষার উদ্দেশ্যকে আরও অর্থবহ করা যেতে পারে। এই প্রসঙ্গে পরীক্ষামূলকভাবে প্রবর্তিত মুক্তাঙ্গন প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা কার্যক্রমের কথা উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে।
- ৪। আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষার কঠিন ধরাবাধা নিয়ম ও সীমাবদ্ধতার বাইরে আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা প্রসারের উদ্দেশ্যে নতুন উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করা যেতে পারে যাতে সমাজের সর্বস্তরের সকল লোক তাদের প্রয়োজনীয় নূন্যতম শিক্ষার অযোগ্য লাভ করতে পারেন। বিশেষতঃ কৃষির উপর প্রত্যক্ষ বা পরোক্ষভাবে নির্ভরশীল নয় অথবা শিল্প-শ্রমিক হিসাবে কার্যরত নয় এমন বিপুল সংখ্যক কর্মপ্রয়াসী লোকদের জ্ঞ বাস্তব কর্মমুখী শিক্ষা প্রকল্প অগ্রাধিকার ভিত্তিতে প্রণয়ন করা যেতে পারে।

এই প্রসঙ্গে অনানুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষা কমিটির সুপারিশ সমূহ অধিকতর গুরুত্ব সহকারে বিবেচনা করা যেতে পারে।

- ও। শিক্ষার নূতন কৌশল ও ভাবধারা প্রবর্তনের প্রয়োজনও যথাযথ পরীক্ষা নিরীক্ষার জন্ত গবেষণা কার্যক্রমকে আরও জোরদার করা যেতে পারে। সেই উদ্দেশ্যে সংশ্লিষ্ট গবেষণা সংস্থাসমূহে যথাসম্ভব উদারভাবে আর্থিক অনুদান ও উৎসাহ দেয়া যেতে পারে। এই অনুদান জনসম্পদ বিকাশে নিয়োজিত মূলধন হিসাবে বিবেচনা করা যেতে পারে।

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ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN AND IMPLICATION FOR HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

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Assuming that problems relating to development cannot be solved successfully without mobilizing all the resources of a country and, most important of all, its human resources, this paper is a diagnostic review of the nature and issues confronting the human resource development planners in Bangladesh. For working purposes, human resource development is used with reference to the totality of efforts, educational or otherwise, which result in increasing the ability of human beings to contribute usefully to their society. To be more precise, the development of human resources, widely proclaimed as an integral part of overall national development, includes both sexes, who perform a useful role in the society. Inadequate participation of either sexes is a national wastage which seriously impairs development in a poor country like Bangladesh abound with human resources.

The society in Bangladesh has entrusted the women with the responsibility of rearing up and preparing the new generation (the nation's potential) for adulthood. Yes, strangely enough, women who constitute 48% of the total human resource in Bangladesh, indisputably carry such an important role and perform enormous amount of unpaid hidden manual labour in the economy, have received scant attention from the development planners who are pre-occupied with those human resources directly engaged in economic activity. Throughout the plan-periods, the Government has shown its concern for women as contributors to development. Unfortunately, however, the emphasis seems to be still lying on taking about goals (of freeing women from the bonds of illiteracy, ill-health and continuous child-bearing) and the fact remains that it is the women of the country who lag far behind men in education and labour force participation and seldom belong to the top decision-making level.

The relative unimportance given to the development of female resource is reflected in the great imbalance in schooling which exists at various stages in education. While significant progress has been made in female enrolment from 25% to 35% in primary and from 5% to 24% in the secondary stages from 1952-53 to 1972-73, (the ratio of female to male enrolment is approximately 1:2 in the primary, 1:4 in the secondary and 1:26 in the higher education—this picture is much bleaker in rural areas), these figures must not blind the nation of what remains to be done in the coming years. It is estimated that there are more out-of-school girls than boys in both the primary and the secondary age-groups (5-15 years). In 1972-73 (latest available data), of the 6.5 million (approx.) primary are girls, 57% were out-of-school against 22.4% of the boys (in the age-group) and of the 10-15 years age-group, 83% girls against 64% boys are beyond the reach of the secondary stage.

It is not only that the majority of girls are out-of-school, but pre-mature termination before finishing the stage is more pronounced in cases of girls than boys (during 1965-70, 71% of the girls dropped out before finishing the primary stage against 59% of the boys) and this drop-out rate is significantly more in rural areas.

The planned development of Bangladesh has, therefore, failed to reach more than a marginal segment of school-age girls in the country. Despite the pronounced intentions over decades, the literacy rate for female is still as low as 13.7% against 29.9% for males. Women constitute the majority of illiterates and school drop-outs and the number of female illiterates is increasing. The number of female illiterates has now reached 30 million or 52% of the total illiterate population. This is substantially more than in 1961 when women constituted 20 million illiterates. Moreover, those who are taught with the meagre resource available for primary education but drop-out and relapse into illiteracy are taken into consideration, the number of females who need to be covered by some sort of education assumes a frightening magnitude.

It is, therefore, not only the magnitude of the problem that demands a challenging task but also the identification of obstacles and attempt at the right strategies and introduction of realism

in what has so far been largely idealistic schemes of development in Bangladesh. The task ahead of the planners in realising the goals of universal education as proclaimed by the Education Commissions Report (ECR) will be more challenging if reasons for current non-enrolment and drop-out for girls are not viewed in a realistic situation.

The culture requires that girls work at home, take care of younger brothers and sisters, carry water for families needs, help mother in cooking, washing and cleaning. Girls begin to do these from the age of 5/6. In addition, they leave school because of early marriage. This suggests that non-enrolment, drop-out and irregular attendance are dictated by traditions and the economy. This implies that a girl cannot and will not be free to attend school regularly unless there is someone to take her place at home or some innovations to relieve the mother of her regular daily work-load. In these circumstances, compulsory primary education of children, without an accompanying improvement in living conditions, will leave the mother with enormous additional amount of work to be done in her daily chore which may turn her reaction into negative direction towards development itself.

It is not enough to make schools available to girls or to put the input of female teacher in the primary school (as proclaimed by ECR) to counter social inhibition. The problem still exists and will exist for attracting girls to school and persuading parents to send their daughters to school as they believe in the destination of their daughters to be wives and mothers and see more immediate gain in keeping girls out-of-school.

Even if the goals of universal primary education are achieved, in view of the inadequacy of existing facilities of formal education and the high cost running conventional schools, education to the remainder can only be imparted through well-organized non-formal education.

More than any other form of education, non-formal education must come to the aid of those groups which the formal school system, however great its good intentions, has failed to reach. These educationally under-Privileged groups include such less favoured groups as subsistence farmers, manual labourers and most of all the rural dwellers. The non-formal education, in order to

be effective, must extend beyond the current tokenism of efforts directed towards girls and women which are important but too inadequate to reach the potential clientele and are mostly concentrated in urban or semi-urban areas. Most of these are organized on the planners' pre-conceived notion of preparing women to supplement family income mostly by attempting to develop tailoring classes for women completely ignoring the fact that to produce a saleable product, it takes years of training for a woman to be able to compete with male tailors who had been apprenticing at their job since childhood whereas many village women do not even know how to thread a needle. Moreover, apart from the initial supplies, the problems of finding necessary inputs and creating a marketing channel have been the major deterrents to the success of these programs. To be successful, programs must, therefore, provide such effective institutional facilities.

It has been observed that initial interest can be created, if the programs can be built around some immediate visible monetary benefits for the women. In the National Board of Women's Rehabilitation (NBWR) programme, there are 600-700 candidates for only 50 available seats in each year. Even then one can see that opening up of this new avenue alone is not enough for ensuring woman's participation. A recent study shows that although a change of role (from merely economically dependent housewife to that of income earner) was identified as one of the programme objectives, 44% dropped out because of inconvenience to home and family life. Considering the fact that the average Bangalee woman, in order to fulfil her role, utilizes every day light hour to perform her daily domestic task, it is suggested that the programme success will be facilitated if it does not clash with her normal family responsibilities.

It, however, takes more than skill-training—of conceiving the clientele's socio-domestic role in the planning process. Instead of the planners pre-conceived notion of what women should learn which resulted in the failure of many programmes in the past, it is suggested to assess the needs, interests and motivations of the participant women which are very crucial in programme planning rather than building the programme on the preconceived assumptions of what these women ought to learn. It is highly desirable that the programme personnel help these women to

discover their real needs because the more concretely a woman can identify her aspiration and assess her present level of competencies in relation to them, the more intensely she will be motivated to learn and continue in the programme. A crucial element in non-formal education may, therefore, be the skill in helping those women to assess their actual needs. This is also desirable since this may be the first step in involving them (the potential users) in the very process of programme planning which is so very crucial for the success of non-formal education.

The village woman is accessible to institutional intervention only to the extent that it does not violate *purdah* or the society allows her to do so. If women are to be given institutional facilities, a workable model might be sought for by planning a delivery system which will not come in direct conflict with the social norm and can reach these isolated women. Instead, the planning process might end up with the creation of many uneconomical infrastructure to meet the desired goal.

Women's programme in order to move from a marginal social concern to that of essential part of development will, therefore, have to face the biggest challenge in the coming years of mobilization and training the vast reservoir of professional personnel to handle this role efficiently. Because of the cultural considerations, the programme success will be facilitated by recruitment and training of local women even if their educational qualification is less than desired for it is only women who can approach the village women and can gain their confidence and work effectively.

A woman's programme will have a lesser chance to survive without the permission and support of men in the locality. This point is mentioned to emphasize the fact that a village woman is never recognised by her individual identity—(she is known either as "the daughter of the village" or "the *bou*"). This implies the difficulty of starting a women's programme in the village and actually reaching them which means an approval from the layers of village leaders, husbands and fathers to pass through before there is any chance of communicating with them. A strategy in developing women's programme will be to integrate it with local community development activities, thus involving men also in the locality.

This integrated approach is also desired since it will be useless to teach a woman about applied nutrition who does not have any access to nutritious food.

The country bring overwhelmingly a rural one, the development planning for women resource must focus on the improvement of knowledge and skill that actually be workable in the rural area. The planning process must, therefore, start from the position where the women are. In the traditional subsistence agricultural economy of Bangladesh where women are tremendously burdened by daily household chore, strategy to put programmes for women will be to identify her free time which is also dictated by her socio-economic status and the slack seasons in the local area.

The task ahead is complex, challenging and multi-dimensional one. It calls for studies on a whole range of inter-connected factors in finding out the issues and realities—which must go hand in hand with all future plan strategies.

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

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Abstract :

[The benefit of literacy is very great for a country in the process of economic modernization. The experience of economic history of developed countries proves this. From the time of British rule down to Independent Bangladesh, there was always an official antipathy towards compulsory primary education in this country. Although there has been considerable quantitative expansion in the sphere of college level education, there has been only 9% increase in the rate of literacy in this country in the last 30 years. At this rate, it will take several generations to have a completely literate adult population. A statistical analysis of present primary education indicates that compulsory primary education is a feasible goal for the nation for immediate acceptance. Government action supported by voluntary movement of patriotic citizens can solve the marginal problems of motivation and finance. This problem must be tackled at the grass-root level. Legal action to make primary education compulsory is recommended.]

I

Economic benefits

The capacity to read and write in one's mother-tongue is assumed to be a necessary condition for a people to increase the real *per-capita* income and making its distribution more even. The following are the specific ways in which this can accelerate the economic development of our country :

(a) Modernization of agriculture needs the use of scientific know-how that is more complicated and delicate than the routine needed for traditional agriculture. Use of cow-dung can never spoil the crop if applied over-dose. But a chemical fertilizer or

an insecticide needs to be applied in more controlled manner, otherwise the objectives of higher yield may not be achieved inspite of higher cash investment. The details of this knowledge, if written and presented to the literate farmer can be used easier than is possible when he listens to an extension worker and then forgets partly.

(b) Family planning techniques are easy to preach but rather intricate and at times risky to practice without knowing the implications. It is a subject that many feel undesirable to discuss publicly. But a written literature can be read quietly at home and understood much better than is possible through the verbal communication with (half-educated) family-planning worker, even if we have the finance to appoint such a worker.

(c) Government's measures to pay better price to the farmers for their product through direct purchase by government employees can work much better, if the farmer knows what price is written on the receipt he signs when he receives payment. Now his blindness can encourage corruption and frustrate public measures inspite of their noble objectives.

(d) The rural people can not play their role in co-operative societies, do not like to put their savings in banks and can not but rely on gossips and rumours because they cannot read the relevant materials for themselves.

(e) Motivation and technical knowledge are two most powerful factors in increasing labour productivity and a written material is an inexpensive medium of motivation and technical know-how that, can be borrowed from the developed countries or may result from our own researches.

(f) A recent study in Bangladesh shows that the parents who are themselves literates, generally have a stronger tendency to send their children to schools than the illiterate parents have. So that, once we have the first generation literate, the next generation will become literate with much less effort or public expense.

The literacy rate in Europe in the middle of Nineteenth Century was fairly high. This made the Industrial Revolution and the growth of democratic systems rather smooth. For the Asian developing countries with a late start, Japan is a good model for

rapid economic growth. In Japan, at the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the literacy amongst the (male) adults was about 30 per cent, which is perhaps a little higher than our present rate in Bangladesh. But inspite of many difficulties, the leaders of Meiji Restoration legislated compulsory primary education in 1874. There were lags in its implementation in the beginning, but the later experience proved how it changed Japan in almost two generations. Today she is ahead of many European countries in her *per-capita* income and growth. Our neighbouring country Burma had legislated compulsory primary education in the Sixties. Today there is hardly a young Burmese who cannot read and write in his mother-tongue. Burma is developing quickly, virtually unassisted by any foreign aid and they make little noise about the same.

II

The case of Bangladesh

When the British came to this Sub-continent, there was a system of education and land-tenure designed to meet the needs of the society in those days. Even at the beginning of 19th Century, most villages had a school either private or linked with the mosque or temple, although in many cases, formal school buildings did not exist. The British wanted to create a landed feudal class and an English knowing urban group who could be instrumental to their administration. Therefore, the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and an urban based education system grew. The feudal power-group generally prevented the abolition of Zamindari System and the introduction of compulsory primary education in self interest. If there had not been a land-lord class and if the masses could read and write, it would be inconvenient both for the British as well as their "Bhadralog" friends to use their power as they did. After the partition of India in 1947, we could get rid of the Zamindari System, but the resistance to compulsory primary education has unfortunately remained strong even today. The feudal class gave away to a newly growing urban propertied class whose immediate advantage was in giving modern education to their own children and keeping the villagers illiterate. There was the demand for making primary education compulsory at times ; but the governments in the past had always put it off

on some pretext or other. Some Princely States in India like Baroda, however, introduced compulsory primary education as early as in 1906. In 1912, Gokhale moved a bill in the then Imperial Legislative Council, seeking to introduce the principle of compulsory schooling by local bodies. But he failed to get the bill through. After 1947, the Bengali politicians wanted to create an urban middle and upper class in the then East Pakistan. General Colleges and Universities multiplied rapidly. Cheap ration was provided in the big cities. Excellent urban houses were built in the so-called residential areas of Dacca, substantially at public cost, which now is yielding high unearned income to its private beneficiaries. On the other hand, the number of primary schools were sharply reduced from 29,633 in 1947 to 26,747 by 1961-62, although the number of primary schools increased considerably during this period in the then West Pakistan. If the urban class including the press and the student political force could be kept contented and the rural folks illiterate, it would be easy to exploit the latter's ignorance, emotion and prejudices in the colonial pattern. Thus, a ten year compulsory primary education scheme drawn by the government of East Bengal 1951 was not implemented.

The First Five Year Plan of 1973-78 avoided the issue because the National Education Commission had not by then completed their report. (Vide. First Five Year-Plan, pages 245-246). The Education Commission Report of 1974 suggested compulsory primary education by 1976. The Commission recommended free and compulsory primary education to take effect between 1976 and 1980. The Commission suggested that the arrangements should be completed by the end of 1975 and from 1976 the implementation should start from Class I level. They estimated that opening 10 thousand new schools and having additional shifts in 15 thousand schools might be necessary for this purpose. In order to relieve the economic burden of poor parents, they suggested night schools where necessary. The official reaction seemed to prefer holding seminars, planning more administrative posts and making trips abroad to seek foreign wisdom or aid for an item in which foreign aid should have a low priority in this country. We are grateful to UNICEF and others for the aid they are giving for our primary education. But international agencies are more interested in "Non-Formal

Education', 'Functional Literacy' etc., as substitutes for non-existent primary schools. As a Nation, we must stand on our own feet in matters where foreign aid is not essential. With all this, the percentage of literacy in Bangladesh rather decreased during the 1951-61 period according to one estimate (Vide. First Plan, Page 441). Between 1947-48 and 1974, the percentage of literates in this country advanced from about 13 percent to only about 22 percent (1974 Census): a growth that might well have taken place without any public or international effort. At this rate, it might take three generations to reach a figure of 80 per cent: Should we wait that long?

III

The present situation

Although there is dearth of up-to-date statistics on primary education in the country (some are now reportedly in the state of tabulation), a broad picture can still be seen from the available data. A detailed survey of the primary schools undertaken in 1960 report that in that year about 16 per cent of the population in the country belonged to the age group of 6 to 10 years, of which about 40 per cent were enrolled in the then existing primary schools. There were over twenty five thousand primary schools in the rural areas having Class I to V. An average primary school in the rural area had about 120 students. A school had on the average 3 teachers of whom only a third were atleast matriculates, trained or untrained. About 62 per cent of the students only were provided with sitting arrangements and about half of the schools did not have any pucca or semi-pucca construction of the school rooms. Things improved somewhat in the subsequent years. By 1970 the number of primary schools increased to 29,300 and by 1973, the number reached 39,537. In 1973, about 28,106 primary schools became government managed organisations. Total enrollment reached about 78 lakhs and the total number of teachers also increased to 1.5 lakh by 1973. The number of female students were only about one-third of the total number. Another fact about our primary education is the high proportion of drop-outs. But the percentage of students enrolled in Class I who reach Class V, increased steadily from 10 in 1951-52 to about 35 in 1967-68 and the percentage is perhaps now higher.

It is assumed that the present population between the ages of 6 to 10 should be approximately one crore. If there are now 40 thousand primary schools already, then at least on paper, 50 students in a class (i.e., 250 students in a school) can cover the whole population, although the present number of students per school is somewhat lower. Research findings that class sizes may be increased without a loss in student learning performance. Assuming that we need a school within the walking distance of every student (one mile), we need at the most, about another 5 thousand new schools. The total area of Bangladesh including forests, rivers etc. is only 57,000 square miles. These 5 thousand additional primary schools need a recurring expenditure (at the rate of taka 10,000.00 per school per year) an additional sum of taka 5 crores. What is the present financial position? In 1975-76, the total educational budget of the government is about taka 90 crores, of which the primary education will have about taka 50 crores. In 1973-74 the total budget provision for education was taka 58 crores of which taka 25 crores was for primary education. Thus, the increase in expenditure has already been considerable in the last two years. Compared to this, an increase of taka 5 crores is marginal. But how to obtain this fund? The Education Commission has shown that our expenditure on education and particularly primary education as a percentage of national income is much less compared to what it is in the developed countries. Japan spent 84% of their total education budget for primary education in 1985. Our present proportion is only about 60 per cent. It is well known that the land tax, including the agricultural income tax in Bangladesh now is extremely low, compared to, for instance, the situation in Meiji Japan in the second-half of 19th Century when about half the value of the total farm produce was taxed away. A local primary education tax for opening new schools where they do not exist now, therefore, could not be a serious burden, if the prices of farm products are not allowed to fall very low. But can we find enough teachers? Here, the position is even better. The present number of primary school teachers is about 1.5 lakh (estimate of 1974. Vide. Education in Bangladesh, 1974). Every year, over one lakh students pass the S. S. C. Examinations in Bangladesh (in 1969-70 the figure was 146927 for four Boards), and a large part of this population is now unemployed or available

for employment. They may not be trained teachers today, but they are qualified enough to begin primary school teaching, 15 thousand more matriculate teachers can, therefore, be immediate found.

IV

Introduction of Compulsory Primary Education

The object of this paper is not to underestimate the problems that now exist in the sphere of our primary education. It is true that some parents would find it difficult to send their children to the primary school, with their poor earning, although some parents find it difficult to maintain their children even without sending them to primary schools. The point that emerges from the foregoing analysis (in my opinion) is that aiming a cent percent coverage of the children of the age of six years in the primary schools is not an unattainable goal. We have argued that compulsory primary education does not need any resource that we do not have and yet it can bring a silent economic revolution in this country. This should not increase the financial burden of the government very much. In fact the government must now reduce the huge burden of unproductive and unnecessary expenditure in many industries, corporations and administrative offices by re-organising and rationalizing the work, which they have already begun. However, the government has a role to play here, and that is : to make primary education between the ages 6 to 10 years compulsory for every child. Parents have to be legally resoponsible and punishable for violations. But this need not be a burden only for the govt. of this country. The Education Commission suggested that capital type resources must be obtained for buildings, land etc. through local gifts, and recurring expenditure should come from increased tax, including local rates. A voluntary movement by philanthropists and the patriotic citizens will have to be involved for the purpose. The local leaders, the retired officials and intellectuals must now take upon themselves the burden of initiating new primary schools in the marginal cases. The Union Councils can raise funds for current expenses. Voluntary land grants, money gifts and time gifts are powerful forces that can overcome the nominal barriers that now exists. Many of us still remember the great philanthrophist Akhtar Hameed Khan who

once worked wonders in Comilla by his dynamic and voluntary leadership. The question is : how can this be brought about ? Men do great things, not always for money and generally noble volunteers and social workers emerge quicker, if society creates conditions favourable for them to operate. Governments can encourage patriotic people to do voluntary work. If our government creates a legal basis for compulsory primary education and recognises the voluntary work in this regard by offering Honours for this nation-building work, including prizes and publicity, the task may become much simpler than it appears to be. The work has to be organised at the grassroot level and should not be limited to city Seminars and appointment of top level officers as had been customary with us in the past. It is a courageous and imaginative task, but the nation will remain grateful to the government that undertakes it, even with a partial success. May we hope that the present government will over-come the resistance from within and outside and take up this noble work ?

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

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This paper is about human resource development for industrial enterprises in Bangladesh. This topic has been selected on the assumption that the chief asset of a business firm is the men and women who work there. It may be noted that the problem of industrial development in an underdeveloped country is being increasingly identified with the problem of gaps in management and man-power planning. An I.L.O. brochure stressed the need for man-power this way, "Industrialization begins with people". Chinese proverb says "if you plan for one year, plant rice, if you plan for one decade, plant trees but if you plan for one hundred years, cultivate men".

In Bangladesh in the past a great deal of attention was given to physical planning for the erection of factory building, procurement and installation of machines and marketing of finished goods but very little thought and time was devoted to man-power planning and human capital formation. Availability of competent managerial talent was taken for granted. As a result, there has been severe shortage of managers with ability and capacity to do their jobs effectively and economically. As a consequence, most of our enterprises in the public sector are losing concerns with pronounced idle capacity, high production cost and poor product quality. This situation may be changed only if high quality man-power is developed in the country. If managers are developed, other functions like producing, financing and marketing will develop automatically for which AMA President Appley described management as development of people. It is time that we recognise the importance of human resource. It may be noted that modern management has been compared to a beautiful woman, endlessly fascinating, endlessly complex, always changing, always mystifying. Unless the managerial people are technically, professionally and psychologically equipped, they will not be able to face this challenging situation in the matter of planning, organising, controlling, directing and co-ordinating the functions of a modern organisation.

Normal university education in Bangladesh does not create appropriate managerial talent. At the moment, in Bangladesh, material aspect of education is not emphasised for which education does not become productive investment in human resources. The utilitarian aspect of education is fulfilled only when education helps in making the best use of the nation's natural environment and resources. This happens when there is created an attitude to view education as an instrument to use rather than an ornament to wear. I do not decry university degree holders because the long process through which one earns a degree indicates the degree holder's patience and perseverance in the race for educational attainment. But I must emphasise broadening the concept of education. This pre-supposes education, in addition to the book-oriented class-room learning, taking lessons by observing the social, cultural and economic phenomena and by participation in extra-curricular activities. I believe that for the purpose of equipping one for being successful as a manager informal ways of learning are more important than the formal ways. This is reinforced by the findings of a survey conducted at the Harvard University. This broadened definition of education includes three things, namely, training, educating and developing. Training is the process which one undergoes to acquire routine manual skills and techniques. Educating involves the acquisition of generalized knowledge and developing is the broad scope of improvement and growth of the individual's human faculties, attitudes, values and personality traits.

We define a manager as one who gets things done by other people. This means he decides what is to be done and organizes how his decisions should be implemented; he assigns duties and responsibilities to the people working under him and develops control mechanisms so that work progresses as planned and scheduled by him. His role as a co-ordinator is to create what is known as synergy which enables him to create an environment in which two plus two instead of becoming four, actually becomes more than four. The production of this synergy calls for several distinctive qualities in the manager. These are as follows :

(a) Technical competence : This refers to job related skill. This enables the manager to understand and perform the technical side of his job. The formal system of education that we have

today in Bangladesh helps him in the acquisition and development of this technical skill. For instance, the lecture system of imparting knowledge to the student community in Bangladesh furnishes the students with information, data and knowledge. But this system keeps the students passive and does not generate in them any genuine interest for effective learning. This is a one-way flow of knowledge from the teacher to the students without any feedback. The tutorial system used at the Honours and Post-graduate level is a "tell and tell" method without real and active involvement of the students for which they do not develop the capacity to size up problems and analyse them rationally and objectively for unbiased decisions-making. One method better than lecture is direct coaching by the immediate boss who may be made responsible to analyse and correct his subordinate's weaknesses continuously. The tutorial system of formal education may be rendered effective if the teacher treats the group as BUZZ session and provides only guidance rather instruction in administering the discussion.

(b) Social competence : This has reference to human relations skill or social lubrication which one needs for getting along with people and for handling people. This skill has become important in the recent past when management expert's idea of employed persons as economic entities who could be worked for economic incentive became inoperative and in its place a new concept of "Social man" emerged. To-day a manager has to recognise the factory as a social system and treat the human beings as dignified and resourceful growth-inducing agents. The formal education system does not help very much in the creation of social skill. This may be done by development techniques like conference and sensitivity training. Social skill development is very much significant for Bangladesh because of the conflicts that have grown up in our industrial enterprises.

(c) Conceptual skill : This skill refers to the ability of a manager to have broad-based and over-all picture of the organization as a whole rather than a part of it. This skill enables a manager to understand the relative significance of the various units of the organisation and thereby it prevents the growth of departmental or sectoral out-look or empire building. This is

helpful in co-ordinating the activities of various departments and in developing harmonious relationship among them so that the organisation moves forward smoothly. Again the lecture system of education is of no use in developing conceptual skill. In this respect, the case method is a better substitute as it helps the development of broad-based and well-rounded generalists. The system of case method was developed at Harvard Business Schools in North-America, Europe, India and the Institute of Business Administration in the Dacca University. This method generates extensive involvement, enthusiasm and initiative on the part of the students. Case methods is particularly suitable where action orientation or decision-making is emphasised, where one is required to identify and rank major problems confronting the firm, where participants are expected to do analytical thinking and rational reasoning in the presence of new situations and where one has to solve or resolve multiple issues that do not have common dimensions. In short, case method is designed to help participants to cultivate skills of a creative, adaptive and inventive nature.

Fulfilment of organisational goals by applying manager's technical, social and conceptual skills is conditioned by individual manager's own motivations, values and attitudes. For raising performance effectiveness, manager's values and attitudes must be appropriate to the philosophy of the nation's economic and social policy and conducive to the goals of the organisation served by them. Managers' values and attitudes must also be suited to their own upward advancement.

Changing employees' values and attitudes is a tough job. Formal lecture type education is not very much effective for this. It needs fundamental changes and breaking down of existing faiths and beliefs. It is a process of indoctrination. It is like breaking the egg for making the omlet.

The tool of management development to be selected will be determined by the purpose of development aimed at. If understanding human behaviour in the organisational setting is our objective, role playing technique may be used. It is the acting out of situations involving two or more persons, say, supervisor and subordinate, salesman and prospect or members of a task

force. Role playing gives an opportunity for looking at what people actually do in a situation as opposed to what they say they would do. Role playing is one of the most effective method of getting managers to recognise and to accept good human behaviour principles. It develops ability to understand other people better and gain their co-operation. If our objective is to enable one to observe his own behaviour in on work environment, the in-basket training technique should be used. If raising managers capacity to adopt to unfamiliar environment and making business decisions under conditions of uncertainty as our goal, general type business games may be played. If we expect managers to deal with problems or situation found in specific situations, say, inventory management or sales planning, functional type business games may be used. Business games are also useful in getting insight into organisational behaviour. If causing changes in organisational behaviour pattern is our objective, sensitivity training or small group discussions may be employed. Sensitivity training is also profitable for improving manager's self awareness. If developing leadership ability is our objective, we may also use sensitivity training. Finally, if our goal is to improve skilling interpersonal relations and promote team spirit, sensitivity training is the tool to be employed.

If influencing other people's behaviour is our goal, we should use coaching as the tool for shaping people's behaviour. We may use special assignment or committee membership or task force membership or job rotation in case our goal is to facilitate perceiving the interrelationship of various business functions. If we want to promote participative management, employee-involvement and commitment in an effort to encourage people to think of finding solutions to problems, the conference system may be used.

There are a few Govt. sponsored institutes in Bangladesh engaged in executive development. Their programmes are mainly lecture-oriented. A few business firms also occasionally run executive development programme. The universities have been lagging behind. Elsewhere university Programmes are considered to be most effective of all the programmes. University teachers are supposed to be in the learning process continuously. Hence they

are expected to offer stimulation for executive thinking and generation of new ideas and suggestions. Non-teacher trainers cannot play this role with that effectiveness. It has been said that he who learns from one engaged in continuous learning process drinks from running stream but he who learns from one who has learnt all that he has to teach drinks from stagnant pool. It is therefore, suggested that our universities should rise to the occasion and keep their contribution in the area of management development.

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

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The wealth of a country is based upon its power to develop and effectively utilize the innate capacities of its peoples. Economic development, which aims at well-being and betterment of the people, is again the result of human effort. It takes skilled human beings to discover and exploit natural resources to mobilize capital, to develop technology and to produce goods. This paper is an attempt to make a general survey of the main problems facing human resource development in Bangladesh.

The "human element" in economic development is not a new idea. It was conceived ever since Adam Smith's times and modern writers are lending more and more support to the theory. Schultz, one of the strong advocates of what he calls "investment in human capital" writes, "The failure to treat human resources explicitly as a form of capital, as a produced means of production has fostered the classical notion of labour as a capacity to do manual work requiring little knowledge and skill This notion of labour was wrong in the classical period and it is wrong now. "Horvat, too, opines that knowledge and skill is a critical investment variable in determining the rate of economic development.

In a developing country like Bangladesh we are faced with a paradoxical problem at the outset: a very small-15% or so—level of literacy and yet out of this literate class, a large number of educated unemployed. While the number of job opportunities are undoubtedly scarce, the educational system is also much at fault. Creation of abundant Master's Degree holders in journalism, for example, has little significance in a country where the number of newspapers is limited.

Therefore, the problem, in its broad outlook is a two-faced one: firstly increased job opportunities in a large way and secondly to mould the education system in such a way that those passing out will be absorbable in the job opportunities being created

without remaining unemployed for much time. Let us consider the question of employment first.

The need for massive employment promotion is underlined in the political programmes of many developing countries. The launching of "Crash Employment Programmes" by the Governments of these countries from time to time like digging tube-wells building roads etc. is a popular future. These high sounding schemes however, being temporary or seasonal in nature only serve to stifle the problem for a while: unemployment and under-employment continues unabated. It is time we such thinking and turn our energies to solving the specific manpower problems of the country in question.

The manpower problem with Bangladesh as is the case with so many developing countries, is that there is no shortage of office workers, while there is an acute shortage of skilled workers and technicians. Again, in the field of economic activity in the industrial sector it has been found that a great majority of the people are employed as semi-skilled mechanics day labourer, peon etc. while there are a very few trained in administrative or managerial skills. Thus in course of a random survey of a few companies established with the help of foreign experts and requiring a fairly high degree of technical knowledge it was observed that the local Engineers had learnt the technical side of handling and operating the machines in a very short time, but at the same time the companies were having a bad time in management which frequently resulted in loss of control over discipline of the workers.

This is the case in most times. Now such indiscipline and unrest which very often takes the form of strikes, non-cooperation etc. not only does positive harm in terms of mandays lost, but is a threat to long-term manpower planning. This directly points to the need for more extensive education in industrial relations and business administration.

Development in the education system :

The basic source of supply of skilled man-power lies in the education system of a country. The system of education goes a long way in providing knowledge and skill in many fields. But

this interdependence of education and manpower, and the exploitation of this interdependence for purposes of grainful employment was not given much thought by the previous rulers. In the Pakistani days Education Commissions were appointed several times which produced documents regarding educational problems and their solutions. But none of the reports were geared to the objective of making the education system a source of skilled manpower. The educational system of Bangladesh, it is painfully noted, is more or less following on similar lines as its predecessors. The evident result has been that serious imbalances still exist between education and employment. A survey conducted by Ifthikhar Ahmad reveals that 44% of the educated labour force (i. e. all economically active persons with S. S. C. degree or above) in Bangladesh are unemployed. On the other hand there exists idle capacity in the industries due to lack of skilled personnel. This is indeed a sorry picture for a country like Bangladesh, where a limited few can afford the extremely high costs of education.

Examples of Indonesia, Japan :

The manpower policies followed by Indonesia and Japan may serve as an illustration. In the "Eight-year plan" of Indonesia from 1961-69 much was provided to increase the efficiency of higher education process and to shift orientation of higher education from theoretical to practical. It was recommended that all education above the elementary level must be sufficiently specific in vocational preparation to make a graduate of a secondary institution immediately employable in an expert's role.

The system followed in Japan is more sophisticated. There, manpower is recruited directly from school immediately after graduation. The "model employee" as such a recruit is called, is expected to be employed till retirement age. The major source of labour supply is thus not the labour market but recruitment of graduates. Firms give much importance to on-the-job training. We can construct a manpower policy for Bangladesh on similar lines.

Manpower approach

Another approach to the problem of human resource development we can use is the "manpower approach" or the technique

of manpower forecasting as it done by French and Swedish Planners. We can divide the economy sector-wise and make projections, say, 5 years hence, and after a rational assessment of the rate of advancement of the economy, calculate the magnitude of skilled personal to be needed and then plan the supply that way. Thus if we take an estimate of the pattern of output five years hence, and calculate roughly how many chemical engineers, how many doctors etc. shall be needed than we can attract or restrict entry into the above professions in such a way that five years from now we shall be having roughly the requisite number of skilled personnel. Although detailed forecasts may vary to a great extent, the broad orders of magnitude will atleast be helpful in channelling manpower into desired field and minimize in appropriate placements of the labour force. In many developed countries such projections of occupational and industrial demand is made using econometric methods.

Vocational vs. on-the-job training :

Thus while we can use the above appoaches for the demand side, on the supply side we should severely restrict general education and go all out for vocational education especially in areas of shortage of skilled manpower. Some economists, however, would be in favour of continuation of general education and would advocate on-the-job training once the job-spirant is employed. In fact, many Government organisations and private firms in Bangladesh offer ample on-the-job training facilities. My opinion is that though on-the-job training leads to specialization and greater efficiency, vocational education, has its advantages in that the knowledge of diverse skills and techniques makes a person more fit to adjust to jobs of different nature.

Emphasis on intermediate technology :

The choice of technology is also an important consideration in any scheme for manpower planning. Taking in view of the demographic conditions of Bangladesh, we should concentrate more on labour-intensive technology. But doing so, not only more people will be given a better living but at the same time a broader basis in the society with higher capacities to adopt new

and further developed technology will be laid down. At the same time, since intermediate technology will be in general applied mostly to the medium and small scale industries, its introduction will generally increase the productivity of enterprises.

Symposiums & training course :

The inauguration of symposiums and training courses on various aspects of business administration and public administration is extremely beneficial to the development of administrative and managerial skills. It is heartening to note that such courses are being held very often in Bangladesh. In fact, currently an Administrative Communication Course for Secretariat Officials is going on, organised by the Civil Service Training Academy.

Wage structure

In a free society it is impossible to manipulate a manpower policy in accordance with certain development aims without consideration of the salary and wage structure. Without going into details it can be emphatically said that the salary structure, especially in the case of skilled labour force leaves much to be designed. The salary received by an educated person has little relation to the high market prices and does not correspond to the nature of work or the risks involved. Therefore, we have to first revise our wage structure and bring it in proportion to the above mentioned factors and only then we can be confident that a manpower policy for Bangladesh in view of its development aims will be gaining grounds.

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT WITH REFERENCE TO BANGLADESH

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The estimated population of Bangladesh is 71,479,071 with a natural increase as high as 3.0 p.c. with birth and death rate of 47 and 17 per thousand. Growing at this constant rate population will double in 23 years. With the present high rate of population growth the percentage of dependent population will further increase aggravating the already unfavorable population structure. There may be a naive question at this point if human being is a resource for a country's economic development, why Bangladesh has to worry? This is a difficult question to answer. Keeping in mind the the present unfavourable growth pattern of population in Bangladesh, some useful means have to be devised to develop the population of Bangladesh in such a way as to justify it as a resource of economic development.

Manpower planning, applies the process of planning to the preparation and employment of human resources for productive purposes. In a free society, manpower planning aims at enlarge job opportunities and improve training and employment decisions, through the power of informed personal choice and calculated adjustment to rapidly changing demand. By means of more intelligent training and career decisions and greater adaptability of the nation's labour force, manpower planning can enhance satisfaction on the job, raise the quality and utilization of labor resources, reduce the cost of job search and industry staffing, and thereby, increase the output of the nation. At this point a question arises, what does manpower means. The term manpower in a narrower and restrictive sense denotes selected categories of personnel who require several years of education and/or training e.g. engineers, doctors, scientists, teachers and managers. Economic development requires, among other things, that productive activities do not suffer from shortages of key categories

of personnel. Unemployment and shortages are two of the principal indicators of an imbalance between the supply of and demand for manpower. The problem of unemployment becomes particularly acute if it affects not only unskilled and uneducated persons but also those who have received several years of education and training. Similarly, persistent shortages of key categories of manpower, if not alleviated through remedial measures, would hamper economic growth. The problems are not merely quantitative. For example, qualitative deficiencies of manpower planning are reflected in under-employment or non-optimum utilization of personnel and lack of development of their skills. The success in industrial development depends in part on the availability of skills and it is the task of planning in this field to ensure that the skills are available at the appropriate moment. However, each country has some facilities for skill formation i.e. the general education system, some enterprises in which workers can be trained and possibly some schools or centres for vocational training. Also, each government has some means of control over the provision and utilization of such facilities; the budget may provide for increasing numbers of schools and teachers, the law may compel certain types of firms to provide specific kinds of training, the central bank may provide foreign exchange for study abroad, may be and attractive salaries fixed to induce young people to seek certain kinds of training rather than others, and so on. Further more, many government, have some degree of control over the recruitment of foreign manpower to fill gaps in the national labour force. Therefore, management is the mechanism of managing manpower, the whole extensive procedure and organization by which human resources i.e. manpower supplies, are combined with material resources to provide the goods and services and the "good life" members of modern society seek. Manpower management is the managerial function of co-ordination and direction of human resources in economic activity. Considering the value of manpower, the labor economists in recent years are expressing mounting interest in the development and effective utilization of human resources. The persistence of unemployment even in a highly prosperous economy is a matter of grave concern. Investment in man and his development through education are, therefore, subjects for intensive analysis. The importance of human

element in productivity and formation of a good society necessitates that the hand of government can and should be used more constructively to facilitate effective utilization of manpower. The role of government should not be just to control or direct manpower, but rather to make it easier for individuals to choose careers, to prepare themselves adequately, and to change jobs. This calls for major improvements in the Employment Service, a new program of vocational instruction for school children, more realistic hiring standards by employers, more informed mobility of labor both geographically and occupationally, and much greater stress on knowledge-generating research and distribution of information about manpower needs and informations.

In recent years, the need for training according to special aptitude and interest has resulted in the development of professional-level educational programs by unions by business, and in the public institutions. A considerable part of the "workers' education" programs widely maintained by unions is designed specifically to aid their leaders to be more expert in the manpower management functions. The term "workers' education" may be applied to a number of differing educational efforts such as, vocational education, technical training, literacy or liberal-arts education, and trade-union training while all of these do deal with education of workers. The effectiveness and relevance of this education varies with the social and economic development in the worker's country and the traditions of his society. Considering the relevance of these forms of education and training to the problems of labor in developing nations, the education may be categorized as (1) literacy and general education, (2) the teaching of job or employment skills; and (3) the teaching of trade-union development skills.

Literacy training is probably the form of education most widely demanded by workers in Africa, Asia, and, to some extent, Latin America. Trade Union in developing countries have assumed much of the burden of literacy training for the wage-earning adult. In Zanzibar, for instance, a course in English is offered at union headquarters to the wives and children of members.

The second aspect of education and training of labour is the teaching of employment skills. It is widely acknowledged that

developing nations suffer from an acute shortage of certain skills essential for industrialization. There are several examples of current trade-union sponsored vocational development programs in the new nations. In Algeria and Tunisia, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), has, through the Algerian Trade Union Federation (UGTA), organized vocational training courses in building mechanical skills. Other countries have provided scholarships for workers to go to Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Israel, and elsewhere for training in manual and trade-union skills. In New York City, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has a program for African trade unionists in job skills and union administration. Similarly, the utility workers of America has a program for technicians from Algeria, Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria and Tunisia.

The third aspect of worker's education-trade-unions-skills-is probably the most important one for it forms the base for all other educational activities. Without a strong development program and effective union leadership, none of the foregoing educational benefits can accrue. Trade unions in the developing countries need qualified and trained leaders-for administration of the union, for research, and for training of the rank and file.

Many business firms and government agencies in the U.S.A. have outlined program of "in-service" training. In addition, several universities now provide professional training for those who seek to work in this field. Much of the training has developed since world war II. Short courses, conference, night school classes, and correspondence courses, as well as regular day school classes are offered. Besides, technical training in the form of induction training, Vestibule training, remedial training and advancement training are available to modern management to develop human resources. However, the selection of specific training method is regulated by the size of the group to be trained and its location, its similarities or differences in experiences, education, ability, functions and organizational levels, the ability of the trainers and the expense of the training methods, compared with the results expected. Considering the change the training is to bring about, a technique which can best fit the situation has to be adopted. Generally to impart knowledge, techniques such as

lectures, guided discussion, literature, films or correspondence courses, case studies and programmed instruction need to be selected. On-the-job training is most commonly resorted to for teaching the skills needed to perform operative and clerical tasks, and problem solving conferences, case studies and various kinds of simulation are often used to improve analytical and interpersonal skills. If the aim is to change attitudes or behavior, roll playing and sensitivity training are frequently used.

In discussing the human resource development pattern in Bangladesh we notice that the educational system in this country was inherited from British colonial administration prior to 1947 which was introduced to meet the need of the British rule in the Sub-continent. However, some changes have taken place during the Pakistani rule & since liberation of Bangladesh. The educational and training facilities that are available to the human resources of Bangladesh fall under the categories of general education in schools, colleges and universities, Teachers training in colleges, technical and vocational education, physical education and non-formal education through "people's school", youth camps, women's educational centre, youth and cultural centers, non-formal vocational training centers, worker's, schools, radio & television broadcasting, and educational films. Besides, training facilities are available at a limited scale to different groups of population at the BIDS, NIPA, BARD Technical Training centers, Labour welfare centers, I.B.A., IRI, STI, Civil Servant's Training Academy, Military Academy, Co-operative and medical colleges, Management Development centers, etc. The first five year plan of Bangladesh emphasized the need of training facilities by every institution to their respective employees for gearing up the activities towards a nation building spirit. We know, technical and vocational education facilitates economic development by providing required skills to the new entrants and to the current labor force. The effectiveness of the training is reflected in the trainee's capacity to use their required skills and also in their ability to adopt innovations that foster productivity and growth. Therefore, technical education was given priority in the plan. At present, Bangladesh has 40,000 educational institutions including about 6,000 secondary schools, 500 colleges and 70 technical and vocational institutions, catering to approximately 80,00,000 students

which is a small fragment of the total population. Considering the large portion of the population left out uneducated, technical education should be geared up and all-out efforts should be made to attain self-sufficiency in essential skills required for industry, commerce and modern agriculture within 10 years. Although the FFYP of Bangladesh was planned ambitiously to increase degree level engineers and agricultural graduates, diploma level technicians, diploma level commerce technical hands and certificate level skilled and monoteknical workers, little progress has been noticed in this regard. Besides, investment in the education of women will provide a wide range of private and social benefits. An effective participation of women in the development of the country can be ensured only by putting them to suitable productive works. Therefore, all out efforts should be made to train the female manpower through formal or informal education, co-operation of women's organization and Urban and Rural community Development Organizations. In conclusion, it may be said that if planning is made phasewise to increase skills in industry, commerce and agriculture by expanding general, technical, vocational, physical, formal and non-formal education considering geographical, social and economic factors to meet the needs of the country, the entire population of Bangladesh can possibly be turned into valuable resource for economic development of the country over the years. Of course, the population growth rate has to be kept at the minimum level.

বাংলাদেশে জনসম্পদের উন্নয়ন অত্যন্ত প্রয়োজনীয় : রাজনৈতিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে অর্থনৈতিক বিশ্লেষণ

এ.কে.আব্দুল মোমেন

আলোচ্য প্রবন্ধে আমরা বাংলাদেশে মনুষ্য-সম্পদের-উন্নয়ন অত্যন্ত প্রয়োজনীয় তা আলোচনা করবো। তবে মূল বক্তব্যের পুরোভাগে একথা বলে রাখা অসমীচীন হবে না যে, গত দু-দশকে উন্নয়নশীল দেশগুলোতে যদিও জাতীয় আয়ের (GNP) “পরিসংখ্যান উৎসাহজনকভাবে বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে কিন্তু তার স্ফুটন হয়নি বলে এসব দেশগুলোর অধিকাংশ জনগণ এখনো দারিদ্রের করালগ্রাসে দিনাতিপাত করছে। ফলতঃ অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়রে প্রতিফলন এদের জীবনে দেখা দেয়নি যারফলে অনিশ্চয়তা, রাজনৈতিক কলহ, জন্ম বৃদ্ধির উদ্বেগজনক হার, এবং অশিক্ষা ও কুসংস্কারগ্রস্ত লোকের হার মোটেই কমেনি। বস্তুতঃ গত একদশকে উন্নয়নশীল দেশগুলোর গড় জাতীয় আয় শতকরা ৫% হারে বাড়়ে যা ইতিপূর্বের সকল রেকর্ড ভংগ করে দিয়েছে। কিন্তু বেকার সমস্যা, অসম বণ্টন, ছিন্নমূল মানুষের ক্রমবৃদ্ধি, এবং উদ্বেগজনক জন্ম হারবৃদ্ধি অপ্রতিরোধ্যভাবে বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে। এ থেকে মনে হচ্ছে শুধুমাত্র GNP এর বৃদ্ধি মানুষের মুক্তি বা দারিদ্র্য মোচানোর জন্যে যথেষ্ট নয়। উদাহরণস্বরূপ মেক্সিকোর GNP গত পনেরো বছর ধরে মোটামুটি গড়ে ৭% বাড়়েছে কিন্তু বেকার-সমস্যা উত্তোরোস্তর বাড়়েছেই। শুধু মেক্সিকোর কথাই বলবো কেন অপরাপর দেশগুলো যেমন ফিলিপাইন, ব্রাজিল, পাকিস্তান, ঘানা ইত্যাদি যে দেশগুলোর GNP আশানুরূপ বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে সে দেশগুলোতেও আয়ের বৈষম্য, বেকার-সমস্যা ইত্যাদি উত্তোরোস্তর বাড়়েছেই! এতে করে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের মূল উদ্দেশ্য “মানুষের উন্নয়ন বা (Human Progress) অগ্রগতি” ব্যাহত হচ্ছে। তাই অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের পুরাতন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি যা GNP এর বৃদ্ধিতে সীমাবদ্ধ তার স্থলে “মানুষের সাবিক উন্নয়নের” দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিসোচ্চার হয়ে উঠেছে। বস্তুতঃ অর্থনীতি, রাজনীতি, লোক প্রশাসন, দর্শন বা আইনশাস্ত্রের মূল লক্ষ্য “মানুষের সাবিক অগ্রগতি”। সুতরাং ক্রত অর্থনৈতিক অগ্রগতির জন্তে আমাদের পরিকল্পনার এদিকটা বিস্তৃত হলে অধুনালুপ্ত অবিভক্ত পাকিস্তানের’ Decade of Development” এর অবস্থাদেখা দেবে যেখানে স্বদেশের GNP বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছিল

সত্য কিন্তু অসম-বণ্টনের জন্মে দেশজুড়ে নৈরাজ্য ও পরিশেষে গৃহযুদ্ধের সূত্রপাত হয়। এ অভিজ্ঞতার আলোকে শিল্পোন্নয়নের সাথে সাথে সুষম বণ্টনের প্রতি সমর্থিকার জোর দিতে হবে।

শিক্ষা ও জাতীয় আয়ের সম্পর্ক :

তাছাড়া অর্থনীতিবিদ বওমেন ও এণ্ডারসন ৮৩টি দেশের জনপ্রতি আয় এবং তাদের শিক্ষাগতযোগ্যতা পরিমাপ করে দেখিয়েছেন যে, দেশের জনপ্রতি বাৎসরিক আয় US \$ ৩০০ ডলারের উদ্ধে হতে হলে শতকরা ৪৯% ভাগ লোককে শিক্ষিত হতে হবে। একইভাবে অর্থনীতিবিদ মাক্স'স্লোগ এর অনুসন্ধান অনুযায়ী জনপ্রতি বার্ষিক আয় ৫০০ ডলার হতে হলে শতকরা ৯০% ভাগ লোককে শিক্ষিত হতে হবে।

প্রবন্ধকার বাংলাদেশ সরকারের বাণিজ্য ও বহির্বাণিজ্য মন্ত্রণালয়ের একজন সেকশন অফিসার। প্রবন্ধের বক্তব্য অবশ্যই তার ব্যক্তিগত এবং তা তিনি যে প্রতিষ্ঠানের সাথে জড়িত আছেন তার কোনো বক্তব্য প্রকাশ করেন না। যুক্তরাজ্যের ১৮৪০ সালের “শিল্প বিপ্লব” পর্যালোচনা করে এণ্ডারসন ও থান পৃথক পৃথক ভাবে যে যে হিসাব পেয়েছেন তাতে দেখা গেছে যে, ৬৫% থেকে ৭৫% ভাগ শিক্ষিতের সংখ্যা মূলতঃ যুক্তরাজ্যের শিল্প বিপ্লবে মূলে। অর্থনীতিবিদ পিসলীও অভিমত পোষণ করেন যে শতকরা ১০% ভাগ লোকের প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়ে অধ্যয়ন অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রথমধাপ। তাছাড়া এস, কে, সিং তার “Models of Production Relations”, হারবিসন ও মের্সার তাদের “Composite Index of Human Resource Dev.” এবং অধ্যাপক শামসুল হকের “USSR এর Micro-level dat” এর তথ্য অনুযায়ী। জনগণের শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতার সাথে দেশের GNP অর্থাৎ জাতীয় আয়ের এক অবিচ্ছেদ্য; সদর্থক সম্পর্ক (Positive Correlation) রয়েছে। সুতরাং দেশের মনুষ্য-সম্পদের উন্নয়নের জন্মে শিক্ষা খাতে আরো অধিক জোর দেয়া দরকার।

তাছাড়া দেশের প্রত্যেকটি মনুষ্য-সময় যদি যথোপযোজ্যভাবে কাজে না লাগে তাহলে উপযুক্ত উন্নয়ন হ্রাসপ্রাপ্ত হবে না। কিন্তু যদি উৎপাদনের পরিবেশ ও সুযোগ সৃষ্টি না হয় তাহলে উৎপাদনক্ষম মনুষ্য-সময় নষ্ট হবে যারফলে উন্নয়ন বিঘ্নিত হবে। গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী চীনের ৮৩ কোটি লোক কাজের

স্বযোগ পেয়েছে বলে তাদের উন্নয়ন ত্বরান্বিত হয়েছে। আমাদের জনগণকে কাজে লাগানোর জন্তে প্রথমতঃ তাদের প্রকৃত অর্থে শিক্ষিত করতে হবে এবং দ্বিতীয়তঃ কাজের স্বযোগসৃষ্টি করে দিতে হবে। প্রথম প্রস্তাবের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে প্রাথমিক ও মাধ্যমিক স্তরে আরো অধিক বিনিয়োগ করতে হবে এবং দ্বিতীয় প্রস্তাবের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বর্তমান অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের রীতির পরিবর্তন ও সংশোধন প্রয়োজন। বর্তমান অর্থনৈতিক রীতি বৃহত্তর জনসমষ্টিকে বাদ দিয়ে গোটা কতককে কাজের স্বযোগ দিয়েছে। তাতে উন্নয়নমূলক কাজে গোটা সমাজের স্বতঃস্ফূর্ত অংশ গ্রহণ সম্ভব হচ্ছে না। সুতরাং বর্তমান রীতির পরিবর্তন করে লেবার-ইনটেনছিভ ইনডাস্ট্রিজ স্থাপন করা প্রয়োজন। এতে অবশ্য উন্নয়নটা ধীরগতি সম্পন্ন হবে, তবে হঠাৎ করে সারাদেশে অস্বাভাবিক পরিস্থিতির উদ্ভব হবে না। মোটকথা আমাদের “Appropriate Technology” গ্রহণ করতে হবে যেমন করে নোয়াখালির বেগমগঞ্জের কৃষি প্রকল্পে গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। ওখানে, যেখানে ৫০০ শত পাম্পের দরকার সেখানে ৬২টি পাম্প ব্যবহার করা হচ্ছে এবং অধিক সংখ্যক লোক নিয়োগ করা হয়েছে। এতে যে দ্রুত উন্নতি হবে এমন নয় তবে পরিস্থিতির কিছুটা উন্নতি হবে।

সুতরাং পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণে এ দিকটার প্রতি বিশেষ দৃষ্টি রাখা দরকার। নতুবা শিক্ষিত বেকারের সংখ্যা বাড়বে যেমন করে এদেশে এবং প্রতিবেশী ভারতে বাড়ছে। এদেশে ষাটদশকে যেখানে শিক্ষিত বেকারের সংখ্যা ছিল মোটামুটি ২৫% ভাগ তা বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে ১৯৭৪ সালে দাড়িয়েছে শতকরা ৪৪% ভাগে এবং গ্রামীণ বেকারের সংখ্যা ১৯৬৯-৭০ সালে যেখানে ছিল ৩২.৫% ভাগ সেখানে তা বৃদ্ধি পেয়ে ১৯৭৪ সালে দাড়িয়েছে ৩৫.৬% ভাগে। এই বৃদ্ধির একাধিক কারণের মধ্যে প্রধানতঃ হচ্ছে (ক) দ্রুত জন্মহার বৃদ্ধি। (খ) মন্বয়গতি-সম্পন্ন অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন। (গ) কেপিটেল ইনটেনছিভ ইণ্ডাস্ট্রীর বাহুল্য। (ঘ) সরকারের কৃষিক্ষেত্র ও আনুষঙ্গিক স্বযোগ সৃষ্টি এবং সার্বিকভাবে (ঙ) অপরিবর্তিত এবং ক্রটিপূর্ণ শিক্ষা-ব্যবস্থা ও মনুষ্য-সম্পদের উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচী।

দেশের মনুষ্য সম্পদের বর্তমান অবস্থা:

দেশের মনুষ্য সম্পদের উন্নয়নের জন্তে সর্বাত্মক প্রয়োজন দেশের গোটা জনসম্পদের পূর্ণাঙ্গ রূপ নিরূপণ করে তদানুযায়ী পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা। মোটামুটি বলা চলে যে এদেশের সর্বমোট লোকসংখ্যা ৭৩ কোটি এদের

মধ্যে শতকরা ৪৮% ভাগ নারী। এই ৪৮% ভাগের অধিকাংশই অর্থনৈতিক সংগায় দেশ উন্নয়নে ততটুকু কর্মদক্ষ নয় এবং তাদের অধিকাংশেরই কর্মক্ষেত্র বসতবাড়ীর রান্নাবান্নার কাজ বা ছেলেমেয়েদের দেখাশোনা করা। এটাকে অবশ্য মার্শেলিয়ান নিয়মে অর্থনৈতিক কাজের আওতায় আনলে পরেও সর্বমোট কাজের যোগফল বা উৎপাদন কোনক্রমেই সন্তোষজনক বলা চলে না। তুলনামূলকভাবে বিচার করলে উন্নতশীল দেশের নারী জাতির উৎপন্নের পরিমাণের তুলনায় আমাদের নারী সমাজের উৎপন্নের পরিমাণ অত্যন্ত নগণ্য। বাকী ৫২% ভাগের মধ্যে ৩৩% ভাগ লোক হচ্ছে (০-২৪) ও ৬০-৩ তর্জ্বে বয়সের লোকেরা যারা উৎপাদনমুখী কর্মদক্ষতায় অক্ষম। বাকী ১৯% ভাগের মধ্যে প্রায় অর্ধেক লোককে আমরা কাজ দিতে পারি নি এবং যাদের দিয়েছি তাদেরও যথোপযুক্ত কাজ দিতে পারি নি। যেমন একজন দর্শন শাস্ত্রের এম-এ-কে আমরা হয়তো ব্যাংকের কাজে নিয়োগ করেছি। এর ফলে ভদ্রলোকের দর্শন শাস্ত্রের মাষ্টার ডিগ্রীটি একেবারে খামাকা ও অকেজো না হলে ও এটা জোর করে বলা চলে যে, তিনি এই বিদ্যার জগ্রে যে সময় ও টাকা নষ্ট করেছেন তা অথবা খরচ হয়েছে এবং সেজগ্রে এটা একটি জাতীয় লোকশান বা ক্ষতি। এই লোকশানটি আমাদের জগ্রে একটু বেশী এজগ্রে যে, বহু টাকা ও সময় বিনিয়োগ করে তাকে যা শিখানো হলো তা কাজে লাগছে না—এই টাকা ও সময় অগ্ৰথাতে বিনিয়োগ হলে হয়তো তুলনামূলক সুবিধা বা “Comparative Advantage” পাওয়া যেত। আর এ লোকশানটি এমন একটি দেশের জগ্রে যে দেশের মূলধন অত্যন্ত অল্প এবং যে দেশে প্রতিটি পাই পয়সা হিসাব করে খরচ করা উচিত সেখানেই-জানি মানুষ-সম্পদ উন্নয়নের সুপারিকল্পিত পরিকল্পনার অভাবে এই যে-হিসেবী ও অপব্যয় চলছে। এই অপব্যয়ের কারণস্বরূপ জাতীয় জীবনের অগ্ৰথাতে বিনিয়োগ সীমিত হয়েছে এবং শিক্ষিত বেকারের সংখ্যাও বাড়ছে।

বাংলাদেশের “আছে” বলতে আছে শুধু একটি বিরাট ও ভয়াবহ লোকসংখ্যা। ভয়াবহ এজগ্রে যে এদের ৮০% ভাগ অশিক্ষিত, বিভিন্ন সামাজিক কুসংস্কারে আচ্ছন্ন। এদের অধিকাংশের স্বাস্থ্য ভগ্ন, কর্মক্ষমতা অল্প। যেখানে উন্নত-দেশের জনপ্রতি দৈনন্দিন ক্যালরি ইন্টেক্ট হচ্ছে ৩২০০ সেখানে আমাদের মাত্র ১৭০০ অর্থাৎ প্রায় অর্ধেক। তাছাড়া ভয়াবহ এজগ্রে যে এখানে ১০ বছরের নিম্ন বয়সী প্রায় ৩৮ কোটি শিশু মারাত্মক অপুষ্টিতে ভুগছে, (২৩)। এখানে বছরে প্রায় একলক্ষ লোকের মৃত্যু ঘটে ফুসফুসের

যক্ষার। ভরাবহ এজ্ঞে যে এদের গড় পড়তা বাষিক আয় মাত্র ৭৬ ডলার জীবনযাত্রার মান অত্যন্ত নীচু, অধিকাংশই অনউপার্জনশীল এবং জন্মের হার শতকরা ৩০.৯% ভাগ)। অর্থাৎ এদের জন্মের হার উৎপাদনের হার ছাড়িয়ে গেছে। গত ষাটদশকে যেখানে কৃষি উৎপাদনের হার ছিল ২.৫% এবং মৎস্য উৎপাদনের হার ছিল ১.৬% সেখানে জন্মের হার ৩০.৯ ভাগ এবং এই হারে জন্ম বৃদ্ধি হলে আগামী ২০০০ সালে লোকসংখ্যা দাড়াবে ২২'৯ কোটিতে। ভরাবহ এজ্ঞে যে এখানে প্রায় অর্ধেক লোকসংখ্যা ১৫ বছরের নীচে এবং জন্ম ধারন ক্ষমতাসম্পন্ন প্রায় ১ কোটি ৪০ লক্ষ স্ত্রীলোক রয়েছেন যাদের সংখ্যা আগামী ১৯৭৮ সালে গোটা লোকসংখ্যার ২০% ভাগের অধিক হবে এর ফলে প্রতিবছর প্রায় ৩৫ লক্ষ নতুন মুখের জন্ম হলে। এদের মধ্যে সাড়ে ১২ লক্ষ মারা গেলে ও প্রতি বছর সাড়ে তিন লক্ষ মেট্রিক টন অধিক খাওয়ার দরকার (৩৩)। ভরাবহ এজ্ঞে যে এদেশের শতকরা ৮৮% ভাগ লোক জাতীয় জীবনে অনোৎপাদনশীল। তারা বাকী ১২% ভাগ লোক যা উৎপন্ন করে তার উপর নির্ভরশীল। তারা জাতীয় জীবনে “বাহল্য” বা Redundant.

অন্যান্য সম্পদের ভবিষ্যতঃ

এই বাহল্য লোকসংখ্যাকে যেহেতু মারা যাবে না বা তাদেরকে না খাইয়ে রাখা যাবে না, সুতরাং তাদের কর্মের সংস্থাপন করতে হবে। এরা “বাহল্য” বা “পরনির্ভরশীল” না হয়ে কিভাবে “প্রয়োজনীয়” ও, “অত্যাবশ্যকীয়” হয়ে উঠতে পারে তার প্রচেষ্টা করা সর্বাগ্রে প্রয়োজন। কারণ একথাটি সত্য যে আমাদের দেশে না আছে কৃষি সম্প্রসারণের যথেষ্ট নতুন ভূমি। দেশের ২২৪ লক্ষ একর কৃষি উপযোগী জমির প্রায় ১৭০ লক্ষ একর জমি প্রায়ই বন্যা কবলিত হয় এবং এখানের জমির মালিকানা ব্যাপ্তিক উপায়ে কৃষিকাজের অনুপযোগী। এই সমস্ত সীমাবদ্ধ ভূমির উৎপাদন শুধুমাত্র বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রক্রিয়ার মনুষ্য-সম্পদের উন্নয়নের মাধ্যমে বাড়ানো যেতে পারে। তাছাড়া খনিজ সম্পদের অভাব অত্যন্ত প্রকট। উত্তরবঙ্গে যে কয়লা ও চুনা পাথরের সন্ধান পাওয়া গেছে তার অবস্থান মাটির প্রায় ৩০০০ ফুট নীচে যারফলে লাভজনকভাবে তা উত্তোলন সম্ভব নাও হতে পারে। পেট্রোল ও গ্যাস-এদুটোই আজ বাংগালীর আগামী দিনের আশা-ভরসা। কিন্তু এদের সঠিক তথ্য এখনো জানা যায় নাই। তাছাড়া বাংলার অর্থকরী ফসল যে

করটি আছে তাদের বিশ্ববাজারও দিন দিন মন্দা হচ্ছে। এদেশের প্রধান রপ্তানী পণ্য হচ্ছে : পাট ও পাটজাত দ্রব্য চা, চামড়া ও চামড়াজাত সামগ্রী, মাছ, ও মাছজাতউৎপন্ন, চিনি, কাগজ, নিউজপ্রিন্ট ও দেশলাই বাস্ক। এদের মধ্যে পাটের ভবিষ্যৎ দিন দিন অন্ধকারাচ্ছন্ন হয়ে উঠছে। হিসাব করে দেখা গেছে ১৯৮০ সালে পাট ও পাটজাত দ্রব্যের বিশ্ব চাহিদা মাত্র ০.৪ ভাগ বাড়বে। তবে এই ভয়াবহ অবস্থা থেকে মুক্তির একমাত্র পথ হচ্ছে পাটের নতুন দ্রব্য সামগ্রীর আবিষ্কার ও সস্তা দরে তা বিক্রি করার চেষ্টা। বস্তুত : পাটজাত দ্রব্য থেকে বাংলার বৈদেশিক মুদ্রার আয় ৮৫% ভাগ। সুতরাং এই অর্থকরী “সোনালী আঁশের” বিপর্যয় হলে বাংলার ভবিষ্যৎ অন্ধকার। সুতরাং যাতে করে একে প্রতিযোগী সিন্থেটিক থেকে সস্তা দরে বিক্রি করা যায় তার চেষ্টা করা দরকার। সেজ্ঞে সর্বাগ্রে প্রয়োজন এর উৎপাদন-খচর কোনো যারজ্ঞে দরকার দক্ষ শ্রমিকের, উন্নত মনুষ্য-সম্পদের। উপযুক্ত ও দক্ষ মনুষ্য-সম্পদের অভাবে দেশের ২৪, ৬৬১ টি লোরে বাৎসরিক উৎপাদন যেখানে ৭.২০ লক্ষ টন-সেখানে স্বাধীনতার উত্তর কখনো ৫ লক্ষ টন ও উৎপাদিত হয়নি। যারফলে এ শিল্পের বর্তমান ক্ষতির পরিমাণ দারিয়েছে ৯০ কোটি টাকাতে।

প্রাক-স্বাধীনতা যুগে দেশের দ্বিতীয় অর্থকরীফসল ছিল চা। কিন্তু এর ভবিষ্যৎ ও অত্যন্ত অন্ধকারাচ্ছন্ন। ফাও ও আই-বি-আর ডির (FAO & IBRD) রিপোর্টে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে আগামী ১৯৮০ সালে বিশ্বের চা এর চাহিদা বিশ্বের উৎপাদনের চেয়ে কম হবে।

অর্থকরী শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার প্রয়োজন :

দেশের জনসম্পদকে কাজে লাগাতে হলে দেশে সর্বমোট কি কি পর্যায়ের কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে লোকের প্রয়োজন তা প্রথম নির্ণয় করে সেই অনুযায়ী লোকদের প্রশিক্ষণ বা ডিগ্রী প্রদান করা দরকার। এ উদ্দেশ্যে দেশের সর্বমোট “মনুষ্য সমর” এর সরবরাহ ও চাহিদা নির্ণয় করা দরকার। এর সরবরাহ (স) নির্ভর করে জন্ম বৃদ্ধি হার (জহ), অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন (অউ), জীবন বাপনের (জীম), ট্রেনিং (ট্রে) শিক্ষা (শি) শ্রমিকের অংশগ্রহণের (শ্রগ), জনগণের বয়স সীমা (বস), জনগণের গঠন প্রকৃতি (গপ্র), বিভিন্ন খরচের শিক্ষিতের সংখ্যা (বিধ) স্কুল পালানোর সংখ্যা (স্কপ), ইত্যাদির উপর। যখন সরবরাহ

ও চাহিদা পরস্পর সমান হবে তখনই দেশের মনুষ্য সম্পদের প্রকৃত ব্যবহার হবে। সুতরাং সর্বাপ্তে দেশের মনুষ্য সম্পদের একটি গোটা ছবি সংগ্রহ করতে হবে। কিন্তু এদেশে তা গ্রহণ করা হয়নি বলে বলেই এখানে শিক্ষিত যুবকের সংখ্যা উত্তোরোত্তর বাড়ছে। এমন কি বেকার ইঞ্জিনিয়ারদের ও সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। অগ্রথায় ডাক্তার, কারিগর, কৌশলী ড্রাইভার ইত্যাদির চাহিদা বাড়ছে। সুতরাং যে প্রফেশনের লোকদের অধিক প্রয়োজন সেই প্রফেশনের যথাপোষুক্ত সংখ্যক স্কুল-কলেজ, প্রশিক্ষণ কেন্দ্র, স্থাপন করা প্রয়োজন। শুধু ইনসটিটিউট স্থাপন করলেই কার্য সমাধা হবে না। সেই প্রফেশনের সামাজিক মূল্য ও দেওয়া দরকার এবং এ মূল্য নিরূপনের জন্তে সে প্রফেশনে শ্রেষ্ঠ অর্জনের সুযোগ থাকা দরকার। যিনি ফটোগ্রাফার বা ইলেকট্রিক মেকানিক তার সামাজিক মূল্য একজন অধ্যাপক বা সরকারী চাকুরিয়ার থেকে কম হলে বাধ্য না হলে কেউ তা হতে চাইবেন না। ফলত : বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ভীড় কমবে না। সুতরাং বাধ্যতামূলকভাবে উচ্চ শিক্ষা সীমিত করতে হবে এবং ঐ সব প্রফেশনগুলোকে আরো আকর্ষণীয় করতে হবে। তাছাড়া যে কোনো চাকুরীর জন্তে গ্রেজুয়েশন আবশ্য প্রয়োজনীয় এ ধারণা বদলাতে হবে। ব্যাংকিং বা অগ্রবিধ সরকারী চাকুরীর জন্তে মেট্রিক ক্লাসের পর নিয়োগ প্রথা চলে করে তাদের সে বিশেষ বিশেষ প্রশিক্ষণের বা in-service training এর ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। বর্তমানে আমীর কমিশন চাকুরীতে গ্রেজুয়েশনের দরকার হয় না ... মাধ্যমিক পরীক্ষা পাশ হইলেই চলে। এ ধরনের প্রথা অগ্রবিধ সার্ভিসগুলোতে যেমন ব্যাংক, পুলিশ, সিভিল সার্ভিস ইত্যাদিতে প্রচলন করা যেতে পারে। এতে অথবা টাকা ও মনুষ্য সময় নষ্ট হয় না। মোট কথা উচ্চতর শিক্ষাকে প্রথমত : অবশ্যই সীমিত করতে হবে এবং দ্বিতীয়ত : আরো উন্নত করতে হবে। বর্তমানে চার বৎসরে বি-এ-এম-এ পাশ করতে হলে একজনের উপর মোটামোটি সর্বমোট খরচ হয় ৩৫ হাজার টাকা। যদি সর্বমোট ২০ হাজার ছাত্র-ছাত্রীরা উচ্চ-শিক্ষা লাভে ব্যাপ্ত থাকে তাহলে এই হিসাবে খরচ পড়ছে ৭০ কোটি টাকা। এই বিরাট অংক বিনিয়োগ করে যে শিক্ষিতরা ডিগ্রী নিয়ে বের হবে তারা যদি তাদের এই শিক্ষার যথার্থ প্রয়োগের সুযোগ না পায় তাহলে এই টাকা অগ্রথাতে বিনিয়োগ হলে তুলনামূলক সুবিধা পাওয়া যেত। সুতরাং উচ্চতর শিক্ষাকে সীমিত করে সেই সংখ্যক শিক্ষিত তৈরী করতে হবে যাদের উপযুক্ত চাকুরী প্রদান করা যায়। এতে প্রথমত : মনুষ্য সময়

সময় বাঁচে দ্বিতীয় : অথবা বিনিয়োগ হয় না, এবং তৃতীয়ত : এই টাকা প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার জন্তে বিনিয়োগ করা যেতে পারে। ভাববার বিষয় যে, যেদেশের অনুমানিক ৪৮,০০০ প্রাথমিক ও মাধ্যমিক বিদ্যালয়গুলো ধ্বংশের পথে এবং যেদেশে প্রাথমিক ও মাধ্যমিক বিদ্যালয়েরই সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রয়োজন সেখানে সেইখাতে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ টাকা বিনিয়োগ না হয়ে বাংলার রাজনীতি ও সংস্কৃতির পুরোধা শুধুমাত্র টাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে সাড়ে চার কোটি টাকা খেলাধুলা খাতে ব্যয়িত হবার পরিকল্পনা নেয়া হয়েছে আমার মনে হয় এ ব্যাপারে নতুন করে চিন্তা করা দরকার। এ প্রসঙ্গে ইরান, এড্‌ম্যান ও ইরিক থরবাক এবং কেজারের অভিমত স্মরণ করা যেতে পারে। তাদের মতে প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়ে ছাত্রসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি GNP এর বৃদ্ধি ইংগিত করে।

তাছাড়া যারা টেকনিক্যাল বিদ্যা অর্জন করবেন তাদের সুযোগ দেয়া দরকার যাতে করে তারা ছোট খাট কারখানা, ফটোগ্রাফির দোকান ইত্যাদি স্থাপন করে জীবিকা নির্বাহ করতে পারেন। বাস, ট্রাক, বা টীমার ক্রয় করে তা উপযুক্ত ড্রাইভার বা টেকনিশিয়ানকে বা গ্রুপদের বানিজ্যিক ব্যাংকিং নিয়মে প্রদান করলে প্রথমতঃ তাদের কর্মের সংস্থান হয় এবং দ্বিতীয়তঃ পরিবহনের উন্নয়ন হয়।

কুটির শিল্প এবং নিত্য ব্যবহারের প্রয়োজনীয় ছোটখাট দ্রব্য সামগ্রী যেমন দা, কুড়াল, ছাতা, ইত্যাদির কারখানা স্থাপনের অধিক ব্যাংকিং সুবিধার প্রবর্তন করে সাধারণ জনগণকে উৎপাদনমুখী কাজে লাগাতে হবে এবং একই ভাবে এদেশে পর্যটন শিল্পের প্রসারের জন্য বেসরকারী উদ্যোগকে আরো অধিক ব্যাংকিং সুযোগ সুবিধা দিতে হবে। প্রথমতঃ এ শিল্পের প্রসার হবে এবং দ্বিতীয়তঃ অধিক সংখ্যক লোকের কাজেরও সংস্থান হবে। সঠিক ভাবেই অধ্যাপক শামসুল হক তাই কৃষিভিত্তিক শিল্প স্থাপনে গুরুত্ব দিয়েছেন বেশী।

দেশ বিদেশে ডাক্তার-ড্রাইভার-টেকনিশিয়াল, নাবিক-বাবুচি, বেয়ারা, টিকিট কালেক্টর ইত্যাদির চাহিদা দিন দিন বাড়ছে। আমাদের দেশের প্রায় দুই লক্ষ অশিক্ষিত কিন্তু দুঃসাহসী ভাইয়েরা দেশ বিদেশে বিভিন্ন কাজে ব্যাপৃত আছেন এবং তাদের বাৎসরিক রিমিটেন্স (Remittance) পাকিস্তানী যুগে ৩৫ কোটি ডলার ছিল, বর্তমানে মোটামোটি ১২ কোটি ডলার। এদের আয়ের উপর স্বদেশে আরো বার লক্ষ লোক নির্ভরশীল। তাদের এই Remittance কে পরিকল্পিতভাবে কাজে লাগাতে পারলে অনেক উপকার হতো।

তাছাড়া যেহেতু এদের চাহিদা উত্তরোত্তর বাড়ছে, স্তরায় এসব বিদ্যায় তাদের আন্তর্জাতিক প্রশিক্ষণ প্রদানের ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। তাহলে বিদেশে আরো অধিক সংখ্যক লোকের কর্মের সংস্থান সহজতর হবে। এ ব্যাপারে জোরালো উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করা দরকার। হিসাবে দেখা গেছে যে, পাকিস্তানী নাগরিক যাত্রা বিদেশে আছে তাদের থেকে প্রতিবছর ২৬০ কোটি টাকার বৈদেশিক মুদ্রা অর্জিত হয় এবং প্রতি বছর প্রায় ৬০,০০০ পাকিস্তানী বিদেশে চাকুরী গ্রহণ করে তাছাড়া পিয়ারসনের রিপোর্টে দেখা যায় যে, উন্নয়নশীল দেশগুলোর লোকেরা উন্নতশীল দেশগুলোতে প্রশিক্ষণ বা ডিগী গ্রহণের পর উন্নতশীল দেশগুলোতে চাকুরী গ্রহণ করে। শুধুমাত্র ১৯৬৭ সালে যেখানে উন্নয়নশীল দেশগুলো থেকে মাত্র ১৬,০০০ লোক উন্নয়নশীল দেশ আসে সেখানে এমন ধরনের দক্ষ ৪০ হাজার লোক উন্নতশীল দেশে চাকুরী নিয়েছে। একে অনেকেই জাতীয় দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে Brain Drain “বলবেন কিন্তু গোটা মানবজাতির দিক থেকে তাদের উন্নয়ন মানবজাতির জন্তে কল্যাণকর।

সরকার “খাদ্যের বিনিময়ে কাজ “কর্মসূচীর মাধ্যমে অনেক লোকের কার্যের সংস্থান করছেন। উন্নতজাতিগুলোর অর্থনৈতিক অদৃশ্য অবয়ব infrastructure সৃষ্টির পেছনে এ ধরনের কর্মসূচী মূলতঃ দায়ী। আমেরিকার টি-ভি-পি-বা ইউরোপের রাস্তাঘাট এর প্রধান। স্তরায় এ কর্মসূচীকে আরো ব্যাপক ও জোরদার করা দরকার।

মুখ্যতঃ জন্ম নিয়ন্ত্রণের জন্তে কিন্তু পরোক্ষভাবে জনসম্পদের স্বচ্ছিন্ন জন্তে ২১.৫৯ কোটি টাকার জন্ম নিয়ন্ত্রণ কর্মসূচী নেয়া হয়েছে। এ কর্মসূচীকে স্বার্থক করার জন্তে যেমন প্রচারনার দরকার একইভাবে শিক্ষার প্রয়োজন। এদেশের জনগনকে শিক্ষিত করে গড়ে তুলার অনুরূপ একটি ক্রেশ প্রোগ্রাম (CRASH PROGRAM) গ্রহণ করা উচিত এবং এর গুরু দায়িত্ব প্রদান করা উচিত এদের প্রত্যেকটি শিক্ষিতের উপর। প্রত্যেকে অন্ততঃ পক্ষে স্বেচ্ছায় পাঁচজন লোককে শিক্ষিত করবে-এমন ধরনের পরিকল্পনা ও নেয়া যেতে পারে। যারা এ ব্যাপারে আগ্রহী হবেন তাদের টেলিভিশন-রেডিও ইত্যাদির মাধ্যমে সমানে ভূষিত করার চেষ্টা নেয়া যেতে পারে। এবং সাথে সাথে শিক্ষার মূল্যায়ণ নতুন করে নির্ণয় করতে হবে। এদেশের শিক্ষার অর্থ জনগনকে সেবা বুঝায় না—বরং বুঝায় সমাজ থেকে আলাদা হয়ে ব্যক্তি বিশেষের অগ্রগতি ও উন্নয়ন। এ শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা তাই অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক। এর আমূল পরিবর্তন দরকার। আজকের প্রতিজ্ঞা হওয়া

উচিত জনসম্পদের উন্নয়নের জন্তে এদেশের ধনতান্ত্রিক কৌলীন্দ্ৰবাদী শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার উদ্দেশ্য ও পাঠ্যবিষয়ের নতুন বৈপ্লবিক মূল্যায়ন।

সুতরাং এই পরিস্থিতিতে রপ্তানী বাড়াতে হলে সর্বাগ্রে প্রয়োজন উন্নতমানের সস্তা চা তৈরী করা যার জন্তে প্রয়োজন দক্ষশ্রমিকের এবং দক্ষ-পরিচালকের। অত্যাশ্রয় রপ্তানী পণ্ডের মধ্যে চামড়া ও চামড়া-জাতদ্রব্য, চিনি, কাগজ নিউজপ্রিন্ট ইত্যাদি প্রসিদ্ধ। বিশ্ববাজারে এগুলোর চাহিদা রয়েছে সত্য কিন্তু প্রয়োজনীয় দক্ষশ্রমিক ও পরিচালকের অভাবে এগুলোর উৎপাদন খরচ অত্যন্ত বেড়ে গেছে যার ফলে উৎপাদিত সামগ্রী গোদামে স্তুপিকৃত হচ্ছে

সুতরাং আলোচনায় দেখা যাচ্ছে যে, এদেশের না আছে যথেষ্ট খনিজ-সম্পদ, না আছে যথেষ্ট ভূমি-সম্পদ, না আছে ইণ্ডাস্ট্রিয়ের সেটআপ, না আছে প্রয়োজনীয় অদৃশ্য অবয়ব না আছে যথেষ্ট রপ্তানীযোগ্য সামগ্রী যার মাধ্যমে এর আয় বৃদ্ধি সম্ভব। মোট কথা, এর আছে বলতে শুধু এক বিরাট অনুন্নত জনসমষ্টি। কিন্তু এতদিন এই জনসমষ্টির প্রতি গুরুত্ব দেয়া হয়েছে বলে আমার মনে হয় না। প্রথমতঃ এজন্তে যে বর্তমান সরকার বেশি ফলপ্রদানে অধিক সময় নেবে অর্থাৎ যার (Gestation-period) বেশী সে শিল্পকে অগ্রাধিকার দিচ্ছেন না। এই ভাবে যে তারা চাচ্ছেন তড়িৎ গতিতে প্রথম পঞ্চবার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার লক্ষ্যগুলোতে পৌছতে। কিন্তু এই বিরাট জনসংখ্যাকে অবহেলা করলে কোনো কাজই যে সমাধা হবে না। কারণ এই অব্যবহৃত জনসমষ্টি বিভিন্ন প্রকল্পের ফলস্বরূপ যে উন্নয়নতা খেয়ে ফেলবে। হিসাব করে দেখা গেছে যে বর্তমানে যে হারে প্রতি মিনিটে ৭ জন করে নতুন মুখের জন্ম হচ্ছে তাতে বর্তমানের এই নীচ জীবনযাত্রার মান maintain করতেই দেশকে দেশের শতকরা ৯% ভাগ জাতীয় আয় খরচ করতে হবে যদি ধরে নেয়া হয় যে Incremental Capital-output ratio is 2.25 তার অর্থ এই সাড়ে ২২ লক্ষ নতুন মুখকে শুধু বাঁচাতে হলেই বাৎসরিক বিনিয়োগ হতে হবে ২৫০ কোটি টাকা।

দেশের মানুষ সম্পদের উন্নয়নের জন্ত প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনায় সর্বমোট (৩১৬+২২০+৭০)=৬০৬ কোটি টাকা অর্থাৎ প্রেন আউটলার (Plan-outlay) শতকরা ১৩'৪ ভাগ বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু প্রেনের এই প্রস্তাবিত কর্মসূচীও বর্তমানে মোটেরই গ্রহণ করা হচ্ছে হবে মনে হয় না। যেখানে শিক্ষার বিভিন্ন স্তরের জন্ত ১৯৭৫-৭৮ সালের মধ্যে ২৪৪ কোটি টাকা বিনিয়োগ করার কথা সেখানে মাত্র ১৪৮ কোটি টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হচ্ছে

তাই যদি হয় তাহলে প্লেনটি তৈরী করার পেছনে এত টাকাও মানুষ সময় নষ্ট করার কোনো যৌক্তিকতা থাকতে পারে কি? এই একই নিয়মে আমার প্রশ্ন হবে: আজকের এই কনফারেন্সের আলোচনাকে বিশ্লেষণ ও প্রয়োজনীয় কাজে লাগানোর জন্য সরকারী প্রচেষ্টা পূর্বের মতো নিচেই হলে এই কনফারেন্সের কোনো মূল্য থাকবে কিনা-এর বক্তব্যগুলো (Document; ডকুমেন্ট) আকারে তৈরী করে আলমিরায় সাজিয়ে রাখলে এর উদ্দেশ্য চরিতার্থ হবে কিনা। কারণ অনেক তথ্যকথা, অনেক উপদেশ, অনেক সৃষ্টিধর্মী বক্তব্য এ ধরনের সভায় ইতিপূর্বে বলা হয়েছে যা কর্মক্ষেত্রে রূপায়িত করার কোনো উদ্যোগ নেয়া হয়েছে বলে আমার জানা নেই।

প্রথম পঞ্চ বার্ষিক পরিকল্পনার বরাদ্দ:

সরকার জনসম্পদকে কর্মঠ ও দক্ষ করার উদ্দেশ্যে স্বাস্থ্য, পরিবার পরিকল্পনা, শিক্ষা ও সমাজকল্যাণ ইত্যাদি কার্যক্রমে ৬০৬ কোটি টাকা বরাদ্দ করেছেন সত্য কিন্তু এই বরাদ্দকৃত টাকার কতটুকু সত্যিকার উন্নয়নমূলক কাজে ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে তার কোন হদিস নিরেছেন কি? যেমন বাংলা একাডেমীর উন্নয়নের জন্য যে টাকা বরাদ্দ হয়েছে তার একটি বিরাট অংক দেওয়াল তৈরীতে চলে গেছে যা উক্ত একাডেমীর জ্ঞানের পরিধিকে বাড়ানোর ক্ষেত্রে কতটুকু সহায়ক হয়েছে জানিনা তবে শহরে সৌন্দর্য খর্ব হয়েছে এটা সত্য। একইভাবে স্কুল কলেজ গুলোর দেওয়াল তৈরীই যেন আজকের মুখ্য উদ্দেশ্য যার ফলে সারাটি টাকা নগরী বিশেষতঃ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় অঙ্গন “দেওয়াল শহর” হয়ে উঠেছে। সমূহ আলোচনার দেওয়াল তৈরীর টাকাটা নিতান্ত নগণ্য হতে পারে সত্য, কিন্তু এ টাকাটা এদিকে খরচ না করে ছেলেমেয়েদের উন্নয়নের কাজে খরচ করলে নিশ্চয়ই উত্তম হতো। সুতরাং আমাদের এ ধরনের “জনসম্পদ উন্নয়ন” কর্মসূচীর নতুন, মূল্যায়ন দরকার। তাছাড়া যেখানে দেওয়াল তৈরী না করলে নয় এমন সব পরিস্থিতিতে ক্যাশ টাকায় শ্রমিক খাটিয়ে তা তৈরী না করে বরং প্রতিষ্ঠানের ছাত্রছাত্রী, শিক্ষক বা কর্মচারী ও অফিসার দিয়ে তা তৈরী করার চেষ্টা করলে কিছুটা কায়িক শ্রমের কাজ হয়। জাতীয়তাবাদী চীনে এ ব্যবস্থা প্রচলিত আছে। মোট কথা, এদেশে বাধ্যতামূলকভাবে স্কুল, কলেজ, অফিস, আদালত ও বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রত্যেক লোককে সপ্তাহের একটি দিন দেশের পরিকল্পিত কোনো উন্নয়নমূলক কায়িক শ্রমের কাজে যেমন রাস্তা নির্মাণ, পুকুর খনন, বাধ নির্মাণ, খাল খনন, বিল্ডিং তৈরী, শহর পরিকার

ইত্যাদি কাজে নিয়োজিত করা দরকার এবং একই সাথে অফিস আদালত এর বিভিন্ন স্তরে অহেতুক ফাইল মুভমেন্ট এর পরিধিকে কমিয়ে নেয়া দরকার। বর্তমানে কোনো নতুন ইনডাক্সি করতে গেলে বিভিন্ন ঘাটে ঘাটে যে সময় ও কাঠকড়ি পোড়াতে হয় সেই সময় ও কাঠকড়ির ভরে কেউ নতুন শিল্প স্থাপনের কর্মসূচীর কথা ভাবতেও ভয় পায় এবং এজন্যই জাতীয় অনিশ্চয়তার কথা বাদ দিলেও বেসরকারী উদ্যোগ এদিকে সরকারী সুযোগ সুবিধা গ্রহণে তত আগ্রহী নয়।

MAN-POWER REQUIREMENT APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

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There exists practically no unique relationship between education and economic development. How large an investment is required to produce a given increase in gross national product is a question that can not be answered with confidence. Again, the relative contributions of various types and levels of education are also very hard to be identified. Whether a poor country like Bangladesh should devote proportionally more educational expenditure to the elimination of illiteracy or to the production and development of highly qualified manpower such as scientists, technologists, engineers etc. is a problem which cannot be solved by advancing any reliable evidence.

With all the limitations involved in calculating education's contribution to economic growth, the main purpose of education, considered from the economic point of view, is to develop the human resources of a country and thereby increase man's contribution to the production of goods and services. Eckaus says, "the amount and quality both of human and natural resources in a society depend on their development and these resources can never be known until they are cultivated...Labour skills not only are developed by education but they are found as well. It just does not seem to be true that human talent will always appear no matter how discouraging the environment and inadequate the cultivation. One of the functions of an educational system is to act as a mechanism for searching out and selecting potential talent. Thus education not only improves the quality of a labour force but also increases the amount of talent beyond what otherwise would be known. And different levels of education probably make different kinds of contribution to the uncovering of individual potentials". That is to say, if rapid economic growth is taken to be one of the main goals of a country, then education as a major factor of human resource development should be designed to produce the knowledge, the skills and the incentives

required by a developing economy. It does not, however, mean that raising labour productivity should be considered as the only criterion of the educational effort of a country and that other objectives of education such as cultural and social objectives, should not be taken account of.

In formulating educational policy and educational plan for a country, it is thus necessary to ascertain the "needs" for education. But the term "educational need" is very difficult to define and measure. It may, however, be possible to make an assessment of the "needs" for education with reference to the social and economic objectives to be attained by a country within a given period of time. When a country adopts a policy for the elimination of illiteracy within a period of time, that the educational effort that the country should put in to achieve the objective can be quantified in physical and financial terms. Again, when an economic development plan requires for implementation a stock of manpower with specific educational qualifications, there is a basis for ascertaining a "need" for education. "In other words, the only meaningful sense in which a country can ascertain its educational requirements is to establish certain targets for social and economic development, and to see what they necessitate in the way of education' But such an analysis of the problem is an over-simplified one because it suggests that there is an unique relation between education and social and economic objectives which is, however, not quite true.

The above formulation of the problem, however, suggests that education may be conceived to serve two broad objectives. One of the objectives is to provide individuals with proper opportunity to develop and cultivate their potentials so as to enable them to enjoy a satisfying and productive life, both economically and culturally. Another objective of education, is to "mould the human resources of an economy to fit the requirements of its productive arrangements". Svernilson, Edding and Elvin have very nicely described these two objectives of education in their opening sentences of "Targets for Education in Europe in 1670." "Educational policy, within general national policy, has two main objects; to met the demands of individuals for their own development, and to meet the needs of society for its general development. In a democracy that respects individual freedoms the first objects is served by

making education available to all citizens, irrespective of class and income, according to their individual gifts and desires. The second object, for which governments have assumed responsibility, is served by seeing to it that industry, as well as cultural and public institutions, are provided with persons having the requisite general education and skills". But after the objectives have been set and their cost implications are worked out, it may be found necessary to scale down the initial goals because the sources at the disposal of a country may not be sufficient to achieve the objectives. Or, one objective may be preferred to the other depending on the conditions obtained in the country concerned.

The foregoing analysis suggests that educational planning should be based on a two-fold approach to the problem of assessing educational requirements. One approach may be described as "the manpower requirements approach" and the other as the "cultural approach". According to the former approach, "an attempt is made to foresee the future occupational structure of the economy and to plan the educational system so as to provide the requisite numbers of personnel with the qualification which that structure demands". The second approach is very difficult to define and describe. It "involves a determination, in terms of standards that cannot be precisely defined, of how much education it is "necessary" for the country to have without attempting to specify whether the 'necessity' is dictated by a desire to promote individual fulfilment, good citizenship, equality of opportunity, more rapid economic growth, political and social stability, or any of the other ends for which education may be conceived to be the means".

As the "economic" and "cultural" implications of education are closely inter-related, neither of the approaches described above can be employed alone. We are, however, mainly interested in the manpower requirement approach to educational planning.

While making an assessment of educational needs, manpower forecasts should be given a prominent role because a nation with plans of economic development cannot afford to ignore the problem of developing its human agents of production. As one of the functions of the educational system is to provide the labour force of the country with education and training for productive activities, it is necessary that the system should be designed to enable

it to meet the production requirements of the economy. The objective of the such manpower forecasts is to provide the planners, both educational and economic, with information as to the future needs of the economy for persons having various types and kinds of education and training. The forecasts can be expressed in terms of broad aggregative groups such as graduates of secondary schools or colleges or in terms of specific occupational categories such as physicists, economists etc.

What is meant by the concept "manpower requirements" in the context of educational planning? The term "manpower requirements" as used here is to be distinguished from the term 'demand for labour' as used by the economists. In economics, demand for a particular category of labour means a schedule of relationships between quantities of that type of labour and a series of possible wage rates. Wage to be paid will determine whether employers will employ more or less quantities of labour more at a lower wage than at a higher one. But the concept of manpower requirements "relates to the functional (occupational) composition of employment that will be necessary if certain social and/or economic targets are to be achieved. The concept, in other words, is more a technological than an economic one. It is thus clear that forecasting manpower requirements in the context of educational planning is basically different from forecasting future labour demand in the market sense.

In the case of certain types of manpower such as doctors or teachers, future requirements can be projected in a meaningful way. If a given standard of medical care is to be achieved, the number of medical personnel required in the forecast year can be fairly accurately ascertained. The same is true about the requirement of teachers if the number of students to be taught is known and if a certain student-teacher ratio is set. But even in these cases, assumptions have to be made regarding the organisational structure and the technology to be used. In the case of doctors, division of duties between the physicians on the one hand and the supporting medical personnel such as nurses, medical technicians etc. on the other, will determine how many fully qualified doctors will be required in the target date. In the case of teachers also the use of modern instructional equipment such as television and the provision of sub-professional

clerical assistant will determine the number of teachers that will be required. The possibility of using different technology and organizational structure in these occupations have important implications for under developed countries like Bangladesh where there is great paucity of the supply of highly qualified manpower. Under such a situation, the Soviet educational system was geared to the production of a large number of semi-professionals or technicians who under the direction of more fully trained specialists have been a major source of skills. Similar policy can be followed by under-developed countries in meeting their requirements of high quality manpower. Coming to the problem of forecasting manpower requirements, it is found that in the case of a large majority of jobs in an economy, it is not possible to follow the procedure which can be employed to forecast the requirements of teachers or doctors. In such cases, attempts are made to establish criteria for assessing the volume and pattern of manpower requirements with reference to targets for future production. But there exists no unique relation between the total labour force or its occupational composition and the output in an industry. The possibility of elasticity of substitution between capital and labour and between highly trained manpower and less highly trained manpower as stated above, can make a lot of difference in the occupational and functional composition of the labour force.

The above analysis suggests that there are great difficulties in making reliable manpower forecasts for the purpose of educational planning. There are likely to be great margins of error at almost every stage of the forecasting process. Difficulties are involved in the estimation of gross national product several years in advance and also in its distribution among the various sectors and branches of the economy. The estimation of future manpower structure within each industry and branches thereof and the equation of occupations with required educational qualifications are other difficulties inherent in the whole exercise. As neither the professional investigators nor the employers are in a position to foresee the substitutability among factors that may be necessitated by future events, manpower forecasts may be considerably off target. Educational planning based on such forecasts may, therefore, wreck the future of students who make their career choices on the basis of these forecasts and may also lead to surplus or shortage

of specific categories of manpower having specialized type of education. But these difficulties are not as great as they appear. In the first place, for the purpose of educational planning manpower forecasts need not be extremely detailed. There is almost complete mobility among jobs far as educational qualifications are concerned at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy such as semi-skilled and many of the service occupations. At higher levels, there are some difficulties. A physicist cannot be easily an economist, neither a chemist an electrician. But by "merely differentiating among occupations requiring different amounts of education, and between those requiring general and those requiring scientific-technical preparations would be of great value in guiding the allotment of educational expenditures among the several levels and branches of the educational system.

Manpower forecasts as described above are necessary for sound educational planning. "They are only one guide, to be sure, but they are essential if the proper structuring of educational expenditure is to be achieved".

THE TRANSFER OF POPULATOIN TECHNOLOGY

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With the passage, several month ago, of the midpoint of Bangladesh's First-Five Year Plan (1973-1978), an appraisal of national development undertakings seems particularly appropriate on the occasion of the Second Annual Conference of the Bangladesh Economic Association. In the population sector, the Plan envisaged a reduction of the crude birth rate from 47 to 43 per 1,000 over the plan period and the attainment of replacement fertility by the end of this Century (1). To achieve these demographic goals the Plan articulated several bold policy initiatives: political commitment, multisectoral population undertakings, legal actions regarding marriage and abortion, and selected socio-economic disincentives. The major thrust, however, was the establishment of an ambitious national family planning program to deliver modern contraceptive services to all eligible Bangladeshi couples.

By any objeotive criterion, the performance of the population control program in Bangladesh so far has fallen far short of expectations, as reflected by program statistics. In calander year 1975, over 3 million units of contraceptives were distributed by the national program.

Based upon crude (optimistic) assumptions of use-effectiveness, the program in 1975 provided 519,000 couple-years of protection or averted about 173,000 births. This level of performance is about 50 per cent of the target established in the Annual Development Plan (1975-76), or only about 12 per cent of the target if Bangladesh is to achieve and maintain a linear decline of fertility to replacement level by the turn of the Century.

What have been the constraints to program success and what is the prospect for the remainder of the Plan period. To answer

those questions requires an examination of the fundamental process by which policies are formulated and programs implemented. As in other development sectors, population policies and programs do not exist in a vacuum. Government actions are based, of the implicitly, on *hypotheses* regarding an anticipated outcome given an array of inputs. Implicit in a policy to raise legally the age of marriage, for example, are the assumptions that statutory laws and do regulate the timing of the sexual union and that its deferment would result in lowered fertility. Saturating the countryside with family planning field workers armed with contraceptives assumes that a latent demand for fertility control services already exists or could be generated easily by motivational effort.

Population Technology Defined

It is the contention of this paper that inadequate attention has been directed at the hypotheses underpinning population policies and programs in Bangladesh and that the acceptance by Bangladesh of many premises has reflected an indiscriminate transfer of technology from industrialized developed countries to Bangladesh. The term technology, as used here, refers not only to tangible "hardware" such as physical infrastructure, vehicles, movies, posters, pills, IUDs, and surgical instruments: but also to intangible "software" such as perceptions, knowledge, skills, procedures training, education, and human resources. Technology is broadly defined as a package of skills, knowledge, and procedures for making, using and doing useful things.

Technically efficient techniques are those for which any given output use more of one factor but in so doing economize on the use of other factors.

Dialogue on the modes and impact of technology transfer between nations has been confined customarily to the fields of international trade, private overseas investment, particularly multinational corporations, and licensing agreements and patents. In a field not entirely dissimilar to population, issues associated with "intermediate" or "appropriate" technology in agriculture have grown in importance. In the context of a labor-abundant capital scarce developing country with an entrenched, stratified social system, agricultural technology cannot be considered value-free or scale-neutral.

Technology is inextricably interwoven with social institutions and the selection of one technology over another has consequences for both productivity and distributive justice.

An example, very much relevant to Bangladesh, is the formation of co-operatives for the transfer of lumpy inputs, such as 2 cusec low-lift irrigation pumps. Large landowners with greater capital, access to credit and technical skills benefit far more from this lumpy technology than small farmer who require more labor-intensive capital-saving, small-scale irrigation technology.

"Software" Technology Transfer

Although precise parallels are lacking, the issues of appropriate technology are equally critical in the population sector. How often has one heard the seemingly straightforward phrase: "Bangladesh" population will double to, at least, 150 million by the end of the Century?" Underlying this simple statement are basic perceptions and knowledge which illustrate the implicit transfer of "software" population technology, in this case from the experience of 19th Century Europe to contemporary Bangladesh.

During the 19th Century, many countries of Europe Experienced a change of their vital rates from high to low births and deaths, commonly called the "demographic transition". The pretransition period was characterized by high birth and death rates. With industrialization, urbanization and socio-economic development, mortality rates initially fell, leading to a period of rapid population growth. Subsequently, fertility also declined resulting in a post-transitional period with a balance between low birth and low death rates.

The Demographic Transition Model

Bangladesh's demographic past appears to follow the European pattern. From high levels of births and deaths and modest rates of population growth, Bangladesh, beginning several decades ago, entered a period of rapid population growth due to dramatic declines of mortality. The mortality fall was unaccompanied by a decline of high fertility. The major question, therefore, appears to be: when and how fast will fertility decline? Demographic

projections accordingly prognosticate on the future assuming a continually declining death rate accompanied by alternative paths of fertility decline. Future scenarios based upon these assumptions are labelled here the *Demographic Transition Model* because of their implicit judgement that Bangladesh's demographic future will follow that of 19th Century Europe. To illustrate the consequences of various paths of fertility change, projections customarily assume three or more alternative fertility trends : continuing high fertility (A) ; drastic reduction of fertility to replacement level (C) ; or some state in between (B) (usually considered the most likely). These exercises, because of Bangladesh's youthful population age structure with its built-in momentum for future population growth, Project a doubling of 'Bangladesh's population by the turn of the Century, irrespective of the alternative selected. No wonder that demographic projections, which demographers caution are only illustrative, and viewed by everyone else as predictive.

A careful examination of the demographic history, geocultural environment, and socio-economic setting of 19th Century Europe and modern Bangladesh, of course, produces many contrasts. In contrast to 19th Century Europe, features in Bangladesh, that do not favour a rapid decline of fertility are : the pre-existing high level of fertility, the pace and cause of the rapid decline of mortality, and limited opportunities to provide those modernization processes associated with fertility control behavior. Features favouring a rapid decline are : modern contraceptive technology, latitude and potential impact in the delay of marriage, and Government's awareness, concern and capacity to induce social change.

Alternative Demographic Scenarios

These striking differences, of course, signal caution for any indiscriminate transfer of the experience of industrialized countries to Bangladesh today. If the future were approached disregarding the determinism of the Demographic Transition Model, what demographic scenarios are possible ? In which way would they parallel (or differ) from 19th Century Europe ? The authors here speculate on four additional models, each with varying levels of probability and all dependent upon the rate and nature of political, social and economic growth and development in Bangladesh.

The first is a *Neo-Malthusian Model*. In this scenario, population growth rates outpace the production of food and other essentials. Fertility may decline but with insufficient timelines or magnitude to avoid severe food shortage and a tragic rise of mortality. Death rates rise until a quasi-equilibrium is attained: moderate levels of births and deaths. Population growth will cease but at a balance of births and deaths hitherto never experienced by any nation. Then depending on the course of subsequent socio-economic progress, these rates may climb or fall together, finally reaching a stable equilibrium. Unfortunately, there are already some sentinel signs suggesting the onset of such a model. Available evidence indicates that the dramatic decline of mortality failed to make any headway whatsoever throughout the 1960s. In 1971, moreover, the disruptions of the Independence War resulted in a large number of excess deaths. Again, in 1974-75, mortality climbed because of crop damage due to monsoon flooding.

Another alternative, which we consider possible but remote, is international migration. It is asserted that in the contemporary world where strict controls govern the movement of people across national boundaries that international migration on a large scale in response to population pressure is no longer possible. During the War of 1971, however, over 10 million Bangladeshi migrated to India; the migration rate often exceeded 100,000 daily and in one month there were nearly 3 migrants. Migration from Bangladesh to India is difficult to control because of a 1,350 mile common border which precludes the strict regulation of human movement and because of the homogeneity of the contiguous populations, ethnically and linguistically.

In the *Migration Model*, fertility declines but not rapid enough to prevent either widespread hunger or communal tensions or both. Mortality either climbs or levels-off, on longer continuing its decline. Outmigration, which peaked in the late 1940s with the partition of the subcontinent, again rises to a level which dampens the overall rate of population growth. Migration in this model essentially acts as a "escape valve," turning off when a balance between births and deaths is achieved.

A third alternative is the *Resource Transformation Model*. In this model, fertility follows a course similar to Migration Model.

Mortality, however, continues its descent because the population-resource equation has been dramatically transformed by a black sticky fluid called *oil*. Last year six international petroleum firms paid handsome bonuses to the Bangladesh Government for the privilege of exploring for oil offshore in the Bay of Bengal. The likelihood of discovering commercially viable reserves is not known. A favourable outcome to this prospecting, however, could alter significantly the resource constraint, permitting a rapidly growing population to subsist on imported foodgrain until an equilibrium is attained.

The final model is *Social Transformation*. Through radical restructuring of the political, social, and economic system of Bangladesh or the adoption of coercive family limitation measures or both, it is conceivable that fertility in Bangladesh could fall precipitously, at a pace unprecedented in human history. One has only to recall the recent attainment of zero urbanization in Cambodia due to compulsory urban-to-rural migration over a matter of weeks for a reminder of the possibility of such dramatic shifts. In Bangladesh, it is alleged that ZPG (zero population growth) was achieved in a two year period (1973-75) in several villages in Rangpur District, the most notable of which is Kujipukur. It is claimed that demographic transformation was achieved in these villages by instituting social, agricultural, and rural development programs *without* altering the basic structure of rural society (for example, without land redistribution). More recently, Government has announced an experimental program in six selected sites aimed at achieving ZPG by 1978 through the provision of contraceptive services and an array of human welfare services and rural development projects.

These four speculative models are schematic rather than precise. They are not mutually exclusive; combinations and variants are possible. For example, the Neo-Malthusian and Migration Models could occur in combination or a variant of a combination of the Resource and Social Transformation Models could develop. The importance of these models is not their predictive value but their challenge to the automatic and indiscriminate transfer of the European experience to Bangladesh. This questioning of the deterministic Demographic Transition Model underscores the

uniqueness of Bangladesh and recognizes that Bangladesh's own national development will determine its demographic future.

"Hardware" Technology Transfer

The visibility of modern "hardware" in the Bangladesh national family planning program is high, even to a superficial observer. The program aims at inundating the countryside with modern contraceptive methods: oral pills, intrauterine devices, condoms and foam, and various surgical techniques for sterilization. These methods in turn are supported by an extensive, complex network of trained field workers, health facilities at the union and thana level, logistics and transport, and communication devices such as posters, radio and television programs, movies, stamps, coins, newspaper advertisements. Even if the Bangladeshis are a poor traditional people, they will have one of the most modern family planning programs that virtually unlimited resources can buy in the market today !

Does Bangladesh really have a choice? Aren't the modern fertility control technologies, developed in western scientific laboratories, the most effective? Do traditional technologies exist in Bangladesh, and if so, aren't they ineffective, bordering on quackism?

Table 3 presents a comparison of modern and traditional technologies by key performance criteria. Modern technology refers here to the oral pill, intrauterine device, and surgical sterilization (the mainstay of the national program), whereas traditional technology includes coitus interruptus, lactational amenorrhea, and abstinence. With regard to availability, it is asserted here that traditional technology possesses comparative advantage. Traditional technology requires no chemicals or mechanical devices and their acceptance is potentially greater because of aesthetics, minimization of cultural conflict, lack of adverse side-effects, and so on. On the criterion of effectiveness in averting conceptions, however, modern contraceptives are unquestionably superior. Continuation is only very modest with modern technology. We have no data on continuation with coitus interruptus or abstinence in Bangladesh, but lactational amenorrhea is known to be extremely lengthy. Traditional technology, finally, possesses no adverse biological effects and are cost-free, both to the client and to the Ministry of Finance.

Much of the focus of modern contraceptive development research has been on new methods possessing very high or 100 per cent effectiveness. Safety is always fully assessed. There is

concern also with continuation but usually "after-the-fact" field-testing to determine availability and exceptability. The last two criteria, of course, are highly specific geoculturally. The difficulty with this approach is the simple fact that availability and acceptability are *preconditions* to meaningful effectiveness. A method with 100 per cent effectiveness is entirely valueless unless the two preconditions are met. Moreover, the basic properties of modern methods themselves restrict availability and acceptability.

Technologic Packaging

Modern technologies, by their very nature, cannot be transferred in isolation. Rather, they require an entire package of technology to support their distribution and application. The intrauterine device, which was the major method of the family planning program in the 1960s, provides a good example of technologic packaging. These devices are nearly 100 per cent effective; their average half-life of use ranges from about 1.0 to 1.5 years in Bangladesh. In order to implement a nationwide program to provide insertion and followup services, a network of advanced technology is required. The devices must be purchased from abroad, transported to Bangladesh, and distributed to hundreds of insertion centers at the thana level. Physical infrastructure needs to be constructed; paraprofessional workers require recruitment, training, and supervision; health facilities are needed to handle medical complications; doctors have to be trained and compensated; and to assist Bangladeshis to handle this package, and pay for it, foreign advisors and foreign donors are invited. The packaging associated with surgical sterilization, obviously, entails a much longer and complex list of associated technologic input.

Non-clinical modern methods such as the oral pill require packaging as well. They, too, must be produced abroad and transported. Their distribution to eligible couples require thousands of field workers placing an organizational and management burden on a bureaucracy unaccustomed to such programs. Centralization invariably results and to maintain operations, training and supervision become critical. Skilled manpower becomes a rate-limiting factor. The leadership must exert and maintain an extraordinary amount of pressure on the system because of "leakage" all the way down the command structure.

The packaging of technology, like the lumpy input of irrigation pumps, introduces the dimension of differential access. In general the more complex the packaging, the more the technology becomes confined to the wealthy, the urbanized, and the educated. The effective availability of sterilization in Bangladesh, for example, is optimistically computed to be 10 per cent; this is 25 per cent the level of oral pills and contrasts with 100 per cent availability of traditional technology. Modern technology accordingly all-too-often fails to reach the poor, rural population; the services are unable to extend beyond the confines of urban centers where facilities and doctors are situated. In a society concerned with distributive justice as well as demographic impact, modern technology with its associated technologic package results in differential access and benefit.

Technology and Culture

Technologic packaging also retards the acceptability of modern methods. To obtain an IUD insertion, a woman must travel to an insertion center; enter a totally alien facility; be interviewed and examined by a stranger; and undergo a not immodest procedure. If side-effects or complications become significant, the process must be repeated. These barriers are exclusive of the manner by which a potential client may be treated by personnel who are often male, better-educated, and urban-oriented. The barrier to acceptability of sterilization procedures is even greater.

Non-clinical methods do not possess some of these constraints. Delivery of oral pills to a home, however, announces to the community that a woman is contracepting, in a society where community sanction of such practice is ambivalent-to say nothing of informing the allegedly pronatalist mother-in-law. Furthermore, to be effective, pills must be taken daily and has pronounced symptomatic side-effects, may interfere with breastfeeding, and often disrupts the pattern and volume of menstrual bleeding.

The experience in Bangladesh, like the rest of South Asia, demonstrates how powerful these factors may be in the acceptance of technology. The intrauterine device, a scientifically sound method, was introduced in the mid-1960s. Within five years, after thousands of insertions, wholesale community rejection of the method occurred,

to a degree where IUDs. account today for less than 5 per cent of the contraceptives distributed in Bangladesh. Various explanations for the failure of the device have been offered, usually biologic or program-related ; for example, excessive bleeding in anemic clients ; exacerbation of vaginal infection (particularly trichomonas); ill-trained staff and ill-equipped facilities ; inadequate follow-up care. Probably equally important, although undocumented, is cultural conflict. Housing a strange foreign object in one's body is alien to traditional beliefs and practices in Bangladesh.

The Power of Traditional Technology

Not only is the knowledge of traditional fertility control technology limited, but ignorance of its power is widespread. Lactational amenorrhea, about which we have the most information, is without question the most powerful contraceptive in Bangladesh today. After birth, a rural Bangladesh women customarily experiences a period of temporary postpartum sterility, determined primarily by the duration of breastfeeding. This period on the average is about 18 months in Bangladesh, or about half the time required for the woman to produce another birth. Thus, of an overall birth interval of 36 months, lactational amenorrhea accounts for half the time period ; the remainder is consumed by the time required to conceive after a woman begins to ovulate and menstruate regularly (about 8 months), gestation (9 months), and the brief time lost due to intervals that result in fetal death.

In the absence of breastfeeding, the duration of postpartum sterility would be no more than 6 months, instead of 18 months.

Under this circumstance, birth intervals would be abbreviated to 24 months. Hence, in the absence of lactation, fertility in Bangladesh would be 33 percent higher than the current level. This is equivalent to a use prevalence of modern contraception of 33 per cent or 5 million practicing couples.

Breastfeeding, it is assumed, is practiced primarily for child care. Unfortunately, no research has been undertaken to determine whether lactation is also consciously used to prevent conceptions in Bangladesh. In some traditional societies breastfeeding, often in association with sexual abstinence, has been found to be employed directly as fertility regulation behavior. Increasingly it is being reported that sexual abstinence, another traditional technology,

also is a commonly practiced method of contraception. In Central Java, for example, postpartum abstinence averages 23 months and is the single most powerful fertility regulating practice in the society. The Caldwells reported that the practice of abstinence was widespread among the Yoruba society in West Africa. Four types of abstinence were distinguished: pre-marital abstinence; post-natal abstinence; other intra-reproductive abstinences. In this society, the level of fertility was about half of the biologic maximum. The duration and prevalence of breastfeeding was such that it accounted for about half of the reduction of fertility; abstinence alone accounted for a third. If abstinence were considered with and without breastfeeding, it alone accounted for four-fifths of all fertility control in this population.

Mode of Transfer

The intent of this paper is not to convey the mistaken proposition that all modern technology is bad and all traditional technology is good. It is asserted, however, that population technology is not necessarily scale-neutral or value-free and that the transfer of population technology from industrialized countries to Bangladesh has been already considerable. The major mechanism for the transfer of modern technology is foreign development assistance. Currently about two thirds of Bangladesh's development budget is financed from external resources. The ratio is even higher, perhaps the highest, in the population sector. Over half of the largest currently operative population assistance package to Bangladesh is for the construction of health centers at the thana level. Another major donor provides all of the imported oral contraceptive used by the national program.

The volume and nature of foreign assistance in the population sector raises some disturbing questions. First does aid support or undermine the capacity of Bangladesh to understand better and act upon its population problem? Although the problem of rapid growth *per se* is generally acknowledged in Bangladesh, there has been a virtual absence of debate on optimal population size and the implications of various drastic demographic changes on the economy. Second, does assistance supplant or strengthen the political commitment required for effective

population policies and programs ? How much of the highly visible actions along the population front that we now witness are in response to donor "pressure" versus genuine indigenous concern and commitment ? Third, are population and other development assistance so inextricably interwoven that the control of technology transfer in population is not possible in isolation of confronting the same issue in other sector as well ? Fourth, shouldn't assistance be disaggregated and considered with respect to how much transfer is involved and of what kind ? Like technology, foreign donors have different aims, offer different types of assistance, reach different population subgroups. Decisions are needed about which types of aid are good and which types bad. Finally, there is the issue of *control*. Who should control the choice of technology in Bangladesh ? How much and in which ways does foreign assistance determine the selection of the best technologic mix for Bangladesh ? At the heart of these questions is the issue of national sovereignty, self-reliance, and the capacity of Bangladesh to determine its own national development and its demographic future.

Criteria of Selection

The major proposition of this paper is that there is an appropriate technologic mix for Bangladesh and that its selection is a Bangladesh prerogative and responsibility. In order for Bangladesh to exercise more control in the choice of technology, criteria of selection are needed. In such deliberations, a conceptual framework needs to be developed. One suggested model is shown in Table 4. Across the top of the table, the major policy and program areas could be listed ; several are shown in Table 4 for illustrative purposes. In a column on the left, criteria of election could be listed. In this example, the criteria shown are from Berelson. Then a matrix of issues and criteria could be filled into aid in decisions regarding the most appropriate technologic mix for Bangladesh.

The matrix developed by Bangladesh would no doubt differ from that of other nations, for implicit in the entire process is national development goals. Furthermore, even the criteria and the issues considered relevant would also probably differ between nations.

Some specific questions relevant to the matrix are: What are the underlying hypotheses associated with a given technologic choice? What are the anticipated outcomes? Who is making the decision and who should? For whom is the technology intended to benefit? What are the interactions of technology intended to benefit? What are the interactions of technology with culture and social institutions?

Reference

1. The criteria are adapted from S. J. Segal and C. Teitze "Contraceptive Technology: Current and Prospective Methods", *Reports on Population and Family Planning*, Population Council, New York, No. 7, 1971, 24 pp. "Availability" as used here refers to the capability of delivery systems to provide the method to individual couples. Use-effectiveness, which includes both method failure as well as failure due to improper use, is considered the best criterion of actual effectiveness.
2. Herbal preparations and abortifacients made from plants are also used in Bangladesh. Their acceptability and use-effectiveness is uncertain and serious questions exist regarding safety.
3. Cost is a major issue excluded from this discussion. At the current time, modern technology is essentially provided to the national program free by foreign donors. Delivery of this technology, however, is expensive and is borne in part by Bangladesh resources. More importantly, the cost of technology is a recurring cost and should Bangladesh continue to use modern technology and should use increase sufficiently, it is possible that in the future Bangladesh would have to purchase the technology from abroad with its own resources. This has happened in several countries, which are now facing new costs not customarily anticipated.
4. The term "packaging" as used here resembles the packaging of technology in other fields. In population packaging increases costs and reduces availability and acceptability; in other fields, the issue is primarily one of cost.
5. Much of the "packaging" issue revolves around the health profession. The doctor represents a good example of

"software" technology transfer. Doctors displaced an indigenous system (kobiranj and ayurvedic). Now, there is ironically a movement to transfer the concept of para-professionals in the health field. To return Bangladesh to where it already was is considered by many to be "progressive!"

6. S. B. Schearer.
7. Packaging not only causes differential access but also differential acceptability. Even if the population had equal access to technology, the better-educated would find modern technology more acceptable than the less-educated because of their capacity to understand and rationalize the mechanism of action of various modern methods.
8. A. R. Khan, A. F. M. Burhanuddin, S. M. D'Souza, and L. C. Chen, "A Study of Oral Pill Acceptors of the Bangladesh Postpartum Family Planning Program", *Bangladesh Development Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1975, pp. 53-76.
9. N. I. Khan, R. Reynolds, and S. J. Haider, "Implications of Selected Studies Conducted by Former East Pakistan Research and Evaluation Centre, 1965-1970", *Proceedings of the Seminar on Family Planning*, Dacca, 21-25 November, 1972, pp. 627-642.
10. L. C. Chen, S. Ahmed, M. Gesche, and W. H. Mosley, "A Prospective Study of Birth Interval Dynamics in Bangladesh", *Population Studies*, 28: 277-297, 1974.
11. The birth interval relates to fertility in an inverse manner. The briefer the interval, the higher the fertility. A birth interval (in months) is simply the reciprocal of the monthly fertility rate.
12. Six months is a generous allowance; in the absence of lactation the period of postpartum sterility averages 2-3 months. An interval of 24 months parallels closely those of the non-contracepting Hutterites: See M. Sheps, "An Analysis of Reproductive Patterns in an American Isolate", *Population Studies*, 19: 65-80, 1965.
13. Assuming that modern methods are more effective and traditional methods more acceptable, it is possible to quantify the trade-off. Take 100 women of reproductive age and

assume that they have a 20 per cent probability of conceiving in any given month. Thus, fecundability (f) = 0.2. The women, on the average, would require 5 months to conceive in the absence of contraception. This time is called the "waiting time to conception (T)" and is calculated, $T = 1/f$. If a modern contraceptive had a use-effectiveness of 90 per cent ($e = 0.90$), T_m (the waiting time using modern contraceptives) would increase to 50 months. This is calculated by the following: $T_m = 1/f(1-e)$. A traditional method with 70 per cent use-effectiveness ($e = 0.70$) would increase T_t (the waiting time using traditional contraceptives) to 20 months. One hundred women using modern methods would then receive 5,000 months of protection as opposed to 2,00 months with traditional methods. Therefore, the number of users of traditional methods would have to be 2.5 times ($5/2$) the number of modern users to provide the same level of protection. For details on this method of computation, see N. S. Keyfitz, *Social Biology*, 18: 109, 1971.

14. M. Singarimbun and C. Manning, "Fertility and Family Planning in Mojolama," Institute of Population Studies, Gadjadara University, Yogyakarta, 1974, pp. 72-81; and V. J. Hull, "Fertility Socio-economic Status and the Position of Women in a Javanese Village," unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Department of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra, 1975.
15. J. C. Caldwell, and F. Caldwell, "The Role of Marital Sexual Abstinence in Determining Fertility: A Study of the Yoruba in Nigeria", unpublished mimeo, Department of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra, 1975.
16. B. Berelson, "Beyond Family Planning", *Studies in Family Planning, Population Council*, Vol. 1, No. 38, February 1969, pp. 1-16.

Table 1
Bangladesh Contraceptive Distribution (thousands) and Estimation Number
of Couple-Years of Protection and Births Averted (thousands), 1973-75

Calendar Year	Distribution (thousands)				Estimated Couple-Years of Protection*	Estimated Births Averted*
	IUD	Pill	Condom	Sterilization		
1973	18.6	214.4	1337.3	0.6	80.8	27.0
1974	31.9	713.7	714.9	5.7	149.8	49.7
1975	67.6	2939.7	253.4	37.0	518.3	172.9

Source : Division of Population Control and Family Planning Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

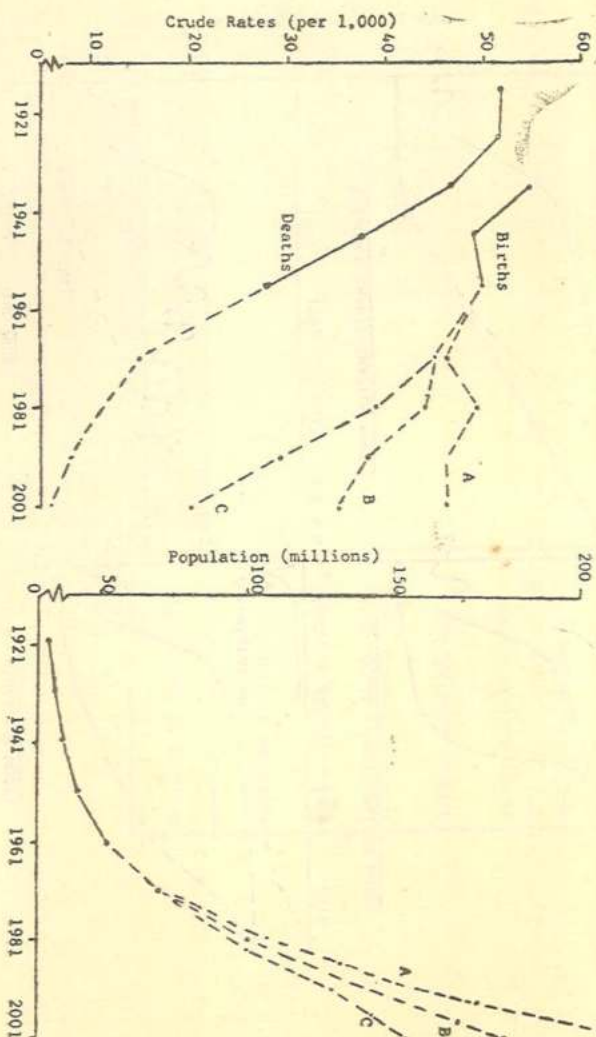
* The estimated number couple-years of protection was computed crudely by assuming that each IUD inserted provided an average of 1.5 years of protective use ; that 13 pill cycles contributed 1 year of protection ; that 40 condom packets (3 condoms per packet) provided 1 year of protection ; and that each sterilization offered 5 years of protection. The estimated number of births averted was calculated by dividing the number of couple-years of protection by 3. This assumes that each birth required about 3 couple-years to produce.

Table 2
Comparison of Modern and Traditional Fertility Control Technology
according to Selected Performance Criteria

Criteria	Fertility Control Modern ^a	Technology Traditional ^b
A. Availability	limited	universal
B. Acceptability	limited	higher
C. Use-effectiveness	higher	lower
D. Continuation	modest	mixed
E. Health hazard	very low	none
F. Cost	low	free

a. Modern technologies included here are : oral pills, intrauterine devices, surgical sterilization.

b. Traditional technologies include : coitus interruptus, lactational amenorrhea, abstinence. Excluded are : postcoital douche, condom, vaginal diaphragm, spermicides, rhythm, herbal preparations.



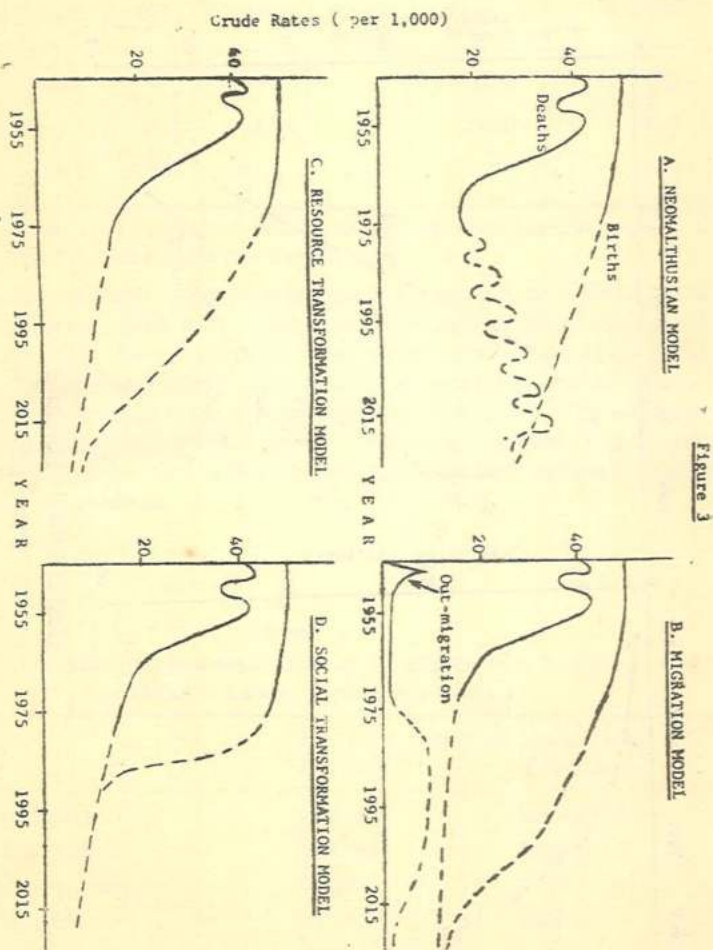


Table 4
Matrix of Issues and Selection Criteria

Criteria of Selection	Overall	Population Policies and Program Issues			
	Antina-talist Policy	Laws	Socioeconomic Disincentives	Program Structure	Contraceptive Technology
Political Consistency					
Administrative Feasibility					
Economic Capacity					
Ethical Acceptability					
Presumed Effectiveness					
Scientific Readiness					

Table 3
Infant Mortality Rate (IMR—per 100 live births) and Crude Death Rate
(CDR—per 100 population) of 1974 in Seven countries of the World

Rate	Bangla- desh	Island of Mauritius	Singapore	Jamaica	France	Austria	Hungary
IMR (Both Sexes)	15.5	45.3	16.5	25.3	12.1	23.4	33.9
CDR (Both Sexes)	19.6	7.3	5.3	7.1	10.4	12.5	12.0

Source: (1) *For Bangladesh* — Retrospective Survey on Fertility and mortality, 1974.

(2) *For other Countries* — United Nations Demographic year Book, 1974.

INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH—A SURVEY

S. A. QADIR

The meaning of institution :

Institutional approach to developmental planning has gained importance since productive force in the terminology of economic growth are considered to be contingent on human relations in the society—cultural values and social structure. The first Five-Year Plan of (1973-78) the People's Republic of Bangladesh stresses this by pointing out that "a plan is not merely a technical and an economic document but also a socio-political document". The term institution "denotes an aspect of social life in which distinctive value-orientations and interests, centering upon large and important social concerns (e. g., education, marriage, property) generate or are accompanied by distinctive modes of social interaction." (2:338). It may also denote "status-relationships".

History of institution building for rural area :

Bangladesh claims to have a "long history of institution building and institutional reform related to rural and agricultural development". Landmarks have been shown to be the establishment of the Department of Agriculture in 1885 and by the 1950's expansion of its staff to the union level : beginning of the co-operative movement in 1904 as "government sponsored programme" which extended to form village co-operative societies in the countryside ; a system of local self-government introduced in 1885 which, allowing for modifications in forms and expansion of functions over time, "continued to remain the basic foundation of local government institutions until the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation". A national community development programme—V-AID was launched in 1952, but was abandoned in 1960. V-AID sought to build up a "development administration", separate from civil administration and "failed to make any significant contribution to agricultural development". The Basic Democracies Order 1959 came

as a grand scheme of socio-political-economic development linking villages to the nation through tiers of local government. All these had the common aim to improve the living conditions of rural area the recent programmes emphasizing particularly increase in agricultural production.

A 21 point village Reconstruction Programme was suggested that included the basic organization at the village level, survey, blue print of the village development plan, labour roster scheme, social security fund, co-operation, savings bank account, settlement of disputes, etc. The necessity of co-ordination among various nation building departments at the higher level and more so at the village level was emphasized. The bold thinking was reflected in suggestions that village societies should possess enough ability and prestige to "captain and direct" the subordinate personnel of various technical departments. The suggestions also included the entire village land to be "managed jointly or co-operatively".

The Comilla experiment :

With the establishment of the Academy for Rural Development in Comilla in 1959 and under the leadership of Akhter Hameed Khan experiment in rural development proceeded with local research and thorough analysis of the rural situation. In 1966 Akhter Hameed Khan summarized the general findings as follows : (5 : 24-25)

Rural development primarily consists in building strong institutions and securing responsibility and resources for those institutions. The nature of these institutions can be administrative, educational or economic. The institutions have to be built at various levels. They have to be right at the village level ; the village has to be bound together in institutions. There has to be a system of tiers, one above the other and one supporting the other, each encouraging and stimulating the other.

Building institutions and *securing responsibility and resources for them* was the first aspect. The second aspect was the evolution of effective training methods—"building people", "not only building institutions but building people". Training was needed at various levels and for various specialities—officers, village

leaders representing local government and co-operative societies, teachers, leaders of youth and women's work, technicians needed by the village like drivers, mechanics and accountant : and for villagers in general. In the words of Akhter Hameed, "the entire area has to be sent to school"—that will include adults as well as children. "The education of children, of course, is very important, but, as we are in a hurry, even more important is the education of these adults. This education or training has to be very intensive." (5 : 25)

The third point was the linking of the village with the outside world. It was both broader and deeper than providing roads and mass-media. For this was developed the concept of a training center "where all these supporting institutions could be placed and where the village through the managers, political leaders, and teachers could constantly come to get training, advice, and continuous services." (5 : 25)

The Comilla experiments generated four programmes that were nationally adopted between 1962 and 1970—71) Thana Training and Development Center—TTDC (1962), (2) The Rural Works Programme—RWP (1962) ; (3) The Thana Irrigation Programme—TIP (1967), and (4) The two-tier co-operative Project (1970). The concept and functions of the TTDC have already been described. The RWP was designed to create a firm infrastructure of road and flood control ; the TIP was designed to create the infrastructure of irrigation. Both programmes created employment for the landless labourers, and developed productive capacity of land. The two-tier co-operative system—primary societies at the village level federated at the thana level under the Thana Central Co-operative Association (TCCA)—was designed to organise small farmers, who constituted some 70% of rural families, for joint action. The relation between the RWP, the TIP and the co-operatives was considered very close and vital.

These four interrelated programmes—TTDC, RWP, TIP, Comilla co-operatives—together were thought to have formed the basis for integrated rural development in the country. However, since the setting up of an organisation in 1970 to replicate the Comilla model co-operatives as a national programme, both the organisation and the programme came to be designated as IRDP. It may also

be pointed out that Comilla (BARD) experiments for rural development were continuous, and did not end with generating the four programmes. A definite programme was developed in the Comilla Laboratory Thana (Kotwali), ready for duplication, of Thana School Boards in order to assume the responsibility for "planning and reconstructing the entire educational system". (5:27). The idea did not seem to find favour with the government (7:8). Experiments with other institutions such as youth clubs, women's clubs, etc., were on-going.

Post Liberation development :

The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation on 16th December, 1971 after a liberation war that cost immense blood, brought promise for establishment of an exploitation free society through socialist reconstruction. What Akhter Hameed Khan wanted to achieve "behind the back of the government"—a revolution in the rural area by liberating the poor peasantry, became the open slogan of the government and political parties of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The First Five-Year Plan (FFYP) of Bangladesh published in November 1973, provided clear guidelines for steps to a socialist transformation of the country. Capital formation for quick and significant development could be best achieved through a combination of productivity increase and shared austerity. The FFYP in outlining the new institutional policy and programmes for rural development pointed to major mistakes of the past (2:155)

According to the Plan a social transformation of the agricultural and rural economy of Bangladesh required that the means and process of production and distribution be socially controlled and regulated.

A significant policy recommendation was to have informal people's council at the village level, consisting of all voters in the village, which would "receive reports from its elected representatives to the local government, discuss problems, make plans of action and take collective decision on all matters related to the village within the broad framework of development plans and policies". The people's council would "ensure mass participation, public accountability, and social responsibility of the members and leaders of village communities."

The freely operating political leadership with their cadres did indeed make pronouncements in line with the plan but failed to establish credibility with the rural masses or points of shared austerity and incorruptibility. In fact, most political incumbents in power were losing ground in their own village constituencies. As pointed out by Rene Dumont the effect of the past colonial set-up based on a legal-administrative system that was derived from the Roman laws and which protected the mutually bound privileged classes—the propertied and those in administration, judiciary and police—manifested itself in full force. If the village community with majority of under-privileged small farmers and workers have to get fair dispensation from their village court (or *Samaj*), the country's legal system must be made conducive to this through appropriate reform.

Another major constraint that has continued to bear the colonial legacy is the education system which is responsible for a high level of illiteracy in rural areas. The existing type of education contributes to the development of an attitude to disdain work, hate at the same time extort the class of workers and poor peasantry, work for individual gains without regard for the society. Retraining of the educated adult and youth—holding public leadership, government office, teaching position in schools and universities—for a mental transformation is necessary, since from them has to come the major cadre to help transform the rural society.

The foremost problem of the day seems to be the unhealthy rivalry and uncoordinated approach of individual Ministries and departments in dealing with rural problems. Formation of a high level "Rural Development Boards" charged with the responsibility of formulating rural development policy and integrating efforts of governmental and voluntary agencies at various levels—from nation down to the village—is being considered a necessary and desirable step.

The co-operative movement—aiming at self-reliance and self-management—should receive special support of the government. As has been recommended by various expert bodies there should be one type of village agricultural co-operative society of the Comilla model. Co-operative member education and training especially at the primary level should receive strong emphasis.

In *Swanirvar* programme with its scheme of broad-based village committees, intimate and continuing contact between the representatives of the nation building departments and villagers, formulation and implementation of village development plans is in the way of realisation of the policies that the new nation of Bangladesh inunciated in its First Plan. There are problems of relocation of physical areas (Spatial planning) in conformity with technological innovations, central place-market development, land ceiling, tenancy relations, joint farming and marketing on the part of small farmers, landless workers, women—all of which are related to raising of productivity, capital formation through savings and investment, and distribution. If the goals are made clear, the villagers themselves may be depended upon to provide solution to the problems and ways and means to reach the goals.

RURAL INSTITUTION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

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Rural development in a broad sense of the term involves a multiple process of transforming rural life it involves a process of growth and change encompassing economic, social and technological factors.

Economic factors include the process of acceleration of economic growth in the rural sector through more efficient mobilization of productive resources, raising the level of agricultural productivity and generating alternative rural employment and income opportunities by diversification of activities including establishment of agro-base industries.

Social factors include not only the development of appropriate institutions to support and sustain the process of economic growth, but also a transformation in the social values and attitudes, a cultural regeneration and process of integration of the rural people.

Technological factors relate to innovations and their proper diffusion which would include adopting of better inputs and better methods of production, development of new skills, and provision of basic rural infrastructure necessary to support the process of development.

To ensure the success of any programme of rural development all these factors need to be considered simultaneously. Unfortunately, this is very often ignored and partial or uncoordinated approaches to rural development are adopted. As a result these attempt fail to realize their objectives. In Bangladesh, this has happened in the past.

Some programmes stressed the need for ensuring adequate supply of improved inputs for agricultural development without considering the need for promoting an effective mechanism for diffusing the knowledge of their proper use and without providing for an

appropriate institution for the equitable distribution of these inputs and an effective and collective adoption of the new technology.

Some approaches overstress the need for diffusion of the new knowledge and emphasize the need for setting up a strong extension organization ignoring the practical aspects of adequate availability of inputs and other necessary resources and rural institutional set-up of agricultural producers at the grass-root level which is well prepared and capable of easily and effectively adopting the new knowledge.

Two policy questions may be raised here. One is the question of equity. It has to be decided as a planning strategy as to whether maximization of economic growth in the aggregate sense is our only aim or we should also consider, at the same time, the equitable distribution of the results of development among all sections of the rural community.

The need for equity also arises if we consider the present trend of polarization in land ownership. A recent study shows that there is a trend towards change in the ownership of land from small and medium farmers to large owners and an increase in the number of landless farmers.

The second policy question relating to rural development in Bangladesh is whether it is necessary to bring about changes in the economic and political structure of the country if we want to achieve equity.

Again, on the basis of a study on the institutional approaches to rural development in Bangladesh, Blair concludes that "efforts to spread political and economic power must remain futile without a concomitant effort to change the political and economic structure of the country".

There are primarily two types of rural institutions in Bangladesh — the local government system and the co-operatives.

The concept of local government system in Bangladesh traces back to the old village panchayets. Under the Bengal Village Self-Government Act of 1919 came the Union Boards which were replaced in 1959 by Union Councils. After independence, the newly revived local government bodies were termed as Union Parishads.

The Panchayets more or less restricted themselves to administrative and social functions. The Union Boards added a number

of economic functions while the reorganized Union Councils assumed rural development activities on a large scale under the Rural Works Programme.

The other major rural institution in Bangladesh is the co-operative system. Co-operatives were introduced in this country by government legislation in 1904. The system from the very beginning was initiated and supported by government officials and no spontaneous movement has grown so far on a large scale.

In spite of its achievements the Comilla system of co-operatives suffers from certain drawbacks. Though there has been some diversification in their activities, these co-operatives have remained as service co-operatives — catering to the input needs of their members. As a result, the impact on productivity has not been uniform, and there has been lack of equity in the distribution of inputs also. Benefits have gone mostly to surplus farmers and the rural elite.

The proposed institution would consist of a re-organized system of village based production-oriented multipurpose co-operatives formed by well directed organization and mobilization of the rural people. These societies will no longer be mere service societies catering to input needs of individual members. They will assume co-operative ownership of production units—operating and managing both land and other resources in the village. Right of individual ownership will, however, be retained. Besides crop production they will diversify their activities to fisheries, livestock and then to agro-based industries. The society will also in course of time, assume responsibilities for providing planned housing, sanitation and health services, better education facilities, rural electrification and for the development of other social and cultural services.

For agricultural operation the land would be divided into a number of contiguous blocks each with a production team responsible for various operational functions under the directions and guidance of the elected Central Managing Committee. Procurement and allocation of inputs would be done by the managing committee. The output would be pooled and after deduction of the amount necessary to pay for cost of inputs including loans, contribution to various funds such as capital and reserve funds general welfare

funds, and seeds, the rest would be distributed to members. Pooling of output will ensure prompt repayment of loans and provide a painless method of building up the capital funds of the society.

As the scope of activities of the societies widens, sub-committees would be formed to initiate, plan and manage specific development programmes. The activities of these sub-committees would be co-ordinated by the Central Managing Committee.

In order to diffuse the leadership base and counteract the vested interest group, necessary motivation and training would be provided to members through regular meetings. Summary statements of accounts of income and expenditure will be presented in such meetings and these will be displayed in the society's notice boards. Initially, a specialist may be attached to each co-operative society for guiding such activities. With its joint production, output pooling and jointly decided distribution method, the system has a built-in mechanism which automatically limits the scope for serving the vested interest group.

In the long run, such co-operatives may assume the role of a local government institution and become the organ of the government in matters of local administration and development. This may require, among other things, a re-organization in the administrative structure. The thanas may have to be re-organized covering smaller areas but based on more homogeneous physical and socio-economic features. Unions may have to be done away with reducing the tiers of government from five to four.

The system also to be the most appropriate rural institution, because, it is the most convenient and economic means of reaching new inputs and technology to the rural people. The system has an inherent capacity for capital formation which it can achieve in a much less painful but more effective manner.

The system can create a nucleus of structural change and modernization by diversifying activities and mobilising local people and resources.

PROCUREMENT, DISTRIBUTION AND PRICING POLICIES FOR AGRICULTURAL INPUTS AND OUTPUTS IN BANGLADESH—A CRITICAL REVIEW

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Agricultural development, in a broader sense, implies transformation of about 8 millions farms from their traditional stage to a technologically developed stage. It is generally agreed that productivity cannot be increased much without adoption of high productivity inputs from outside the farming system. The government has, accordingly, undertaken programmes to procure and distribute chemical fertilizers, improved seeds and pesticides and create capacities to provide irrigation water. These programmes are reviewed in the following paragraphs.

While rapid expansion of fertilizer use is increasingly being emphasised on the ground of high yield potential, the growth rate of annual sale had been only 10.5% for the period 1952-53 to 1972-73. This trend has not, however, been uniform. It had been fairly high until mid-60's since then it tapered off and over the last few years, the rate of expansion of fertilizer sale has been tended to decline.

On the basis of cropped area of 31 million acres, the per acre use of fertilizer is around only 25 lbs. Obviously, a large area under various crops including rice still go without fertilizer. Only relatively well-to-do farmers who have cash and also access to credit can use fertilizer. There is also a considerable regional difference in the use of fertilizer. While Dacca, Chittigong, Comilla Bogra, Noakhali and Kushtia districts account of only about *one fourth* of the cultivated area, they are *more than half* of fertilizer. Regional disparity can be attributed to irrigation development, easier communication facilities and effective extension efforts.

In Bangladesh, fertilizer marketing has few distinct features. *First*, at the wholesale level, the government is the sole seller of fertilizer which is procured by a government agency (BADC) either from local factories or from foreign sources. No private

trade has been permitted to operate in this area. At the retail level, however, there are a large number of government appointed private dealers and a number of thana co-operative federations which, on receipt of their quota allotted by the designated committees, lift fertilizers from the central intermediate thana godowns and sell the same to the farmers sometimes on the basis of a priority list at a price fixed by the Govt. *Secondly*, there is no competitive buying or selling nor is there strong urge for sale promotion activities as a private business enterprise would normally do to make a higher profit. The profit margin of the private dealer is fairly low but the system operating under a state of chronic shortage, provides a strong incentive for black market and malpractices. *Thirdly*, the quantity bought and sold by the dealers or co-operative organizations is also more or less fixed depending on the availability of supply. *Fourthly*, partly as a result of a complicated distribution mechanism and partly of chronic shortage, much of the potential demand remains unfulfilled.

The price policy for fertilizer has been a subject of controversy both at home and abroad. The average subsidy which was 65% in 1971-72, was reduced to about 27% in 1974-75. While subsidy was not only eliminated from but also some profit made in urea in 1974-75, the same for TSP and MP still continues to be fairly high. Such a differential pricing is justified on the ground of popularising the use of balanced fertilizer. The government is now caught with a dilemma in respect of fertilizer pricing. The procurement cost of fertilizer especially from domestic sources, has increased much while the price of agricultural output especially paddy has declined considerably this year. The unfavourable price of paddy (about Tk. 60/- per md. in December, 1975 as against Tk. 110/- per md. in Dec. 1976), suggests a downward adjustment of fertilizer prices. On the otherhand, from the point of view of increased budgetary liability and international commitments with donors such as USAID and World Bank, the selling price of fertilizer needs to be raised. The subsidy estimate in the revised development budget of 1975-76 for 4 lakh tons is Tk. 67.80 crores which is almost half of the allocation for agriculture sector during 1975-76. Subsidy especially under a shortage situation, misallocates resources and leads to inefficiency, corruption and wastes. Moreover, in a shortage situation

where fertilizer distribution is channeled on the basis of prepared priority lists, it is the small farmers who are deprived of the benefits of subsidy. Even under a free market price, the small farmers also can not derive much benefits unless supply is arranged for them with improved seeds.

At present, BADC has the primary responsibility for procuring, multiplying, processing and distributing seeds for almost all crops except jute seeds. Seeds are both imported and locally procured by multiplying the same in government farms and registered grower's farm. The present system of seed procurement, multiplication and distribution for cereal crops is not only inadequate in quantity but also deficient in quality. While large quantities of seeds are distributed every year, most of the locally procured seeds are of questionable quality in terms of both purity and germination rate. This is due to poor management of the government seed farms combined with a complete lack of seed quality control and difficulties in supervising the widely scattered registered growers with inadequate supervisory staff. Moreover, sometimes the government seeds arrive at the farmer's level when the sowing time is over and these seeds are more costly than the farmer's own or locally available seeds. Since the farmers have little confidence in the government seeds (except the imported HYV, these seeds often remain unsold in the government godown and entail unnecessary budgetary liability. Though a comprehensive cereal seed project has been launched recently with IDA assistance, it will take much time before the government seed production and distribution programmes can be significantly effective.

These are official estimates of subsidy. The actual rate will be higher if unsold stocks which are sold at a much lower price are taken into account and if there are shortages in distribution. A thorough probe may place the subsidy in the order of 50%. Subsidy can partly be justified in case of a completely new variety can partly be justified in case of a completely new variety to compensate the farmers for the uncertainty and risk elements. If the quality is genuine and yield potential high, farmers do not mind paying a higher price. But sometimes, the prices tend to be high mainly due to high overhead costs and lack of desired level of efficiency of the distributing agencies.

Official estimates claim about 10 to 15% annual reduction in potential crops due to pests and plant diseases. The introduction

of HYV has made the protection of crops more urgent due to greater susceptibility of these varieties to pests and diseases. For the farmers, such protection serves as a great insurance against risks and uncertainties of their investment.

After pricing has been introduced, the wastage has considerably been reduced. There is now no strong lobby for larger import by the private companies as it was before. Import of pesticides has thus been restricted. Similar improvement has also been brought about in the import and use of sprayers. While the government used to purchase large number of sprayers, they on an average lasted only $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 years as against their potential life span of 5-6 years when properly used and maintained. Such a wastage was not surprising. The *Mukaddams* in order to avoid hard work sometimes gave these equipments to the farm leaders and influential members of the Union Council who hardly cared for their repair and maintenance. Now pricing has been introduced on sprayers as well and they have been put on sale. It is expected that the wastage will be reduced. One serious problem with such expensive sprayers (cost will range from Tk. 400 to 500) is that given a choice, the farmers would not acquire them at full cost. They would prefer inexpensive equipment easy to handle. Many farmers use simple broom or palm leaf broom.

Government policy on plant protection should be absolutely clear. Protection of crop is to be treated as similar to harvesting and weeding, and over time, it is the farmers who should be trained gradually to take up the protection of their crops themselves and the government role should be limited only to policy formulation, demonstration, monitoring, supply of materials and serial spraying in case of infestation of serious type.

Water is the most strategic input for increasing agricultural productivity. Irrigation capacity is now being expanded through a number of public sector agencies in association with some private firms. Irrigated area now is claimed to be nearly 25 lakh acres of which 1.2 million acres by indigenous method. There is hardly an authentic figure as to the actual area irrigated. Most executing agencies provide exaggerated figures of area coverage. BADC for example claims that on an average the area irrigated per tubewell is 43 acres. Field enquiries revealed that many a tubewell irrigated only even 5 to 10 acres. Irrigated area officially reported is still

about 8.4% of the total cropped area 11.2% of the cultivated area of the country.

The price policy for irrigation water is extremely anomalous. This has created considerable confusion and raised important distributional questions. Large scale gravity flow irrigation has proved to be the most expensive method of irrigation and it has the high rate of subsidy. On the other hand, the small scale irrigation like IRDP's hand tubewells or BKB's shallow tubewells has no subsidy at all. Low lift pump and BADC's Tubewell programmes are also heavily subsidised programmes.

The dissimilar rates of subsidy do not, however, bear any positive relationship with the contribution of various types of irrigation to the increased output. As a matter of fact, hand tubewells, low lift pumps and shallow tubewells which involve no subsidy or relatively lower rate of subsidy, contribute largely to the output increase. While 50% of the allocation for the water resource sector goes to large scale irrigation and deep tubewells, they involve about 90 to 100% subsidy. Imposition of a price provides an automatic mechanism to check performance or utilisation of resources. If no price is charged, an agency with such projected programme can go without reporting the real coverage. Subsidised operation breeds inefficiency and leads to wastage of scarce resources. This has encouraged improper location of pumps and tubewells, total wastage or under utilisation of water and persistence of a tendency for the irrigation group to be smaller in size and inactive in operation. Moreover, subsidy on irrigation water tends to benefit the bigger farmers proportionately more than the smaller ones. The justification for a heavy subsidy in irrigation water hardly exists in a situation where farmer's profitability increases with more and efficient utilization of water. While from the point of view of economic profitability, subsidy on water may be reduced considerably without much adverse effects on farmer's incentive, a great deal of political courage will, nevertheless be needed to implement the same. The sooner the subsidy is withdrawn, the better for the country.

From the above review, few tentative conclusions may be drawn :—

- (i) Public sector handling of commercial type of activities are time-consuming, inefficient and costly.
- (ii) Autonomous bodies even with adequate administrative and financial flexibilities commensurate with responsibilities, are

not necessarily the real answer to the efficient management and operation of supplies and services for the farmers. This is because some of the autonomous bodies have developed the same attitude operational procedures and functional rules which usually hamper efficiency in a typical government department. Whenever the private sector has shown interest in some sectors, it should be activated and unless efficiency of operation can justify their continuance, there should not be a nostalgia per se for semi-autonomous bodies or even co-operatives.

The involvement of the govt. in the procurement of rice and jute especially for support purposes over the last few years has been quite substantial. This is examined in this section.

Jute

The basic problems with respect to the price of raw jute are (i) the instability of price and (ii) low returns to the growers. Jute price has traditionally been subject to both cyclical and seasonal fluctuations. Cyclical fluctuations can be ascribed to the variation in supply and demand conditions both at home and abroad. Such fluctuation in jute is also fairly considerable. Normally, July to December is the period of low price while January to June is the period of high price. This trend is highly correlated with the quantum of loose jute arrival at the balling centres (70% arrive between July to Dec.) Heavy rush of arrival is attributed to low holding power of the growers, inadequate storage facilities, absence of co-operatives and difficulty in transport facilities after recession of flood water in October. Two significant measures viz. (i) fixation of minimum price with appropriate price support scheme (ii) buffer stock operation, were recommended by the Jute Enquiry Commission to stabilise jute price and ensure fair price to the growers. Four public sector corporations viz. JTC, JMC, JPSC and BJC have been entrusted with these functions. They have both paid up and borrowed capital for buying jute at minimum price from the growers. The incentive price for jute producers has become important these days especially due to competitiveness of jute with rice. Over the last few years, the price of rice has risen much more than the price of jute. Moreover, the high productivity inputs which

are heavily subsidised are more widely used in rice than in jute and the technological break-through is more advanced in rice than in jute. Consequently, a much higher and more effective jute price is needed to induce the farmers to continue to produce jute in the existing areas which have declined in recent years. According to FAO expert recommendation, the most desirable jute-rice price ratio will be 1.1 : 1. An appropriate price policy for jute would serve two main purposes (i) to ensure a competitive price with that of synthetics in the external market (ii) price has to be high enough to keep jute competitive with rice in the use of same land resources.

While the govt. announce every year a minimum price for jute growers and arrange procurement of jute at minimum price through the public sector corporations, the effectiveness of minimum price, has, however, been open to question. (i) The minimum price is not strictly a statutorily enforceable price. It merely serves as a guide to farm gate prices. (ii) Due to limitation of capital resources and lack of baling facilities at the farm level, the govt. corporation are forced to buy jute at the secondary markets. (iii) Farmer-hardly receive the benefit of minimum price. (iv) The advantages of high market price (under a situation) are not derived by the small farmers. Only wealthier farmers and middlemen who have holding powers by and large derive such benefits.

Rice.

Govt. involvement in the procurement and distribution of rice particularly in recent years has been quite considerable. Until 1973, procurement did not form a regular part of the govt. policy. While the govt. abolished the compulsory procurement programme in 1972, procurement accounted for only 3% of the total sale in 1973-74. But from 1974-75, the govt. policy has been to procure as much quantity of rice as possible from the local producers and minimise its procurement from abroad. A vigorous compulsory procurement programme was, accordingly, introduced from Aman crop of 1974. The procurement price was raised to Tk. 74.00 per md. of paddy and Tk. 120.00 per md. of rice from Tk. 45.00 and Tk. 72.00 per md. for paddy and rice respectively in 1973. A maximum quantity of 1,27,000 tons of rice was procured despite intensified administrative efforts in terms

of cordoning of each district, assessment of each farmer. While the govt. was able to double it's procurement compared to it's performance in the preceding year, the harsh methods used caused resentment and also disincentive to many farmers. The price offered was far below the market price ; cordoning prevented the normal trade to operate pushing prices down in some surplus districts and up in the deficit districts.

The present design and methods of procurement have tended to benefit only the big farmers or middlemen. While there is still dispute as to who gets the benefit of support price more, the fact is that since the procurement price has been well above the market price, there has been some support to the growers.

RURAL INSTITUTIONS—A DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

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I

Speaking on rural institutions, their problems of reforms in the context of Bangladesh, I consider it worthwhile to start by reiterating a few simple facts of life particularly as they relate to Bangladesh agriculture. This should help us to locate the institutions that are pertinent in the first instance. The first simple fact to which I would like to draw your attention is that we are using up a very high proportion of our export earnings in importing foodgrains.

The second simple fact is that over the period 1970-71 to 1974-75, foodgrain imports by volume have averaged 17.7 percent of domestic production, with a low of 10.3 per cent in the first year and a high of 27.8 per cent in 1972-73.

The third fact, of such elemental simplicity that is seemed to have escaped the attention of all analysis in this area, is that yield per acre of rice has been declining for all broadly defined types.

When one takes the local and high-yielding varieties separately, the decline in yields is unmistakable. This is obscured somewhat in the average figures due to shifts in acreage from local to high yielding varieties, yet it is surely a phenomenon worth pondering upon

Four : while firm empirical corroboration is lacking, it seems certain that the extent of landlessness, and indeed of proletarianization in the strict sense (expropriation of peasants from all means of production) is increasing rapidly. In the light of figures cited by various officials over the past year or two, it would appear that the estimate of 38 per cent landlessness in rural areas offered by my colleagues and myself in 1974 is if anything on the conservative side. Also, while this estimate overstated pauperization since it included people who owned some

means of production (ploughs, cattle, boats, looms) and also people like teachers, petty traders and so on, on the other hand, and I would guess more significantly, it understated the degree of proletarianization since masses of dwarf-holders are critically dependent on wage labour for survival.

One could go on, but since my purpose is to provide not a meticulous portrait but a suggestive sketch, I shall end by reminding you of a fact that many of us would much rather forget. This is the famine of 1974. Officially this famine is supposed to have claimed 28,000 lives. Unofficially one hears that the district of Rangpur alone may have lost as many as 50,000 dead. Now the curious thing is that from the aggregative data that are available, it does not seem that one can attribute this famine in any straightforward way to flood damage and resulting shortage. There was a dramatic fall in foodgrain imports between 1972-73 and 1973-74, but this was more than offset by a rise in domestic production, so that total availability in 1973-74 was in fact the highest since liberation.

These facts taken together constitute an aphoristic outline of what I perceive as "the agrarian problem" in Bangladesh. It lays no claim to being anywhere near a complete characterization of this problem. It should, however, serve to ground the discussion that follows.

II

The Uses and Abuses of Utopianism

That our agriculture presents a problem, perhaps the critical problem, will be admitted by everyone. It is in the nature of things that there should be less agreement about the underlying causes of this problem and, therefore, about solutions. Keith Griffin has suggested that solutions advanced to the agrarian problem can be classified into (1) technocratic, (2) reformist, and (3) radical. The technocratic solution consists essentially of providing inputs, information, and incentives, and tends to dismiss institutional or structural constraints as irrelevant. The *reformist* solution would in general incorporate the technocratic approach, but stress in addition the inadequacy of certain institutional arrangements that regulate agricultural production. The *radical*

solution would suggest that the "institutional constraints" observed by the reformists are in fact more or less superficial manifestations of more deep-seated structural barriers that are rooted in the existing balance of class forces, and that the suggested "tinkerings" of the reformists will achieve nothing without a social revolution that sweeps away the entrenched ruling class both locally and at the state level.

Clearly all the programmes that we have experimented within the past, as well as those being put into effect now, fall in the second group. Pure technocracy has few overt adherents in Bangladesh, and pure radicalism is probably to be found only among some (by no means all) left groups. The question to which I want to address myself is: are we on the right track? If not, then what is to be done?

One distinction should be established here. This is, approximately, the distinction between "growth" as a value-free concept, and "development" as a concept that incorporates some value-judgment in an essential way. Certain strategies which would achieve high rates of growth of output may do so only at the cost of increasing poverty and misery for large masses of the population. One may legitimately refuse to honour such growth with the name of development—a term one would like to reserve for something desirable. Undoubtedly this raises problems. You may desire growth with equity, while I desire growth with harmonious social relations. You may desire growth that actively associates the direct producers with the decision-making process, while I may desire growth that "keeps the lower orders in their places." I may want growth with the liberation of women and the erosion of religion, you may think death by starvation a better option than growth at such cost.

However, let us accept provisionally that this distinction makes sense and is useful, and let us also provisionally accept "growth with (some minimum acceptable level of) equity" as our definition of "development." Now the reformist as well as the radical critique of the technocratic position may be based on two logically distinct grounds. It may be argued that the technocratic solution will fail to achieve growth, or (and this is the more common argument) that it may achieve growth but

not development—in other words, that it may achieve growth, but only at an unacceptably high human cost.

The fundamental question of agrarian policy may now be formulated: does there exist an institutional framework for agriculture that is (a) attainable, and (b) consistent with the requirements of development?

The task of elucidating some of the key terms employed in the above formulation remains to be undertaken. But even before this is done, we may note that a great many works on this problem concentrate on (b) to the exclusion of (a). I want growth with equity. This requires such and such changes in the existing institutions. Therefore, let such changes be made. In such works, whose pseudo-radicalism can be quite heady to muddled minds, verbs in the optative mood far outnumber those in the indicative mood. Their authors are particularly addicted to the word "must", as if social reality were subject to no laws which have to be understood, but can be bent, and "must" be bent, to their will. No one can deny their sincere devotion to suffering humanity: the path they treat is, like the road to another place, paved with good intentions.

III

The fundamental question-elaborations

So much for the preliminaries, we are now, I think, equipped to confront what I have just now called the fundamental question of agrarian policy. To do so, we have to understand (a) what we mean by "institutional framework", (b) what we mean by "attainable", and (c) what we should lay down as "the requirements of development." Of these, the second is the most difficult question, and I shall leave it till later.

Without entering into the refinements of sociological theory, we may say that the institutional framework of agriculture refers to the set of stable arrangement, arrived at spontaneously or through conscious decisions, which regulate the ownership, control, and use of the elements of production in agriculture, and determine the utilization of the product. It thus includes such things as patterns and type of ownership, the different contractual forms under which labour and other elements of production

are brought together, forms of market and non-market exchange within the village and with the outside world, the kinds and magnitude of legitimized claims on the product, and so on.

Further clarity may be gained if we compare this concept with some others that are widely used in discussions about the agrarian problem. One is "social structure", the other is "mode of production." Let me say briefly—but I hope not cryptically—that the notion of "institutional framework" as I have elaborated it here is much narrower than "social structure", and broader, shallower, and on a lower level of abstraction than "mode of production." Let me also add that there will exist a broad correspondence between modes of production and institutional and framework, but this has to be understood as being mediated through the policy and cannot, therefore, always be identified at the local level. In fact it is this mediation through the policy which the essence of the "institution-building" approach to rural development.

The question of the developmental imperatives on agriculture may be conveniently split (given our definition of development) into the requirements of growth and the requirement of equity. This is a somewhat mechanical separation that will not satisfy the purist, but that I find useful at least as a heuristic device.

Now on the contributions that agriculture can make and must make for growth, there is near-unanimity. Agriculture must provide food for the entire population, and in particular food as "variable capital" for non-agricultural activities (including the work of infrastructure-building in agriculture itself), it must provide raw materials for domestic industry (whether concentrated in cities or dispersed over the countryside), and it must at least for the initial, usually fairly prolonged, period of development, provide the bulk of the exports needed for the foreign exchange component of investment as well as consumption. (The other classic requirement, that of releasing men for industry, is obviously not pressing in our context.) In addition, it should provide a profitable and growing market for domestic industrial production to create the basis for a dynamically articulated growth process. (Note that this is true even if all domestic industry is state-owned, though the category "profit" may then have to be replaced for

analytical clarity.) To sum it up in a concise and revealing formula, agriculture must provide the source of primitive (socialist or capitalist) accumulation.

In Bangladesh a necessary condition for all this is that there should be a rise gross agricultural output-and in the first instance in foodgrain output-and that not all this rise should be consumed in kind by the grower. We can therefore, begin by trying to ascertain whether there are institutional constraints to such a development, and if so, what alternative institutional frameworks can be suggested to remove these constraints.

Break down the problem further. To fulfil the condition laid down above, the decision-makers in agriculture must have (a) access to the technical means of increasing output, (b) access to information on the use of these means, and (c) the incentive to increase production *and* to part with a portion of the increased output. Any institutional structure that blocks any of these will be a barrier to growth.

Let us then proceed to examine the existing institutional framework in agriculture in the light of the above discussion. My procedure will be (a) to try and identify elements in the structure that block growth, (b) to discuss alternative suggestions for institutional reforms in terms of their efficacy for growth as well as their implications for equity, and then (c) to arrive at some, necessarily tentative, conclusions about their attainability.

IV

The institutional framework

The first task is clearly to obtain an idea of the institutional framework as it exists today. This task, however, is rendered virtually impossible by the absence of reliable nation-wide data. The last major survey was undertaken in 1960. There has been a so called "Master survey" in 1967-68, but such confusions abound in the terms and concepts employed that one feels reluctant to rely on any part of it. In any case, nine years is a long time, and many of us may be engaged, in the pastime of laying ghosts that have been exercised long ago. Nevertheless, the following brief outline will perhaps not prove very controversial.

Let us keep to the tentative checklist provided at the beginning of section III, and try to specify, for Bangladesh agriculture, (a) types and patterns of ownership of major productive assets, particularly land, (b) kinds of transactions in labour and land, (c) exchange relations within the village and between the village and the outside world, and (d) the nature and magnitude of the customary claims to the product of the soil. Let me add here something very important that I missed out in the earlier enumeration: (e) the locus of the decision-making process about choice of inputs, outputs, disposal of output and investment.

(a) This refers to the form of property and the quantitative distribution of chief types of assets. The dominant form of property is unrestricted private ownership, with right of use and transfer vested in the head of the household, and with inheritance by partition among surviving children according to Islamic law.

Some elements of communal ownership can be discerned in some waste lands, bamboo groves and sometimes in grazing rights to grass and stubble. Population pressure and the inroads made by the market economy and the market mentality are fast obliterating those traces.

State property is represented by the khas lands, market places, and fisheries. Since the state has so far been a distant presence, these have usually been successfully appropriated by local potentates who managed to obtain the patronage of whatever ruling class (or clique) happened to be in power at the centre.

(b) Land can be sold, leased or mortgaged. Large owners usually lease out most of their land and use hired labour for the family farm. The leasing is overwhelmingly for about eighty per cent of the land area involved in such transactions—on a sharecropping basis. In a somewhat restricted sense one may speak here of the co-existence of “feudal” and “capitalistic” modes of exploitation. The small or landless peasant has, conversely, the option of share-cropping or wage-labour. Usually the totally expropriated peasant has no choice but wage labour, while one with at least a pair of oxen and a plough will prefer to sharecrop. One reason why sharecropping may be preferred by the landowner is the scattered nature of landholdings, which

causes costs of supervision of wage labour to rise very steeply with a rise in the amount of land owned.

In purely quantitative terms, the dominant form, in which the elements of production combine, is the peasant household, which works mainly its own land with mainly its own labour. Sub-division of larger properties helps to replenish the group, while population pressure, the vagaries of nature, and the depredations of usurer's and merchant's capital are constantly expropriating masses of them. It is difficult to say, however, which tendency dominates at the moment, and future developments would obviously depend on a very wide range of factors—differential rates of population growth, differential rates of access to non-agricultural occupations, and the rate at which bigger landowners invest in more land, to name a few. It may, therefore, be too glib to dismiss this stratum as doomed to extinction very soon.

(c) A large volume of market exchange within the village is still carried on in kind—commodities against commodities, commodities against labour, labour against labour, and present commodities against future commodities (loans in kind). Money is used chiefly for exchange with the outside world. Exchange of agricultural goods is in any case fairly limited since agricultural production is still relatively non-specialized and subsistence-oriented (warning: this picture may be more out-of-date than the others). Exchange with the outside world is carried on through a hierarchy of traders, and is increasing in importance with the ongoing process of polarization, particularly in modern inputs to agriculture. For this latter, however, non-market structures are being experimented with—this is indeed the focal point of all hitherto-undertaken attempts at "institution-building."

(d) Claimants to output consist of the direct producer, the landowner, in some cases the state (land revenue) and perhaps the merchant and the moneylender—the merchant if he has provided an advance against a standing crop. When the direct producer and the landowner coincide, the direct producer principle appropriates the entire product of his product except whatever he may have to pay the state, but this is not infrequently illusory, if the producer is heavily indebted.

The bulk of the marketed surplus probably comes not directly from the many small peasants but from the large farmers, thus indirectly from the exploitation of wage-labourers and share-croppers. This, however, is speculation, and factual corroboration awaits further research. It is probably more true of rice than of cash crops like jute and sugarcane.

(e) In all arrangements except share-cropping, the decision on what to grow, what inputs to use, and how to dispose of the product is the landowner's. Merchants and moneylender may intervene here again to restrict quite stringently the range of choices about disposal available to the small owner-producer.

So much for a highly stylized picture of the institutional framework of Bangladesh agriculture. We must now try to understand how this framework is likely to accommodate itself to various suggested solutions the agrarian problem.

V

Capitalism in Agriculture—Inevitable or Impossible?

We recall that the suggested solutions are of three kinds. Technocratic solution would depend almost entirely on the market mechanism, limiting the role of government to providing information about new inputs and removing obstacles to the smooth working of the market for inputs and outputs. It would involve, I suppose, no rationing, no procurements (except at going market prices), no tariff policies that turn the domestic terms of trade against agriculture, etc. In brief, it is a plea for the free development of capitalism in agriculture.

As I pointed out earlier, no one (with the possible exception of Milton Friedman) would really and seriously argue this position, and not much is gained by knocking down straw men. Let me just say briefly that given the small average size of holdings, the relatively insignificant amount of land held even in moderately large holdings (15.42 per cent of all area in possession held in farm sizes of 12.5 acres or more, according to the Master Survey of 1967-68), and the fragmented and dispersed nature of most units of property, this process would work indeed, but work exceedingly slowly, and would have to involve expropriation of the small and dwarf-holding peasantry on a massive scale—or,

paradoxically, this process could work only if all land were nationalized at a stroke and then rented out to enterprising farmers in compact blocks. But if a government is powerful enough to do this, then it can probably do much better.

The reformists recognize that elements of the institutional framework do impede growth or drive growth into perverse channels. They point out that share-cropping reduces incentives to work and to invest, that small and middle farmers are exploited by landlords, moneylenders and traders, so that surplus that would have employed at least partly in productive investment in agriculture is siphoned off for unproductive purposes, and that with some organization this sector could be strengthened, motivated, and provide a broad base for growth—without at the same time generating inequalities. and their recommendation is co-operation. Not co-operation for production, at least in the beginning, but co-operation for the utilization of lumpy investment hardware (pumps, tube-wells, and to a lesser extent tractors and power tillers), for improving credit standing by pooling scattered and tiny financial resources, and for facilitating the transmission of knowledge about new technologies in agriculture. (Strangely enough, very little was done by way of storage and marketing of products, leading one to suspect that the exploitation of traders is somewhat exaggerated).

We have argued at length elsewhere that it is naive to believe that the co-operative way represents an alternative to capitalism or socialism, and that it is in its essence the sole possible organizational base for the development of capitalism in our agriculture. In the course of a discussion of the IRDP, we pointed out that immanent in this strategy was one of the major contradictions of capitalistic growth—that increased production would lead to greater inequalities. Let me add this: it is not possible to utilize such co-operatives to attack the dominant class in the village unless that dominant class is attacked on other fronts as well. If this class—the rich farmers, in alliance with traders and with privileged access to the lower levels of state bureaucracy—is included in the co-operatives, they will utilize it themselves. If one attempts to exclude them while leaving intact the basis of their local power, they can wreck the co-operative.

There are many reasons why a rational, growing, and equitable agriculture would necessitate an organization of agricultural production on an advanced cooperative basis. I have provided a resume of the arguments elsewhere. That was to a certain extent an exercise in utopianism, since, I nowhere, made clear how such a structure might be attained. Some exploration in that direction may provide a fitting final to this presentation.

A land reform is clearly indicated as the first stage of any move in that direction. The reformists are not against land reform in principle. They sometimes even recommended true and radical land reform. What they appear to ignore is the political task that is implicit in such a strategy the will and determination on the part of the government, the transformation of its class basis social revolution, therefore, is a prerequisite before land reform can be more than a pious wish. They are also frequently led to advance arguments for land reform that are not the real arguments. They speak as if it would be sufficient to eliminate the vestiges of feudalism and the elements of growing capitalism in one fell stroke to usher in the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

A land reform is not indicated because small farms exhibit higher employment and output per acre. It is not even primarily needed because it creates a more egalitarian rural society. It is needed to smash the power base of rural elites who are unproductive and who provide the base of support for all reactionary regimes. It is needed because otherwise we cannot go on to the higher forms of co-operation. *It is a retreat that is undertaken in order to advance further.*

The "best" institutional framework is, therefore, attainable only if the existing historical conjuncture, the intensity of the class struggle, the international situation, and the process of formation of parties that articulate class interest all these are propitious for a decisive social revolution. Social revolutions will not happen because we feel that they are needed to usher in the kind of world we like, not even if we are very remarkable people. The social scientist, and particularly the Marxist social scientist, must

eschew wishfull thinking and empty sloganeering for clear-headed analysis of the tendencies of motion of the given social formation. And if such an analysis convinces him that conditions are *not* propitious for a social revolution, he must then admit that at the moment capitalism—perhaps “co-operative capitalism” represents a progressive force. Perhaps I should stress that I am *not* offering this as the correct conclusion for Bangladesh today. It may be true, but I do not know this, and I doubt if it is possible for academic scribblers like us ever to discover the truth about this particular question.

STRATEGIES OF AGRICULTURAL FINANCING IN BANGLADESH

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Introduction

The economy of Bangladesh is predominantly agricultural. Of the 7.4 crore population about 90 per cent live in rural areas and over 75 per cent are engaged in agricultural activities. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of this country. Hence the need for agricultural development, so that it can lead to an improvement in the economic condition of the masses and their standard of living. The effectiveness of economic planning in the country would depend largely on the measure of success the country is able to achieve in stepping up agricultural production.

The farmers of Bangladesh are poor for lack of capital, they can not use proper inputs in their production practices. In order to produce more they must use modern inputs such as better seeds, fertilizer, pesticides and implements. Expenditures required for these requisites can not be financed from his meagre savings. Therefore, the provision of farm credit for production purposes is inevitable for agricultural development in Bangladesh. The essent of agricultural development in the availability of credit.

Credit Requirements

The farmers of Bangladesh are tremendously dependent on external financing through Credit. So far no country-wide survey has been conducted to ascertain the extent of agricultural credit requirements, but it is certain that the need is tremendously great. In the absence of any comprehensive field survey specially in the context of new technology, it is difficult to make a realistic estimate of the requirement of credit. It may be estimated on two basic assumptions. First, credit is required to maintain the present level of production in agriculture and secondly, to bring about a projected rate of growth in the production level with the application of modern inputs.

Credit Enquiry Committee of 1959 estimated that the ratio of credit to output flow in agriculture was around 25 per cent. If the ratio of credit is taken to be around 15 per cent (with a projected 6 per cent growth rate in output) as worked out by Institute of Development Economics, the total credit requirement in Bangladesh agriculture will be around Taka 185.00 crores (the value of G.N.P. in agriculture in 1969-70 was estimated to be about Taka 1234.00 crores). The Committee on Agricultural Credit constituted by the erstwhile Government of East Pakistan estimated that by 1970, credit requirement would be Taka 182.00 crores. According to an alternative rule of thumb estimate, if it is assumed that about 60 per cent of the total farms (out of 6.8 million farms) would need credit, the requirement of credit works out at Taka 230.00 crores (4.08 million farms multiplied by Taka 566.00 per farm). Thus agricultural credit requirement ranges from Taka 180.00 crores to 230.00 crores depending on the alternative assumptions before the liberation of Bangladesh.

After independence, with the increasing price of fertilizers and high cost of farm labour along with other farm requisites, the credit need of farmers has increased manifold which must exceed the pre-liberation official estimation. Recently the Bangladesh Planning Commission estimated that the credit needs for agricultural sector will be to the tune of Taka 365.00 crores by the end of the First-Five Year Plan period. Of the total credit of Taka 365 crores, the estimated short-term credit needs at the end of the Plan period will be Taka 257.20 crores. The medium and long term credit needs for cattle purchase, land improvement, storage, ware-housing, agricultural implements, irrigation construction, etc., will be Taka 107.80 crores during the same period.

Flow of Agricultural Credit

Agricultural credit in our country is available both from institutional and non-institutional sources. But the non-institutional sources are still playing a dominant role in the arena of farm credit. This is because these credit are available at the door steps of the farmers. The formalities and pre-conditions of these credits except the rate of interest are also easier to fulfil by the farmers. Flow of farm credit from institutional sources has been relatively

less significant even in the recent years when judged in terms of both the volume of credit advanced and the number of farmers receiving such credit.

The share of the institutional sources to the total volume of credit increased in the recent years with the expansion of activities of the agencies. In 1969, the institutional credit agencies financed about 13.86 per cent of the total loan received by the farmers while the non-institutional sources supplied the remaining 86.14 per cent. Some official estimate indicate that the number of farms now covered by institutional sources will not exceed 15 to 20 percent of the total farms in Bangladesh.

The contribution of existing institutional sources of credit to the total credit requirements constitute also a small fragment to the total credit requirement of the farmers in Bangladesh. Whatever the amount of loan is available from the institutional sources, they are also associated with various cumbersome procedures involving wastage of time and unnecessary costs among other botherations on the part of the farmers.

Conclusion

The farmers major sources of finance is borrowing from non-institutional sources i. e. friends and relatives, well-to-do rural people, shopkeepers, money lenders etc. These are very costly sources since the interest charged varied even upto 300 per cent. So, the provision of adequate finance from institutional sources to the farmers is an important desideratum in boosting up agricultural production.

A revision in the policy of the government may act as an encouragement to the farmers in obtaining credit from institutional agencies. Security required by the bank is to be lowered. An all out effort may also be directed to simplify the procedures of availing loans and to supervise the credit utilization of the farmers by the bank staff are required. Only co-operative with production plan and supervision could solve the farmers' credit problem to a great extent. To overcome the defects of the so-called co-operative movement it is required to revive the movement to a new system of co-operative which has been devised by the BARD, Comilla, relevant to the conditions in Bangladesh.

POLICY PROPOSALS TOWARDS RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

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Introduction

Bangladesh is a country of villages numbering to 64493. Rural population is about 91.2% of total population. Rural people by profession may be farmers, fishermen, businessmen, carpenters etc. According to a sample survey 74.6% were cultivators 8.3% Businessmen, 6.1% day labourers, and 1.3% fishermen etc. There, it was found that 3% to 4% had some subsidiary occupation. It is generally recognized that the economic condition of all rural people are directly or indirectly influenced by the farming condition. So sometimes it is considered that the programme for agriculture will help develop the whole of the rural class. But actually it is not always so industrial and communication development are also closely related to rural development.

These days policy makers in Bangladesh are concerned about rural people and accordingly in Bangladesh are concerned about rural people and accordingly different action programmes have been directed to rural development. This is to some extent may be considered lip-service as prevalent in other developing countries. Otherwise, their economic conditions should not have deteriorated instead of improving. Further, it is observed that the small farmers are being exploited by the big ones through rights of land ownership and monopolization of government supplies and services. This has become more noticeable with the introduction of HYV of rice and wheat. Actually, due to high rate of population growth and continued low productivity in crop production, the conditions of small farmers along with the big ones have deteriorated over time.

Programmes adopted in the past

To develop the rural economy many steps have so far been taken; the first of which was V-AID (Village Agricultural and

Industrial Development) programme in the year 1955. The programme was intended primarily to stimulate self-help and co-operative effort among the villagers. That was democratic in concept and educative in nature and touched all phases of rural communities. But it failed perhaps due to the bureaucracy as evident from the letter of the Prime Minister that the Development Officers will normally be drawn from CSP and EPCS Cadres but wherever suitable officers from the technical departments if available, may be appointed as such. Latter in the year 1962-63 a broad based programme known as 'Rural Works Programme' was initiated. This was primarily meant for infrastructure development mainly through construction of roads, embankments, irrigation and drainage channels resulting in more employment for the people. But it also became failure reportedly due to misappropriation of funds and in-efficient management by the political elements.

During the 1960-decade Pakistan Academy for Rural Development introduced a new type of co-operative, developed in Comilla for overall improvement of rural economy. This was in addition to previous co-operative societies administered by the Directorate of Co-operative. The objectives of the Comilla Co-operative system as outlined by Alamgir.

- (i) increasing output, income and employment ;
- (ii) promoting capital accumulation ; and
- (iii) promoting social and economic equity. The main measures to attain such objectives were the development of co-operatives, provision of credit and providing training to the managers and model farmers of those co-operatives. In the later half of the 1960-decade the whole of Comilla was brought under that project. Achievements of this type of cooperative were observed to be mixed nature.

After liberation the Government of Bangladesh introduced Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) all over Bangladesh on the basis of Comilla model. Its coverage is expanding in terms of number of associations, number of members enrolled and amount of loan distributed. Achievements of IRDP till May, 1974 can be briefly stated as :—

- (i) that 42% of the villages of the IRDP thanas have been covered and out of these about 10% of the families have been enrolled ;

- (ii) number of members per society averaged 28.3 ;
- (iii) *per capita* cumulative share deposits and cash savings averaged Tk. 23.42 and Tk. 34.74 respectively ;
- (iv) the percentage of realization of loan accounted to progress 50.5 and over-due loan was observed to be 22.7%, over-all does not seem to be encouraging. Very recently in addition to the IRDP, government has taken up a promising programme widely known as 'Swanirvar' i.e. self-sufficiency. Under the scheme, action programmes are being initiated in many fronts of rural life such as introduction of HYV, supply of improved farm inputs, vaccination of poultry and livestock, construction of roads, channel, schools, clinics, installation of power pumps and tubewells and distribution of family planning materials. Its scope is very broad and the programmes are to be implemented through different committees from the state to the village level. Over-all responsibility of its execution and supervision are with civil servants. The special characteristic of this programme is the participation of top government officials in the swanirvar workshops.

INTER-DISTRICT DISPARITIES IN PER-CAPITA PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY OF PRICE AND THE HYV PROGRAMME IN BANGLADESH

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Introduction

The current strategy of agricultural development in Bangladesh is based on the use and diffusion of high yielding varieties (HYV) seeds and chemical fertilisers. Evidence clearly suggests that the adoption of HYV and use of chemical fertilisers in Bangladesh have been concentrated primarily in areas with controlled and assured supply of water. As a result this introduces a built-in bias towards the promotion of inequalities between the different regions of Bangladesh. Large farmers generally have easier and cheaper access to credit and would as such have an advantage over the small farmers in the adoption of the new technology. It has also been found that the members of co-operative societies have a clear edge over the non-members in the use of modern inputs. The tendency of disparities in income to widen within given areas does, no doubt, exist on this account. However, the same set of factors together with unevenness in water supplies could also contribute to the growth of inequalities between regions. For wide inter-regional variations exist at the district levels with respect to not only skewness in the distribution of land and the existence of IRDP co-operatives but also the availability of irrigation facilities.

Although the level of the use of the HYV technology in Bangladesh is at a rather low level, it would be of considerable interest to examine if any tendency exists in the emergence of regional divergences in productivity and *per capita* production of rice and if it does exist the extent of this divergence.

Inter-District Productivity Differences

During the sixties inter-district differences in rice productivity have widened tremendously. The co-efficient of variation

increased from 0.03 in 1960-61 to 0.30 in 1969-70. However, during the post-HYV period the increase in disparity has not only been checked but is on the decline.

Average inter-district HYV productivity is declining rapidly (although inter-district differences are small) as the average proportion of rice area under HYVs increases over time. It is likely that larger amounts of non-irrigated and less fertile or less suitable land are being brought under HYV cultivation. It is also possible that increases in fertilizer sales have not kept pace with increases in HYV area leading to use of inputs below recommended levels.

Moreover, the per acre yield advantage of HYVs over traditional varieties is diminishing. For example, in 1969-70, the average per acre HYV yield for the 18 districts of Bangladesh was over three times that of traditional rice. This difference began narrowing each year since then so that in 1972-73, HYV yield per acre was observed to be slightly greater than double of that for traditional rice.

Area under HYV : Production of rice area under HYV (average of district proportions) increasing rapidly. Although inter-district variability is low (as measured by the co-efficient of variation), it should be noted that interdistrict variability in the proportion of rice area under HYV during 1969-70 to 1972-73 has not remained stable.

Fertilizer Scales : Inter-district variability in the use of fertilizer per acre is high is quite unstable and is increasing over time.

Leader vs. Laggard : A comparison of some statistics on the new technology for Faridpur (lowest adoption) and Chittagong (highest adoption) districts provide some interesting clues. The contrasts observed are : (a) Chittagong has a consistently higher (4 to 9 times) proportion of rice area under HYV ; (b) Fertilizer use per acre in Chittagong is consistently higher (about 12 times in 1972-73), (c) rice yields per acre for each year under study is higher in Chittagong (double or greater), but (d) per acre HYV rice yields are consistently higher in Faridpur district (one and a half-times of that of Chittagong in 1972-73).

Several explanations are possible. Per acre rice yields (HYV and traditional combined) in Chittagong are higher because not

only that fertilizer dose used per acre is higher but also because fertilizer is applied to a greater extent on traditional varieties. For example, while farmers in Chittagong grew only 37% of their total HYV rice during the Aman and Aus seasons, they brought 67% of their total annual 1972-73 fertilizer purchases during this period. In contrast Faridpur farmers made 36% of their total 1972-73 fertilizer purchases during Aman and Aus months (dose purchased per acre was 1/12 of that of Chittagong.)

Per acre HYV yield is higher in Faridpur compared to that of Chittagong for essentially two reasons, (1) Faridpur farmers apply their fertilizers primarily to HYV crops as is revealed by the fact that 64% of their fertilizers purchases for 1972-73 were brought during the Boro season when they grew all their HYV rice. In contrast farmers in Chittagong brought only 39% of total 1972-73 fertilizer purchases during Boro although 64% of total HYV land belonged to this season. Faridpur allocating a small proportion (only 3% in 1972-73) of their rice land to ASVs, that too during the Boro season, may have selected the best irrigated lands. In contrast, Chittagong farmers are probably bringing under HYVs inferior lands with increases in the area under HYVs. In the beginning (1969-70) 95% of Chittagong farmers HYV land were to be found during the Boro season and HYV yields difference with that of Faridpur was small. In 1972-73, 29% of HYV rice were presumably extended mainly to rain-fed areas (Aman and Aus seasons) in Chittagong as a result of which the inter-district HYV yield differences widened further (this was in spite of the fact that Chittagong used 12 times more fertilizer per acre).

Inter-District Per-Capita Production

However, it may be contended that regional concentration should be measured with respect to *per capita* production and not productivity. The average inter-district per-capita rice production during the last decade and a half has registered a decline and this decline has been accompanied by a drastic worsening of the inter-district disparity in per-capita production. The inter-district coefficient of variation in 1973-74 has doubled over that of 1960-61.

Concluding Remarks

Our analysis shows that inter-district differences in rice productivity has widened dramatically during the sixties but is on the decline in the seventies (comanding with the post HYV period). The disparity in inter-district *per capita* rice production during the last decade and a half has widened drastically. Inter district differences in proportion of area under HYV rice, fertiliser sales and HYV productivity have not widened very much (although inter-thana data may reveal a different picture) during the last four years.

The increasing inter-district disparity in *per capita* production of rice in the seventies (when inter-district differences in productivity has not increased) may have resulted from inter-district differences in the rates of population growth. In addition, in so far as concentration of modern inputs takes place into areas favourably located (irrigation water availability) tendencies for worsening inter-regional inequalities will intensify.

RURAL INSTITUTIONS AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF BANGLADESH

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In Bangladesh at the village level the primary co-operative society and the TIP groups play the role of a primary farming organisation. A co-operative can be formed with 15 individuals. TIP groups are formed on the basis of field area under crop. An area requiring a tube-well or a pump forms a unit of TIP. Thus, these are very small local organisations of farmers. Again, they do not always engage in all the activities that a primary farming locality needs. However, they have been useful institutions to the farmers and proved highly beneficial when fertilizers became short in supply or pumps were rationed out only among selected users, groups being given preference to individual applicants.

The primary co-operatives are connected with the large organisations of their line at the Thana level, that is, the Thana Central Co-operative Association. This is the basic unit under the IRDP for creating and expanding the local co-operatives. It deals in fertilizers and seeds, extends credit and provides training to farmers. All nation building Departments have their offices at the Thana level. The Circle Officer (Dev.) at the Thana is supposed to co-ordinate their activities so as to achieve a concerted effort on the part of all towards attaining rural upliftment.

Between the Thane and the primary farming locality (the village or sub-locality the 'para') there is a local government at the union council. The council has in the past been entrusted with Rural Works Programme along with their traditional responsibility of building and maintaining village roads, law and order. This institution had no particular responsibility in agricultural development works. Their relation with the co-operatives at the level is not of any significance either.

The Central Association at the Thana head quarters aims at expanding its net-work through creation of more primary

societies. The project inspector and the project officer of the IRDP provide the extension service for converting more localities into co-operative farming localities. At the Thana head quarters, model farmers, organisers and village accountants are trained up.

The different important departments and directorates now having thana level offices are :

- (a) Co-operatives, Local Government and Rural Development
- (b) IRDP (c) Agriculture, (d) Plant Protection, (e) Fisheries,
- (f) Livestock, (g) BADC, (h) Family Planning, (i) Health and
- (j) Education

The organisational ties of different at the thana level have both of these directions. But the difficulty in this kind of situation is that while the departments need effective organisational connections in both the directions only one of these can take the form of line administration, and usually, the lower unit remains responsible to the higher unit of the same department.

At the thana level it is found that more than one department is doing the same job. The IRDP officer and the thana co-operative officer discover a rival in each other rather than a co-worker. The thana agricultural officer is not always happy when he finds that the IRDP project officer has everything to do in respect of agricultural development. Our first Five Year plan recommends that the thana agricultural officer will be substituted by thana Extension officers. But the problem need not necessarily vanish thereby.

Below the thana areas only a few departments have any representative assigned to a smaller locality. The Union Agricultural Assistants are the extension agents at union level. The co-operative villages have, in addition, model farmers as extension agents.

The self-reliance programmes, being concerned with a wider-ranging development goal than only crop production, had to commission the services also of other agencies besides the agriculture department.

The need for bringing the services of these departments to the village level is a genuine one. Agri-support activities which are of a commercial nature may reach the farmers through even private channels. But these services rendered through private channels

have remained so much diversified that the formers have been found to procure all of them in any proportion, let alone in ideal package.

The local organisation of farmers, wherever there is one, does not, however, include in its membership all the farmers of the locality. These non-members farmers have much less access to the agri-support activities in whatever quantum such activities are available now.

A lack of service-orientation towards the farming community is marked on the part of departments providing different agri-support activities. It is the problem of making the government and semi-government institutions in charge of such activities responsible to the users of their services. Of the two kinds of ties of the different departments mentioned earlier, the importance of the second type becomes particularly important from the receiver's end. The farmers' organisation should be able to receive an integrated package service of all the agri-support activities provided by these departments

Rural Institutions created with a view to serving agriculture will have to find their roots in the rural society. Therefore, while suggesting a set of institutions their social viability has to be considered along with their economic viability.

It is commonly agreed that the organisation that will serve the rural people has to be broad-based. All categories of farmers (poor, middle and rich) will have representation in the co-operatives in proportion to their size in the total community.

The First Five-year Plan makes provision for the primary unit of the rural agricultural institution to be tied up with the local government institution. It can hardly be overemphasized that such a connection between the two is needed for an integrated rural development programme to succeed. Even there are suggestions that a powerful, all-in-one type local government should be formed at the village level to take upon itself all the tasks of economic and political institutions.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES ENHANCING RURAL INEQUALITY ?

A. K. ABDUL MOMEN

To arrest this ever increasing food-deficit and unemployment problems, the Govt. in its Five-Year Plan has allocated Tk. 1067 crores i. e. 24% of the total plan outlay for the agricultural and allied sectors and has undertaken a strategy to attain self-sufficiency in foodgrain within the plan-period through the following two broad strategies (i) increase in yield rate and (ii) increase in cropped area by multiple cropping made possible by irrigation. Recently, the Govt. has given emphasis on "Shwanirvor Program".

Rural Areas Heading Towards an Explosive Situation :

The prima-facie of the whole programme of self-sufficiency in food, is the provision of subsidised inputs of water, seed, fertilizer and agricultural credits. But the Govt.'s objective of attaining self-sufficiency through subsidised agricultural inputs and easy term credits have aggravated the problem of inequality in the rural areas forcing small and mini-farmers into landlessness. Thus rural areas are heading towards an explosive situation which will eventually frustrate the Govt.'s ultimate objective of attaining economic welfare in the country. Mr. A. Z. M. Obaidullah Khan, former Secretary of Rural Development and Co-operatives while analysing the defaulters of Co-operative credit, revealed us the following true story. "In Thakurgaon Sugarcane Societies we collected the name of 10 big defaulters who are also big Jotders have influence with both the bureaucracy and the political power elite in the area. The District Agricultural Officer (D. A. O., who is an excellent extension worker proudly presented to us a Hajee Shaheb who sunk a shallow tube-well with 50% subsidies from the Govt. and 50% loan from the Bangladesh Krishi Bank. In one year from 10 acres of land he has earned gross Tk. 35,000 and net 20,000 takas but he has not paid back the Krishi Bank Loan. With the profit, Mr. Obaidullah Khan remarks "he perhaps has brought up more

in his neighbours' land who are minifarmers of 1 acre and thus pushing them into landlessness. It is ironic that we are sponsoring the kulaks at the expense of the 42 of the farming population who are minifarmers. Perhaps these kulaks are the rural elite who can put people in power".

The total amount of cost to the Govt. for a 2 cusec pump is around Tk. 6500/00 only, while Govt. is charging Tk. 300/- only believing that the poor farmers cannot pay the actual cost. But it is a fact that the major defaulters are not the poor or mini-farmers but big land owners. It has been found out in a recent US-AID Report that the mini-farmers always get their pumps only on cash and hardly on credit. In fact, they borrow money from relatives or village moneylenders and purchase pumps on cash as they are firstly ignorant about the intricacies of having pump on credit, and secondly they are afraid of taking risk. Under such a situation should we encourage the big land owners by giving subsidy? Moreover, by fielding more and more pump, the efficiency of these are being arrested. In fact, with 36,000 power pumps fielded, the efficiency at which these are being used is of 18,000 only. Under such a situation, should we at all consider to give subsidy for fielding any more tubewells?

This will cost much less than that of a 2-cusec pump. While the price of a 2-cusec pump is around US \$ 1200, the price of 1½" or 2" pumps is only US \$ 200 per set. Moreover, the smaller pumps could be hired or purchased by small and mini-farmers. This will reduce the supremacy of big farmers who generally procure bigger pumps in the name of "Paper Co-operatives". I feel that the programme of fielding bigger tubewells in Bangladesh was defective as it did not consider the sociological aspect of our rural areas which basically contradicts the principle of consolidation of holdings and of collective farming.

It is argued that since smaller pumps of 1½" or 2" inches are usually run by petroleum, the running cost of it would be more than that of a 2-cusec pump which is run by diesel and diesel is cheaper than petrol. But if we do a little mathematics, then it can be shown that even after running these smaller pumps by petrol we can have better economics over the 2-cusec pumps. Moreover, the price difference between petrol and diesel is also not that big. Under the circumstances, I strongly feel that a new survey and study

should be made on the economic utilisation of pumps and also of the type and nature of the pumps to be fielded in Bangladesh.

Benefits of subsidy go to better-off of rural Areas

In case of subsidised seed and fertilizer, the beneficiaries are mainly those once who have property worth to be mortgaged. They are landowners or Joardars. They enjoy the benefit of this system of subsidy while the mini-farmers being poor and illiterate hardly could afford to get the benefit on this system. Moreover, with this present national character of our loan-giving agencies, the little or mini-farmers could hardly afford to come to "business contact" or even if they come to certain proximity, it is hard for them to loiter for months and years for a negligible amount. Thus the benefit of providing subsidised inputs of water, seed, fertilizer and agricultural loan goes to the better off people of the rural areas while the poor and mini-farmers remain as neglected as they were. Moreover, because of this subsidy-system the joardars who make profit, purchases more of this neighbours land relegating his neighbour main-farmers into landlessness. Eventually the main-farmers surrounding these joardars will turn into "rayots" thus they will lose all interest to improve the fertility of the soil. This loss of interest on land is accompanied by the demerits of Zamindari System. "Again, who are the people we are subsidising ? Are they one acre farmers ? The clear answer is 'No'".

Plan's objective of expansion of credit is being frustrated

In case of giving agricultural loan, the situation is more grave. Apart from shrinkage of supply of institutional credit which expenes the small or mini-farmers to non-traditional sources of credit, it helps creation of inequality of wealth in the rural areas. Thus the Govt.'s objective of attaining welfare economy is being arrested because of lack of institutional discipline. This is evident from the following facts. Inspite of Govt.'s efforts the quantum of agricultural credit has gradually been shrinking instead of expanding. The reason is very simple. As the recovery of credit has been declining the loan giving capacity is also shrinking. The recovery of Krishi Bank credit declined from 50% in 1962-63 to 10% in 1971-72 and around 20% in 1972-73. As for Jatya Samabays Bank, the short term crop

loan had declined from 70% in 1967 to less than 30% in 1972-73 and around 12% in 1973-74.

Thus we are confusing welfare of the surplus farmers with the people's welfare. If we really want to bring the small and mini-farmers into the orbit of modern technology in agriculture, agricultural credit has to expand. A policy decision is required for enforcing repayment discipline. There should not be any confusion between the welfare objective of Government and co-operatives credit. Subsidising for small farmers can be justified on several grounds but it is useless to justify credit mechanism as a vehicle for subsidising.

Inequality breeds social upheaval :

Moreover, the broad national objective of attaining welfare of the people is likely to be frustrated eventually by this mechanism of subsidy as it aggravates the problem of inequality of wealth. In fact, we must not be blind to a singular objective as blindness to a singular objective will ultimately create more problems than solutions. It is needless to mention that in the ultimate analysis it is the people for whom all efforts are being made and if the inequality of distribution of income accompanied by its demerits particularly frustration, poverty, deaths, beggary, theft, bulgery, diseases, lawlessness, indiscipline etc. become prominent than the very basic principle of welfare of the people will be frustrated.

We must re-think as to the provision of supplying inputs of water, seed, fertilizer and easy term credit. In fact, we must give stress on institutional discipline and at the same time give emphasis to the welfare aspect, also. Otherwise, the programme of attainment of self-sufficiency in food will crop up new problems of skewed income distribution which will eventually result social frustration causing social upheaval.

STRATEGY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

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The events that overtook Bangladesh since 1969 witnessed not only a protracted phase of political turbulence but also had accompanied with it an alarming proportion of economic decadence which seemed to continue without any respite. Heavy inflationary pressures, rocketing prices, exports losing competitiveness, widening gaps in the balance of payment, drying up of foreign exchange resources and resultant restrictions in imports that affected adversely the supply of raw materials and spare parts, leading to dwindling of production, rise in unemployment and all other similar characteristic symptoms of a sick economy could be seen to exist here to some degree or other. Hesitance or failure to take corrective actions in time and other contributory factors had brought the situation to such a pass that Bangladesh has been reduced to-day to about the poorest of the poor countries of the world. Any meaningful discussion about her industrial development at this stage, has to take a stock of the prevailing situation and see what had gone wrong in order to determine the strategy for opening up new chapters.

All current reports on the economy of the country seem to harp on two common notes about her manufacturing sector, namely poor capacity utilisation and poor financial and business management. Production level of 1974-75 for some of the major industries of Bangladesh compared with their installed production capacity and the actual production achieved in 1969-70, a convenient benchmark year from many practical points of view. It will be noticed that ignoring those enterprises which added to their capacity since 1969-70 only cotton textile, steel, sugar, molasses and a few industries in the engineering sector, such as motorised vehicles, bi-cycles, electric fans etc. did come up to or surpass the 1969-70 production level. But what is more significant is that in spite of their remarkable recovery, even these industries are still operating at way below their planned capacities. As

regards the others, the situation is far less satisfactory. A very approximate weighted average for capacity utilisation of the industries in quantitative terms would be under 50%. These include at one end of the scale the very poor figures of about 6% for finished leather, 15% for soap and at the other end, the good figures of 86% for bi-cycles, 75% for electric fans etc. In the case of jute industries, which is the backbone of the economy, the capacity utilisation is only 58.97%.

As a typical case, the Karnafuli Paper Mills would, perhaps, illustrate the characteristic problems of many of the major industries of Bangladesh today. With the installed capacity of 48,000 tons/year, it produced in 1969—70, 30,750 tons of which approximately 10,000 tons was exported to the then West Pakistan and 12,750 tons was released for the home market. Domestic need was higher than that, but perhaps deliberate short supply kept the market price high, making dealership in paper a very lucrative business in the then East Pakistan. The present requirement of the domestic market is estimated to be about 15000 tons/year. The 1974-75 target of production of paper was set at 34,000 tons including the output of the North Bangal Paper Mill which was just recommissioned. But between the KPM and the NBPM, they produced that year only 25,381 tons of which KMP's share was 21,253 tons. Rounding up the figure, the domestic market received during the year a little less than 17,000 tons, valued at approximately Taka 11.9 crores and of the two, only KPM managed to export an insignificant quantum of 295 tons valued at Tk. 1.67 crores. The result has been building up of a large stockpile of paper, so much so that if supplying the domestic need of paper was the only concern, KPM could, in theory close down their production for many months to come. Reasons for the shortfall have been quoted to be inadequacy of supply of imported pulp and local raw materials. Shortage of caustic soda, soda ash, sodium sulphate and china clay, mechanical troubles in plant and equipment including boilers and turbines, lack of spare parts, shortage of furnace oil, power failures (KPM has its own generating plant output of which is supplemented by some import from the Power Development Board system) and above all, inadequacy of working capital and bank credits. Cost of production has been

very high due to low level of production as well as high cost of raw materials and imported supplies. Prohibitive cost and unsatisfactory quality of product made exports extremely difficult. Even in the domestic market, sale price had to be kept substantially lower than the actual cost of production. Blocked funds due to slow turnover and huge immobile finished products inventory and large outstanding debts to the oil companies, Power Development Board, Banks and local suppliers led to serious liquidity problems. By replacing the names of the units and with similar changes here and there, this general picture would easily fit today in the case of most of other important enterprises in the industrial fields of Bangladesh, particularly those under public sector management. On the one hand we see the internal constraints for production, lack of raw materials, spares and capital on the other, we have the more formidable external constraints of want of market, both local and for export. The causative factors are pretty much the same in character for most industries. Stagnation in the economy and lack of purchasing power, inefficiency in production and high cost, liquidity problems and poor sales management and all similar factors lie into one another and move in a circle. The question how much industrialisation and how, has to be studied keeping such a background in mind.

The purpose of industrialisation differs from country to country and from one socio-economic and historical condition to another. The forms, stages, sequence and methods of the process of industrialisation are also quite diverse. The UN Committee for Industrial Development in its report of the 3rd Session, 1953, attempted to define the concept of industrialisation as follows "Industrialisation is a process of economic development in which a growing part of the national resources is mobilised to develop a technically up-to-date, diversified, domestic economic structure characterised by a dynamic manufacturing sector having and producing means of production and consumer goods and capable of assuring a high rate of growth for the economy as a whole and of achieving economic and social progress."

There are many others who similarly advocated that industrialisation is the main hope of most poor countries trying to increase their levels of income. But it would be wrong to jump to

the conclusion that industrialisation alone is the panacea to poverty and under-development, for one ought to be aware of the controversy that exists between two schools of thought in this regard. On the one hand we have the advocates of international specialisation and investment in primary production and on the other, we have the supporters of balanced growth and industrialisation. In the case of a country like Bangladesh, the issue is not merely how to secure the greatest increase in income from the available resources but also to watch how the income is distributed. The criteria for making investment decisions have, therefore, to be determined to reflect faithfully the objectives and policies in the context.

One of the main difficulties lies in evaluating the amount of scarce resources which is actually required by alternative types of production. In a developed economy, this evaluation can easily be done through the price system. But in an under-developed situation in Bangladesh, the price system is likely to prove unreliable due to a variety of reasons. The more obvious distortions due to taxes and subsidies, can, of course, be easily corrected. But what is not so easy is to take care of is the structural disequilibrium in the use of factors of production, with labour underemployed and capital and foreign exchange scarce as also to provide for the interconnectedness of the productive sectors, as a result of which investment in one may make investment in others more profitable. In the case of industrial investment, the judgement becomes complicated because only a part of the total use of primary factors takes place directly in the average sector producing an industrial commodity. The balance is scattered throughout the economy in other sectors producing raw materials, producer services and other industrial commodities. Quite often sight is lost of the fact that simultaneous investment is required not only in one enterprise, but in a host of allied sectors which will provide raw materials, power, semi-manufacture goods, process the by-product, transport the goods and so on. Indeed, in this sub-continent, numerous examples can be cited of unsatisfactory results from investments in the industrial sector without corresponding investments for developing the infrastructure. Just because the resources at the disposal of the Government are not adequate, if it chooses to invest only in power, railway,

roads and other utilities and hope that the price incentive will make the private investors build the rest spontaneously and bring about automatically a balanced growth, the results are going to be disappointing. Some growth may take place that way, but its pace is bound to be so slow that in view of the existing rate of population growth, this not going to be good enough. In our condition of the need for mobilising the huge resources required for development, formulating and executing policies to encourage domestic savings and channelising the same for productive purposes, the responsibility for securing foreign assistance as there is not enough export earning of our own and also the need for selecting purposefull sets of projects for execution both in public and private sectors which will have the minimum risk of inability to sell their products, it is obvious that no success is likely to be achieved without a central direction from the Government. Adherence to a planning discipline is, therefore, essential. Similarly the balance between the public sector and private sector is also very important.

Going back to the question of how much industrialisation, one has to look into the structure of the economy and explore the possibilities of its restructuring if needed. G. D. P. of Bangladesh from the year 1959-70 through to 1975-76 at constant prices of 1972-73. It will be noticed that the contribution of industry to the G. D. P., except for the fateful year of 1971-72, hovered between 7 and 8 p. c. while that of agriculture remained near about 60 p. c. The first Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh had aimed at development of the industrirs to increase the contribution of the manufacturing sector to the G. D. P. to 11.2 p.c. by 1977-78. There have already been enough slippages to say that this is not likely to be achieved but the question remain, is it desirable or possible to pursue any deliberate policy now to force an accelerated growth in the industrial sector. There is no doubt that industrial development will have a large role to play in the process of future economic development of the country.

To carry the argument furhter, it may be stated that one of the most effective means of promoting industrialisation in Bangladesh would be to improve the productivity of agriculture. One may recall the unpleasant memories of not so distant a past in

the history of liberated Bangladesh when there was not enough cloth available to bury the dead or cover the nakedness of the womenfolk in the rural areas, but today, huge stocks of cloth produced by the local textile mills as well as imported on Government account have been collecting cobwebs as their sale is painfully slow due to lack of purchasing power of the people. This to increase the purchasing power of the great majority of the population supported by agriculture, modernisation of agriculture is essential. And having started to modernise agriculture, it will soon be found that development of industry will have to follow in order to absorb the released manpower and to provide a solid technical base for services, supplies and equipment to sustain a high productivity level in agriculture. Capacity to buy will lead to capacity to produce. The rudimentary needs of the rural mass being very limited, additional income generated for the rural populace will have relatively much higher propensity of saving and investment than could be expected in the case of the of the urban gentry with greater hankering for consumer goods. Intensive cultivation, increasing the number crops and improving agricultural production through innovation and adaptation of modern technology will no doubt provide for additional employment, and hopefully, may also improve the wage level of the agricultural workers. But this cannot absorb all the surplus labour for whom other opportunities of employment will have to be created. This will then dictate the need for industrialisation as a matter of second priority after agricultural development. But such industries should largely be light industries, which are labour-intensive and require comparatively smaller capital and simpler technology and skill.

Before liberation, development in the two wings of Pakistan was carried out on a complimentary basis. The total volume of trade between the two wings of Pakistan in 1969-70 was Tk. 289.03 crores, out of which East Pakistan's export to the west wing was Tk. 92.34 crores and the import from West Pakistan was Tk. 166.69 crores, causing a gap unfavourable for Bangladesh. Since liberation Bangladesh has not been able to find alternative markets for all her exports leading to much of her import requirements remaining unfulfilled. It is not possible for Bangladesh

to attain self-sufficiency at once in all her requirement of manufactured goods, but nonetheless, it is obvious there is scope for setting up fairly large new manufacturing capacities to substitute even partially the present import requirements. And in doing so, many of the lighter industries could be located in the rural areas with advantage.

It has already been stated that simultaneous development of the agriculture and industry together with infrastructure and all other complimentary sectors is no doubt going to pose very serious resources constraints. Widest possible involvement of all potential investors for this is, therefore, necessary. Since Government has kept on the reserved list of investments for the public sector most of the heavy and basic capital intensive industries, enough funds may not be left for the host of the industries urgently needed to produce consumer goods or support the heavier industries. Hence the encouragement given to the private sector in the new industrial Policy declared in December, 1975, particularly by raising the ceiling of investment to Taka Ten Crores, guaranteeing compensation in case of nationalisation, giving tax-holiday and other incentives and deciding to revive the stock-exchange etc. are no doubt welcome steps in the right direction. However since foreign equity participation is a desirable feature, possibilities of giving further incentive to foreign participants may have to be considered. Similarly the scope of tri-lateral participation namely local public, local private and foreign private/public should not be precluded. While the compulsion of diversification of exports is there, special efforts are called for setting up, among others, industries producing goods entirely for foreign market with long term contracts. For this the combination of cheap local labour and natural gas energy source, with foreign plant and know-how may provide a mutually beneficial proposition. Given the right incentives and encouragements, many developed economies may find it economical to have things like leather goods, wearing apparel, light engineering materials etc. produced in this country in a new form of joint ventures. The task of development is so gigantic that total involvement of the entire country and tapping of all kinds of resources are essential. In this context, there is a school of thought in the country that the confidence of both local entrepreneurs and foreign investors will build up

faster if by stretching the present trend of relaxations, the reserved list of industries in the public sector is shrunk further to the barest minimum, coupled with suitable measures to prevent growth of cartels and monopolies. Financial institutions, utilities, defence oriented industries etc. will have to remain exclusively in the public sector, as will be the case with some other sensitive or specially important industries. A common view is that as regards the others, pragmatic approach for further may revive the economic health faster. It may be worthwhile to examine the merit of such ideas in the light of the avowed politico-socio-economic policies of the Government.

In the matter of selection of projects merely input-output measurement in isolation should no longer be regarded as the deciding criteria. To avoid some of the past pitfalls, careful consideration is needed as to whether synchronised application of capital in the whole range of linked sectors and interconnected is taking places to make all the investment programmes viable with an assured market. One of the related spheres that needs special mention in this context is the investments needed for training and skilling of the labour force. An objective of industrial development under the 1st 5-year plan of Bangladesh was to provide additional employment to over 6 lac persons. A substantial part of this target has already been achieved not due to new investment or programme of increasing production but through unintended methods. If they cannot be shaken off, it is imperative that they are converted into a useful force by imparting training to them. Similarly, as management deficiency has been identified as one of the major causes of unsatisfactory performance of the existing industries, the sooner concerted efforts are begun to train up industrial managers with insight about technical details, fiscal administration, costing and market behaviour, the better it will be for the country.

In the absence of a clear political policy direction and in a situation of poor resources endowments, one should not be pretentious about enunciating a conclusive strategy for industrialisation. The present policy of the Government to attach the highest priority for agriculture and rural development would appear to be a helpful move for dependable industrialisation also. On the industrial front proper, the emphasis should naturally be given to

consolidate the present position and improve the performance of what is already there, not only through the programme of 'balancing and modernisation' but also with additional investments in deficient complimentary sectors. Investments for development of skill and management capability should obtain higher priority. Attractive promotional measures would be needed to encourage setting up of non-capital intensive light industries in the rural areas to produce the urgently needed consumer goods for the home market and also to provide employment for the rural labour force. Although reliance has to be put on the private sector for such investments, to start with Government may show the way by setting up typical entrepreneur in different parts of the country through the small and Cottage industries Corporation or similar institutions initially on its own, then with private entrepreneurs and later, leaving it entirely to the private sector, but continuing to provide technical guidance and credit facilities. The new enterprises should be allowed moderate protection and have minimum of direct control, allowing market forces to dominate as far as practicable. Control on remuneration of workers and managers, should be relaxed. In this connection the need for maintaining absolute industrial peace through good labour management relation can hardly be over emphasized. The practice recently adopted by some industries to give incentive bonus is worth pursuing. The possibility of reforming the remuneration policies for the industrial workers to guarantee a basic minimum wage for a minimum level of productivity with the scope of increasing the wages substantially higher than the current average level, graded to increased production, may be discussed with the leaders in the field. It is also worth considering if some of the increased wages or bonus can be paid in the form of shares of the company.

As regards the industrial development in the public sector, beyond the programme of balancing and modernisation of the existing units and some of the very basic industries like fertiliser for domestic consumption and export, prudence may lie in making haste slowly until the present deficiencies are corrected.

A STRATEGY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR BANGLADESH

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It is by no means easy to define precisely the present industrialization strategy for Bangladesh. The First Five-Year Plan did not have a long-term perspective when its industrial development programme was formulated. Neither was it warranted in the situation prevailing in the country immediately after liberation. The objectives of industrialization were stated, very properly, in these broad terms :

The government has set for itself the task of realising a level of development where people will be assured of adequate food, clothing, shelter, health care, education, transport and such other basic needs. The industrial plan can only be viewed as a part of this endeavour. In achieving this goal, it is also expected that the broadened industrial base of the economy will generate substantial, surplus, create additional employment and income and usher in a self-reliant economy through utilization of the nations "own resources" (P.208).

These objectives were then spelt out in somewhat greater details in terms of the need for increasing the supply of agricultural and industrial inputs, utilization of domestic natural resources, development of a capital goods sector and so on. From these objectives and the investment programme laid out, the strategy appears to be essentially one of import-substitution on a broad front. This is the same time-honoured policy that many other developing countries have followed in the past. This is also the policy that we have followed in this country before and after liberation. Promotion of exports has of course been emphasized from time to time. The difficulty is that while import-substitution has been fully 'planned for' we seem to have scant information about the types of industries to be developed for export, far less an actual programme for such development.

The present paper is not meant to be a critique of the import-substitution strategy of industrial development. My intention is a more modest one of throwing light on the need and prospects of moving towards some new directions.

The experience of industrial development of Bangladesh over the past decade or so and the present prospects call for a significant shift in the strategy. A number of aspects of this experience bear mention. First, the growth of output has been too slow. Over the period 1965 to 1970, industrial production appears to have grown by around 15 per cent per year. This, however, was achieved on a very small base and was due largely to the growth of one industry, viz., jute goods which grew much faster than the average rate. Since liberation, industrial output has practically stagnated. Secondly, the industrial structure that we inherited and developed has led to wastage of our scarce resources. This has come about partly through a large under-utilization of capacity which cannot be fully used simply because we do not earn enough foreign exchange to pay for the import needs of industry. It has also come about through a heavy concentration on capital-intensive industrialization in a capital-poor country. Thirdly, and closely related to the point just mentioned, the pattern of resource use has been quite out of line with resource availability. Fourthly, and as a result of misallocation of resources due to bits of import-substitution almost everywhere, and of the last two factors mentioned above, a high-cost industrial structure has tended to perpetuate. Last, but not least, the dependence on foreign aid has increased.

It is worth reflecting for a moment why most countries tend to go for an import-substitution strategy. The point has been succinctly made by Henry Bruton some years ago when he wrote that it is the "ease of initiation that seems to be the major (but not exclusive) source of the prevalence of IS's popularity. To curtail imports in order to create investment opportunities or to change the structure is a relatively simple matter. If a country decided on an export-promotion strategy, however, it is not so evident how to begin. Two comments are in order. The fact that it is easy to initiate an import-substitution policy does not mean that it is also the least costly. Evidence suggests that it may be a wasteful way of industrialization, if

it is of an indiscriminate type. Moreover, in the light of experience with exports of manufactures from the developing countries in the past decade, policy makers should by now have a pretty good idea of at least where to begin an export-based industrialization, if not exactly how.

There are a number of compelling circumstances which warrant a shift to an export-oriented strategy of industrial development for Bangladesh. First, the country has now an overriding objectives of creating more employment opportunities for its fast-growing labour force. The point hardly needs elaboration. Secondly, we need to take a close look at the pattern and efficiency of our resource allocation. Thirdly, in order to achieve these objectives and given the resource endowments of the country, the pattern of industrialization needs to favour the labour-intensive types of manufactures.

Comparative Advantage : A context

First, it was found that, in a cross-section of commodities, the price competitiveness of a labour-abundant country, *vis-a-vis* a capital-abundant country, increases significantly as labour-intensity increases. In other words, a typical developing country appears to have an actual competitive advantage in labour-intensive manufactures.

Secondly, the competitive strength of a developing country in labour-intensive manufactures increases as production of such commodities expands. Such phenomenon can be attributed in large measure to the process of learning by doing. In practical terms, a labour-abundant country can increase its inherent competitive advantage by concentrating its resources on labour-intensive manufactures.

Thirdly, in a cross-section of commodities, and given the pattern of external demand, exports from the developing to the developed countries tend to get larger as we move from the relatively capital-intensive to relatively labour-intensive products. In other words, the comparative advantage of these countries in labour-intensive manufactures is in reality reflected in the commodity composition of their exports to the developed countries. Thus, comparative advantage, far from being a theoretical curiosity,

appears as an operational concept, with its attendant policy implication for a developing country.

Fourthly, exports of manufactures from the developing to the developed countries had been increasing at a remarkable annual rate of around 20 per cent during the 1960's. This rate of increase was, moreover, higher than the rate of increase of imports of manufactures into developed economies from all sources, so that the share of the developing countries in the total imports of manufactures by the developed countries actually increased, in some cases significantly. It may be noted that such expansion took place despite the numerous obstacles in international trade.

Finally, the volume of exports from an individual developing country is largely determined by the degree of its "foreign-market orientation." It has been observed that a country with a large number of export flows, which is determined by the number of commodities it sells and the number of markets it sells them in, has also a large total volume of exports. It is this which largely explains the wide difference between countries in the volume of their exports. A country with a single commodity or a limited range of commodities cannot hope to have a large export sale. Neither can a country with a single market or a very small number of markets. Since the developing countries as a whole have a wide range of commodities in which their comparative advantage lies, and in so far as no single country is discriminated against by all or a majority of developed nations, nothing except its development and trade policies prevents an *individual* developing country from having a large number of trade flows and hence a large volume of export sales. This tends to support my contention that the number of export flows may be an appropriate index of its degree of "foreign-market orientation." Empirical evidence strongly suggests that it is this orientation, more than anything else, that determines the volume of exports of manufactures from an individual developing country.

Barriers to exports from the developing countries to the developed economies are by no means negligible. The Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations concluded in 1967, resulted in an allround reduction in tariff rates but reductions in both nominal

and effective tariffs had been larger for trade between developed countries than for exports from the developing to the developed countries so that discrimination of such exports from the developing world as a whole increased. Moreover, the ubiquitous quota restrictions remain as the most important impediment to export of manufactures from the developing countries. The working of the much publicised Generalised System of Preferences has come to be largely vitiated because of such restrictions. The EEC, for example, while allowing duty-free entry of imports of manufactures from the developing countries, has imposed an overall quota, a "major suppliers" quota, a "sub-quota" for "sensitive" products and, for products subject to long-term Arrangement Regarding International Trade in Cotton Textiles, more stringent quotas.

STRATEGY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

RAKUBUDDIN AHMED

The theme of this conference is "Economy of Bangladesh : Which Way Are We Moving ?" A reply to this question has been briefly given by late Dr. Muzharul Huque when he said in his presidential address at the First Annual Conference of this Association on March 17, 1974, that every day we are fast advancing towards extreme ruination. The foreign press was equally vociferous.

Position of the Industries in 1947

At the time of partition of India in 1947, both West Pakistan (now Pakistan) and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) were industrially very backward. Out of 112 jute mills of erstwhile India, not a single one fell to the share of Pakistan or Bangladesh the traditional home of jute. Out of 407 cotton mills with a total capacity of 11 million spindles and 200,500 looms, only 10 mills with 99,000 spindles and 2583 looms fell to the share of Bangladesh and another 8 mills with 77,000 spindles and 2217 looms fell to the share of Pakistan. Out of 166 sugar mills with a capacity of 1.5 million tons only 5 mills with a total capacity of 39,000 tons fell to the share of Bangladesh and another five mills with a total capacity of 23,000 tons fell to the share of Pakistan. Only one out of 19 cement factories fell to the share of Bangladesh (capacity 100,000 tons) and two factories (total capacity 200,000 tons) fell to the share of Pakistan. None of the 18 steel plants and 16 paper mills fell to the share of Bangladesh or Pakistan. Only 12% of the total industrial establishments of undivided Bengal came to the share of Bangladesh, although the main sources of raw materials were here.

Industries established between 1947-48 and 1969-70

To remove this marked contrast between vast natural resources and extreme industrial backwardness, then govt. of Pakistan adopted

a number of measures to quickly develop industries based on local raw materials, priority being given to jute in Bangladesh and cotton in Pakistan. Some of the measures adopted and their results are given below :—

(1) *The statement of Industrial policy*

This statement was published in April 2, 1948, and further clarified in Nov. 1948. It provided the guidelines by which a harmonious development of agriculture and industry could be effected by means of free enterprise. "Free play will be given to private enterprise and individual initiative", subject to certain conditions. Industries relating to Arms and Ammunitions, Generation of Hydro-electric Power, Manufacture of Railway Wagon, Telephone, Telegraphs, and Wireless Apparatus were to be owned and operated by the state. Another 24 industries including "Textiles-cotton, woollen, jute, silk and rayon were made the subject of central Planning". Private enterprise could establish any of these industries within the frame work of the proposals made by the then Development Board set up early in 1948 or by the Planning Board appointed by the Gov. in July, 1953. Rest of the industries indicated in the Investment Schedule were left entirely to the private enterprise. This was the important policy statement which accelerated the pace of industrial development. To implement this policy, Govt. provided at the initial stage duty-free imports and interest-free capital and thus encouraged the people of a new born state to start industries.

(2) *The Pakistan Industrial Finance Corporation (PIFC)*

The PIFC was set-up in February, 1948 with a paid up capital of Tk. 20 million, against its authorised capital of Tk. 30 million. The Central Govt. bought 51% of its shares and guaranteed the repayment of shares and minimum rate of dividend prevailing at that time. It could issue bonds and debentures upto 5 times of its paid-up capital which were also guaranteed by the Govt. It was to finance the private sector, but its performance was rather slow. Total accommodation granted upto the end of 1955-56 to 33 different industries was about 91.9 million.

(3) *Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation*

PICIC, was set-up in October, 1957 by private industrialists and business interests at home and abroad with an authorised capital of Tk. 150 million of which Tk. 20 million were initially paid

up and later rose to Tk. 30 million in 1961 and to Tk. 40 million in 1963 when IFC bought shares worth Tk. 2 million. Its total resources at the end of 1967 was Tk. 1392.05 millions, including Tk. 70 million for Pakistan Govt. & Tk. 30 million for USAID.

In 10 years its inception upto Dec. 31, 1967 it sanctioned loans amounting to Tk. 1386.17 million to 581 projects including Tk. 1329.2 million in foreign exchange. It also had direct equity participation in 24 projects to the extent of Tk. 17.83 million and under-written public shares for Tk. 62.76 million.

It invested Tk. 1012.25 million in 443 projects in West Pakistan and Tk. 373.93 million in 138 projects in East Pakistan for which the lending limit was reduced from Tk. 1.5 million to 1 million. In this way it helped the private sectors.

(4) *The Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP)*

This bank was set-up in April, 1961 with a paid-up capital of Tk. 30 million and raised to Tk. 40 million in July, 1968. On June 30, 1969, the Bank's rupee resources were Tk. 502.33 million and the foreign exchange resources \$ 286.8 million 84.4% of which was contributed by 4 countries—West Germany, UK, Japan & USA and 15.6% by Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, USSR, Switzerland, Poland, Denmark and the Asian Development Bank.

Upto 1968-69, the Bank disbursed Tk. 359.9 million in local currency and \$ 233.96 million (Tk. 1123.0 million) in foreign currency. In 8 years ending 1969, it advanced Tk. 860 million or 48% to East Pakistan including Tk. 658.3 million in foreign exchange and Tk. 944.2 million in West Pakistan including Tk. 712.8 million in foreign exchange.

It covered some 20 different groups of industries in Bangladesh including jute-365.4 million (42.5%), Textiles-231.0 million (26.9%), food and milling 55.9 million (16.5%), Engineering Tk. 28 million (3.3%), non-metallic Tk. 26.1 million (3%), River Transport Tk. 31.6 million (3.7%), Film Studio and production Tk. 13.5 million (1.6%) and paper, oil distribution and hotels etc. It played a major role in financing EPIDC/Associate jute mills and private sector small industries.

(5) *Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC, EPIDC)*

The PIDC started functioning from January 12, 1952. Its authorised capital was Tk. 10 million divided into one hundred shares

of Tk. 100,000 each. Initially 45 shares were issued. It was intended to initiate, plan, promote, organise and operate as many industries as might be entrusted to it and that at a later stage when the industries are firmly established as much share capital as possible should be transferred to private investors.

The industries entrusted to PIDC (and later to EPIDC) included Jute, Paper, Board, Newsprint, Ship-building, Heavy Engineering, Iron & Steel, Fertilizer, Cement, Sugar, Textiles, Chemicals Pharmaceuticals and Dye-Stuff, Coal and Peat.

In 10 years ending June 1962 PIDC completed 21 projects in Bangladesh at a total cost of Tk. 832.81 million or Tk. 83.28 million a year. The 21 projects consisted of 12 jute mills (capacity 256,000 tons of jute goods), Karnaphuli Paper mill (30,000 tons), Khulna Newsprint mill (23,00 tons newsprint and 12,000 tons mechanical paper). Khulna Ship Yard (works worth Tk. 13.23 million), Narayanganj Dockyard (work worth Tk. 3.75 million), Muslin Cotton Mills (7.7 million lbs. of yarn) and the Natural Gas Fertilizer Factory, Fenchuganj (117,000 tons of urea). Its performance in West Pakistan was more spectacular: In textiles alone, PIDC had 88 cotton mills, 20 woolen mills, and 286 art silk factories there in the same period.

In the same 7 years EPIDC produced goods worth Tk. 2170 million, sold goods worth Tk. 2140 million, earned foreign exchange worth Rs. 438.2 million, provided employment to over 150,000 people, trained hundreds of youngmen at home and abroad. Altogether PIDC/EPIDC completed 68 very important projects and by 1969-70 left over 50 projects under various stages of implementation and planning, like Jaipurhat Lime Stone and Cement Jamalgong Coal, Chittagong Dry dock, Petro-chemicals and ship-building and heavy Engineering Works. In this way it laid a solid foundation for self-sustaining industrial development in Bangladesh.

Position of the Industries in the post-liberation period—1972-75.

The year 1969-70 was followed by a period of political upheaval, election fever and its aftermath and a bloody liberation war ending in victory on December 16, 1971.

The war caused colossal loss of life and human suffering and wide spread economic dislocation. A large number of the industries

owned and managed by Pakistanis, though no destroyed, were left abandoned and uncared for. Industries owned by Bangalis and EPIDC/Associates were operating under-capacity or were in disarray due to flight of mill personnel, disruption of transportation and port facilities and other social overheads. The war losses in the industry's physical assets has been estimated at Taka 223 million including Taka 61 million in foreign exchange. Indirect and non-measurable losses were equally heavy. In spite of these the country's administrative machinery, most of the industrial and commercial establishments, business, banks and financial institutions remained by and large, safe. Shops and markets started functioning hopefully and their overall inventory appeared satisfactory. The new born country's exportable goods waiting for shipment in ports, transit depots and mills were estimated at Tk. 1,500 to Tk. 2,000 million, although January-June 1972 exports were only Tk. 1,040 million, and July-December, 1972 exports were Tk. 2,600 million. Unfortunately, shortly after the New Govt. came into power, pilferage, looting, smuggling and trans-shipment of war booties across the border by land and water started on a large scale, and industrial establishments came to be badly affected.

The position in 1974-75 as recorded in the White Paper and other Govt. reports show that although capacities in almost all sectors of the industries increased due to completion of mills started in the public and private sectors upto 1970, the overall industrial production was far below the 1962-70 level due mainly to underutilization of installed capacity, inefficiency in management, labour indiscipline and adverse liquidity position. The white paper says that the capacity utilized was only 60% in jute, 75-80% in cotton textiles, 60% in sugar, 30% in Steel, 66% in Newsprint, 34% in cement, 17% in leather and 24% in cigarettes "An estimated loss of production in 1974-75 due to under utilization of capacity in jute, cotton textiles, sugar, steel, paper and board, fertilizer and chemical industries was a colossal sum of Taka 550 crore" (5,500 million). It is well known that whatever is produced cannot all be sold on account of inefficient and corrupt marketing system, and millions of takas worth of goods, locally produced and imported were lost due to the defective distribution systems. Needless to say that the "stagnation" is complete.

The shortfall in production in production is accompanied by a two other factors like (a) Price spiral (b) wastage of national wealth invarious ways and (c) large Scale smuggling across the border.

(a) Price spiral

In the opinion of the Planning Commission "The single most important indicator of the economic performance of Bangladesh since liberation relates to the price situation in the country ... during 1972-73, prices of all commodities have risen at a fast rate. The average price level has doubled, and in some cases prices have increased 3-4 times". The situation worsened in the next two years.

(b) Currency Inflation

Since liberation there has been an enormous increase of money supply in Bangladesh. In April 1970, currency in circulation was 2327 million. By December 1971, it rose to Tk. 3880 million and at the end of March it rose to 7100 million and further to Tk. 8400 by the end of June 1974 an increase of over 5000/-in a short period of 3 crucial years during which smuggling and flight of capital continued unabated and national production came down by 40 to 50 per cent. situation further worsened in 1974-75 when the extent of deficit financing reached the level of Tk. 3863.8 million.

(c) The Tragedy of Waste

Losses in nationalized industries, state Trading Corporation and other Govt. buying agencies, and in ports, railway wagons, and godown would be a matter of multi-million Takas. Only 5,000 small fair price shops and thana stores, run at a cost of Tk. 3.34 million per month lost over Tk. 34 million in 9 months. The estimated loss of jute by fire alone would exceed Tk. 150 million. The Ittefaq reportep a loss of Tk. 314 million worth of yarn in EPSIC Store houses at Dacca, Khulna and Pabna.

The Los Angeles Times referred to in page 1, reported that "Another top UN Official, sympathetic to Bangladesh described with bewilderment, how the United Nations had to send its fleet of graincarrying vessels to Calcutta for routine repair work as Bangladesh could do the work "reliably and on schedule at their own

shipyards". Often such losses had to be made up by imports which ultimately adversely affected own balance of payment position. The country's foreign trade deficit increased from Tk. 900 million in 1969-70 to Tk. 5120 million in 1974-75. Unless we are able to available waste and keep within the country what we produce or import, economic recovery would be impossible.

After liberation Indo-Bangladesh Border was kept open allowing Indian vessels to ply over Bangladesh Water freely. Movement of people and goods started between the countries. Thousands of Indians visited Bangladesh. Foreign goods enchanted them and within a short time the national inventory looked depleted.

It is against this background that the Industrial Strategy of Bangladesh needs to be developed.

The Industrial Strategy in Bangladesh

One significant aspect of industrial strategy in a developing country that almost all relevant decision-making on planning, direction, execution and evaluation is to be done by the Govt. or its appointed agencies. Govt. also has to select industrial projects, fix up priorities, train personnel, provide for finance, both internal and external and build up the necessary infra-structure.

The most important question of decision-making, however, is that "Who will own, operate or manage industrial project the Govt/ Govt. Agencies or Private Industries or Corporation"? As the form of ownership and management vitally affects the success or otherwise of an individual project and as they are operated and managed under very different conditions and environments, none other than the Govt. can decide whether it should itself build up, own and manage industries as a national policy or leave it largely or entirely with private sector. This vital decision should be made on the basis of an objective evaluation of the relative advantages and disadvantages of public and private industrial projects and as required by the needs of circumstances and not on the basis of any emotion or ideology—the objective being the maximum economic results and social welfare.

Govt. should own and operate industries which involve top national interest and priority, long gestation period, high cost and advanced technical performance, like coal, oil and petro-chemicals.

or heavy engineering, while, to begin with small and medium industries which involve relatively less capital, shorter period to complete and give quick returns, should be left to private industries, so that a large section of the people is encouraged to develop skill know-how and business ability and to widen the scope of free enterprise.

Free enterprise working under the forces of competition liberates the inborn energy of man, goods him to free thinking and enables him to develop new ideas, new discovery, new process and new products. It involves joint and simultaneous exercise of a number of human qualities, such as "initiative, originality, ingenuity, faith, push, the ability to plan and courage to take risk". Such things cannot be expected from Govt. departments where pro-crastination and redtapism are common features.

The entrepreneur's profits arising out of a successful project is not some sort of a 'theft' but a well earned remuneration for making sacrifice and taking risk. To days capitalism is peoples' capitalism and people working under it has made the largest contribution to human welfare.

The revival of the country's economy is our life and death question. The major industries, particularly the mother industry, namely, jute needs very special attention. We can ignore it only at the cost of our survival. We have to guard it against all known and likely dangers. Bangladesh jute economy and UNDP is reported to have spent \$ 250,000 up to May, 1975 and exploration costing more UN funds is still going on but the Centre has not been started. The UNDPS's commitment was to set-up a Technical Centre at Dacca and not a Jute International in New Delhi to have control over the affairs of the Technical Centre at Dacca.

The Jute International is likely to cost Tk. 150 million in 5 years or doubtful benefits while a paltry some of Tk. 150,000 could not be made available to complete a useful feasibility study sponsored by former EPIDC on "Alternative uses of Jute". In the last meeting of the Jute International in new Delhi, Thailand our only small competitor on jute exports, was reported to have been absent. The reasons are not known to us. Perhaps, their interest in it is waning. However, we, on our side, should cautiously avoid all known pitfalls.

The world demand for packaging, covering and industrial fibers in 1969-70 was for the order of 4 million tons. With the growth of

world population it should be about 5 million tons today. Jute, kenaf and allied fibers are not enough to meet this demand. Hence substitutes and alternatives are bound to come. It is a historical fact that synthetics raised their heads whenever there were (a) short supply or irregular supply of jute and (b) the price was abnormally high or unstable. In fact instability of price was more serious than high or low price. The danger of synthetics need not be exaggerated. They will go side by side with jute and allied natural fibers. What we have to do is to keep the supply adequate and price competitive and stable. Above all we have to improve our marketing system and bring it back to 1969-70 position through the private sector.

PROMOTION OF SMALL ENTREPRENEURS—A STRATEGY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN BANGLADESH

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Small Industry Development Policies

A study of the planning documents and economic policies of Bangladesh over the last two decades reveals the fact that this sector was recognised at least in paper as an important sub-sector of the economy for supporting the overall economic growth of the country. Emphasis on small industries was laid in all the development plans including the First Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh along with large industries. Various promotional measures including the establishment of Small Industries Development Corporation, fiscal incentives in the form of exemption from duties were provided for the promotion of this sector. But response from the potential private investors in the small industry has been very poor. The First Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh envisaged an investment outlay of Taka 121.60 crore in the private sector (intended to be made in the small industry sector) of which sanction for investment given only Tk. 7 crores during the first year of the First-Five Year Plan Industrial Investment Policy which provides guidelines for investment in industries has been revised recently to attract private investment in the small industries sector. The salient features of the revised industrial policy are raising of ceiling in private investment from Tk. 3 crores to Tk. 10 crores, abolition of moratorium clause, provision of electricity on preferential rates in less developed areas, provision of equity support by financing institutions, provision of capital market facilities for finance and scope for investing undisclosed idle funds. All these measures are directed towards the growth and development of small and medium industries in the country.

The small industries sector, however, did show little progress in the pre-liberation and post-liberation days. Post-liberation years

were a period of transition and rehabilitation. In fact there was hardly any development activity during the post-liberation days. Even after the announcement of revised industrial investment policy the future of small industries does not appear to be very bright. The reasons for the slow growth lies in the inability of promotional institutions to develop small entrepreneurs. Indeed, inadequacy of entrepreneurship is one of the major factors hindering the growth of small industry in Bangladesh.

Entrepreneurship Development Efforts

Entrepreneurship is essentially a creative activity. The entrepreneur initiates some activity for manufacturing some goods or services and for making them available to the consumers. He has imagination to produce new things and innovate new methods of production and distribution. Entrepreneur, by dint of his ability and various measures lead the path to a success from a hazardous one. According to Schumpeter innovators of the type are rare in society, and they appear on the scene of development periodically. Although emergence of entrepreneurs depends on certain values like achievement motivation and development of entrepreneurial personality, the country need not wait for generations for the emergence of entrepreneurs. By a combination of several measures, through multidimensional approach, the problem of promoting entrepreneurs can perhaps be tackled in a manner so as to gain early results.

So long the BSIC was primarily responsible to promote small industry by providing technical, organisational and infrastructural facilities. Moreover, BSIC could also invest by itself or in joint ventures in areas where private parties were not forthcoming. Financing of the small sector was also the responsibility of BSB. Thus the principal objective of this institution was to develop small entrepreneurs. But unfortunately this objective was not fully realised due to a number of reasons. During 18 years of the existence of BSIC/EPIC not more than 1500 units received promotional and financial assistance. Many entrepreneurs could not, however, develop themselves as sustaining entrepreneurs due to lack of promotional assistance.

Approach to Entrepreneurship Development

Since inadequacy of entrepreneurship is a major hurdle to the development industries some efforts should be made to develop entrepreneurship in Bangladesh. It is now, an accepted fact that the rate of entrepreneurial development can be accelerated by under-taking some definite measures and steps. Prerequisite of entrepreneurial development is to launch such programmes which will (a) provide incentive to prospective investors and help the entrepreneur to choose a profitable product of manufacture, (b) provide information and consultancy services for the preparation of a viable project report, (c) assist in adapting local technology instead of depending on foreign technology, (d) provide facilities for obtaining credit, (e) assist in procuring raw materials and marketing products, (f) make some other assistance for promotion of entrepreneur. These measures of assistance have been instrumental in developing entrepreneurial class in Bangladesh, there seems to be interested persons available to start industrial ventures but very few could go ahead as successful entrepreneurs due to non-availability of adequate promotional support from the promotional institutions. In addition to these, persons with potential entrepreneurial skill both from educated and uneducated unemployed labour force can be picked up for entrepreneurial training to start an industrial career. Therefore, in order to make any break through in the development of small industries what is needed is an intensive campaign to attract the potential investors to industrial activities. However, before such a drive in an area the campaigners need a clear picture about the (i) potential raw materials of the area, (ii) special skill of the artisans of the area, (iii) Possibility of getting funds from within the locality, (iv) availability of infrastructures in the locality and (v) attitude of the area towards industrialisation. Being equipped with such knowledge concerted efforts can be made.

Institutional Efforts.

For efficient planning and successful implementation of such a programme an organisation is necessary which will exclusively think for developing small entrepreneurs. The objectives, responsibilities and operational techniques of the BSIC should be reorganised so that this institutions can perform the responsibility of developing

entrepreneurship *vis-a-vis* the growth of small industries in the country. The following measures are suggested for the overall development of entrepreneurship :

First : BSIC should be entrusted with the responsibility to develop small entrepreneur in an effort to develop small-scale industry in Bangladesh. The meaning and scope of small-scale industry should also be clearly defined. These would enable the corporation to concentrate activities on some specific functions instead of floating on confused activities.

Second : The BSIC should pursue the entrepreneurial development approach as stated in the paper. Bangalee entrepreneurs require integrated assistance covering promotional assistance like planning and development, policy formulation, internal staff training management training and extension service, technical training liason, procurement of machinery, materials, spares, provision of working premises and sites, and marketing the products are of vital importance. These elements of assistance are fully complementary and mutually sustaining and provision of these assistance will help to develop small entrepreneur.

Third : The present method of selecting entrepreneur appears to be totally unsatisfactory. Although it is difficult to prove without undertaking a study yet it seems reasonable to think that many projects faced immature death due to inexperience and inability of the promoters. Experience-based scientific methods and criteria are needed for identification and selection of entrepreneurs. The BSIC staff should be equipped with the more upto date knowledge of entrepreneur selection. Many Such East Asian countries have undertaken programme of small industry entrepreneurship development programme as an important strategy for industrialisation. Lessons from such countries can help BSIC in this task.

Fourth : Inspite of the fact that potential entrepreneurial skill is available in our country. Yet entrepreneurs could not be quite successfull due to improper selection of project. The efforts of the SIAS in this respect are neither enough nor comprehensive. Therefore, the activities of the SIAS should be strengthened and various project profile should be prepared for sale to the potential entrepreneurs.

Fifth : The present methodology for operational assistance is unsatisfactory. Measures can be taken to reduce the time taken

in sanctioning loans, procuring machinery and equipment suited for a particular project. The present system does not provide enough authority to the corporation to recover loans or equipment if the industry defaults either through non-payment of instalment or misuse excepting claiming 20% of the value of machinery deposited as security. The BSIC may also import the machinery and equipment on its own Account. The machinery can then be leased or rented to the industry on monthly rent basis. Under the process, the machinery being the property of BSIC can be removed without any along winded battle and the deposit can be utilised for reimbursing rents in default. The industrialist would have a constant cost charged in the account and need not pay a large sum at a time as quarterly half-yearly instalment which may sometimes create liquidity problem. The BSIC will be also vigilant about the performance of the enterprise assistance.

Sixth : In the past, proper attempts were not made to adopt appropriate local technology in the small scale industry. There is vast scope in this country to produce many commodities by applying local technology. On the other hand foreign technology be adapted with the local conditions.

Seventh : The provision of working premises and industrial sites was one of essential elements of an integrated assistance for the development of Bangladeshi enterprises. But evidences suggest that out of total 3386 industrial plots available in 18 industrial estates only 1664 plots were developed during the past 14 years of this programme.

Eighth : A person with entrepreneurial skill may have enough financial resources to start a viable enterprise. He should have easy access into capital market facilities in the stock exchange is a major step in the furtherance of industrial finance in the country. The revival of institution like investment corporation, trust companies are under active consideration of the government. The industrial enterprises requires the services of under-writers in raising funds from public through stock exchange.

Ninth : Development and Research : Bangladesh is a new country faced with tremendous problems of high population growth and underemployment and unemployment. To cope with this situation the country must embark on quick industrialisation. We must use our limited resources for a maximum benefit.

CAPACITY UTILISATION IN SELECTED MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF BANGLADESH

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1. Introduction

The study of capacity utilisation is important and at the same time interesting for less developed countries like Bangladesh, where capital is both scarce and underutilised. The level of capacity utilisation not only determines how much more output can be obtained by fuller utilisation of existing capacity but also defines the required expansion of capacity for a targetted output. Also, employment is directly and per unit capital service cost is inversely related to the rate of capacity utilisation. The available evidence suggests that any increase in capacity utilisation will mean reduction in average cost of production.

This study is specially more important for Bangladesh where there is acute structural unemployment, because capacity utilisation may be directly related with employment expansion. "During the period defined as the early stage of industrialisation the proportion of total increase in employment attributable to better capacity utilisation was approximately 50 per cent in Hungary (1950-54), 48 per cent in Poland (1951-56) and 38 per cent in the U.S.S.R". In Eastern European Countries, the possibility of expansion production and creating employment opportunities without investment, by the use of multiple shifts acquired real economic significance. It is really a matter of crucial importance for less developed countries like Bangladesh to know how to utilise existing capacity more efficiently by incorporating abundant labour to more scarce resources capital and get more output and employment.

DATE AND RESULTS

A. Sugar Industry

To deal with capacity utilisation in the sugar mills, we will be concerned with the sugar-cane crushing capacity. The maximum achievable output depends on the rate of recovery of sugar from the sugar-cane and also linked with the maximum no. of days worked by a mill. As this industry is a seasonal one, the mill cannot run for more than six months. There are fifteen sugar mills in Bangladesh. For our study, we have considered maximum achievable rate of recovery fixed. Assuming the rate of recovery of sugar from sugar-cane to be 8.5%, the sugar mill corporation has calculated the installed capacity of sugar of each year. For some of the mills, it is not unlikely that production may exceed the installed capacity as defined above, if the rate of recovery of sugar from sugar-cane exceeds 8.5% and also if the mill can work efficiently more than the assumed days. Of course, this rate depends on the quality of the sugar-cane. The better the quality of the sugar-cane the more is the sucrose content in the sugar-cane. In the weather condition of our country sugar content can achieve a maximum of 10.25% with the present technological standard.

1. No sugar mill works for 3840 hours and the shift coefficient varies from, 0.73 to 2.35. The relative rate of utilisation which expresses the actual number of hours worked per day as a percentage of the maximum feasible hours, ranges from 25 to 80. This points the possibility that the enterprises with poorer performance should without much difficulty be able to improve their capacity utilisation as other firms operating under very similar conditions have performed better.

2. Since the actual shift coefficient varies from 0.73 to 2.35; the index of production and employment expansion opportunities on maximum feasible shift coefficient 2.94 varies from 125 to 403 in percentages. On the average, index of production and employment expansion opportunities seems to be 177 and 180% at assumed shift coefficients of 2.88 and 2.94 respectively.

3. we find that on an average the rate of capacity utilisation in sugar industry works out to be 47.67% in 1973-74. The actual rate of capacity utilisation at existing shift basis is found to vary

between 12% and 100% in different enterprises. But on desirable shift basis, we can see the same varying from 4.49% to 77.55%. On desirable shift basis the average rate of capacity utilisation varies between 27.48% and 28.41%. It is evident that in the year 1973-74, the performances of sugar industry was very poor indeed.

It is seen that the index of output and employment expansion at existing shift basis and 90% utilisation rate is 245.4%, whereas at assumed shift coefficient of 2.94 and 2.875, it equals to 546% and 545.4% respectively. One can easily guess how much increase in output and employment is possible with limited efforts.

According to the corporation estimate, present annual production capacity is 1,69,000 tons. But we can increase our output to 2,16,933 tons by 90% utilising of existing shift.

Jute Manufacturing Industry

The main products of a jute mill are (i) Hessian (ii) Sacking and (iii) Carpet Backing. The final product jute cloth is produced on the loom. Each loom is like a unit of production, uses labour and other variable inputs to produce jute cloth.

This study is based on data for 16 mills covering the year 1972-73. In Hessian average degree of utilisation under existing condition is 71.39% and 61.62% at $a = .65$ and $a = .75$ respectively. On the other hand, the same calculated on the basis of installed loom, 3 shift and 300 days is quite low. It is 41.87% at 65% efficiency norm and 35.92% at 75% efficiency norm.

Degree of capacity utilisation in 1972-73 was quite low compared with that of the year 1968-69. In 1968-69 degree of capacity utilisation under existing condition at 75% efficiency norm was 71%, while in 1972-73 it was 61.62%. Also on the basis of desirable condition it was 50% at 75% efficiency in 1968-69 and 1972-73 it was 41.87%. This shortfall is due to disruption caused by liberation war.

The degree to which production can be increased by increasing shift coefficient. We find that actual shift coefficient and index of relative rate of utilisation ($23.50 = 100$) based on number of hours worked were on the average 2.14 and 77.28 respectively.

With shift-coefficient 2.50 index of production and employment expansion on an average was 114.74 whereas for shift-coefficient 2.94 it was 134.75. We find that average actual production of Hessian in 1972-73 was 3260 tons, whereas on the basis of 3 shift operation for 300 days with installed looms and assumed 75% efficiency norm average output would have been raised to 9379 tons.

For Hessian, we have tried to find out whether there is any relation between the degree of capacity utilisation and per unit cost of production. It can normally be hypothesized that when existing capacity is utilised more efficiently per unit cost of production will decline. Empirical results indicate a similar trend but they are not significant. The degree of variation in average cost explained by that in capacity utility utilisation is small which indicates that there are many other factors besides, efficient use of capacity which influence the cost of production.

We have also calculated degree of capacity utilisation for sacking, another product of jute industry. For the year 1972-73, the average degree of capacity utilisation on existing shift basis at 75% efficiency level is 76.17%. The average performance for all the jute mills for sacking is higher than that of Hessian.

If we compare the findings of 1972-73 with that of 1969-70 and 1968-69 we find that the degree of capacity utilisation for Sacking on the basis of 300 dyas was 64% for 1969-70 at 75% efficiency level, whereas for 1972-73 it was much lower, only 40.12%. Degree of capacity utilisation on the basis of actual days worked at 75% efficiency norm in 1969-70 was 94% whereas in 1972-73 it was 76%. We find that as compared with the average actual output of Sacking of 3625 tons, the potential output was 9926 tons.

Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry

There are 33 projects under the control of Bangladesh Engineering and Shipbuilding Corporation (BESC) of which 28 were in operation and 5 were under construction in 1972-73.

Here we have calculated the degree of capacity utilisation of 12 existing units at different efficiency levels. The plants have actually operated one shift only. We have tried to show the extent of utilisation on the basis of actual days worked and on existing shift basis.

There is considerable amount of underutilisation even calculated on the basis of actual working hour. We find that the average degree of utilisation on the basis of actual days worked on existing shift (one shift) is 51.65% at 75% efficiency level. 48.35 % underutilisation even under existing condition is quite disastrous. Degree of capacity utilisation on the basis of actual days worked and on 2 shift basis is more disappointing. We have calculated the degree of capacity utilisation on the basis of desirable days (390) and desirable shifts (two shift). On this basis the average degree of utilisation is only 22.32% at 75% efficiency norm.

Almost all the industries under Bangladesh Engineering and Ship-building Corporation (BESC) have worked for about 300 days in a year. So in order to increase their output, they should give more emphasis on raising shift coefficient and the level of operating efficiency than on increasing number of days. Of course they can increase their capacity to a large extent by increasing number of shift. They can easily work on a 2 shift basis.

We have calculated actual 'shift-coefficient'. We have also found out the index of relative rate of utilisation on the basis of desirable shift and actual shift-coefficient. For the industries under BESC we have taken 1.5 and 2 as desirable shift-coefficient, Actual shift coefficient is .93. For Khulna Shipyard with actual shift coefficient .99, index of production and employment expansion is as high as 151.52 and 202.02 for 1.2 and 2 shift coefficients respectively. Here attempt is made to give emphasis on raising number of shifts. And it is shown how only by increasing number of shifts, production and employment can be expanded without new investments.

The index of output and employment expansion to be 184, if 80% of the level on the existing shift basis at 75% efficiency norm is being utilised, while on desirable shift (2 shift) the same is 491.

Inter-industry Comparison

There is some problem in making meaningful inter-industry comparison because of the different basis on which calculation for individual industries has been made. The major difference arises in the number of shifts operated. Besides conceptually

different standards of efficiency norms are implicit in measurement of capacity utilisation under existing conditions. However, broad averages in the degree of capacity utilisation will provide directional evidence on the required corrective measures. In addition we need some evidence on movement over time across the industries under study. For this purpose we have used the evidence provided by the Planning Commission which admittedly is rather crude since it is based on a simplified concept of installed capacity without bringing in considerations of shift-coefficient or efficiency norm. We find that the sugar industry records the lowest rate of capacity utilisation and the relative position does not seem to have changed between 1973-74 and 1974-75. However, there has been some improvement in capacity utilisation in all industries under study except sacking.

III. Factors Responsible For Underutilisation

It is evident from the data of 1972-73 that there is significant under utilisation of capacity in the industries of Bangladesh. Although one of the main reasons for that period was the war-devastated economy there are many common reasons for less-developed countries which hamper the desired level of utilisation of capacity and which seem to persist in the case of Bangladesh.

1. **Paucity of Foreign Exchange :** Like other less-developed countries the Industries of Bangladesh face great difficulty due to shortage of foreign exchange, which creates bottle-neck, among others, in the supply of necessary raw materials and spare parts without which the industries cannot possibly run in full capacity. All industries under study suffered at various degree from lack of necessary foreign exchange allocation, the worst victim apparently being the engineering industry. The difficulties remained over in 1974-75. As a matter of fact some of the enterprises suffered severely from a shortage of strategic indigenous raw material. For example, in the case of the sugar industry the problem has been seriously aggravated by lack of wagon space, as well as leakage of sugar-cane into alternative uses.

2. **Market demand for the product :** It was found that for some goods market demand is limited. So production has to be restricted to the extent of demand. Products under this category the cables, G. I. pipe, Super enamelled copper, etc.

3. Imbalance of machinery : For some industries each process of operation is not in balance with another. For some processes capacity is more than other processes, which causes internal imbalance thereby leading to overall under-utilisation of capacity. This was found to be the case for Chittagong Steel Mill.

4. Welfare implications (In case of expansion of multiple shift-work) : There are some welfare implications of increased production by expanding shift-work. Although expansion of shift-work may increase production without increase in capital which is more scarce, it can not always be prescribed considering the health of the worker. Also physical condition of work is not always favourable for multiple shift-work. Instinctive dislike of night work and difficulty in obtaining transport at usual hours, may stand in the way of increasing shift-work. Psychological condition of worker and work also is not always favourable. There may be domestic problems, separation from the family and friends etc. There is also difficulty in sleeping during the day time under the environmental conditions as existing in our industrial locations. There is also skilled labour deficiency for special type of job. Managerial difficulties are also responsible in some cases for under-utilisation of capacity.

5. Failure in Power supply : There is considerable loss of production due to frequent power failure and voltage fluctuation. As for example, during July-February, 1974-75 the loss in output due to power failure in some selected industries was, 15.83 lakh yards of cloth and 15.9 lakh pounds of thread under cotton textiles, 7,034 tons of jute goods and under Food and Allied Corporation 1.15 crore taka worth of man hours (i. e. 1,12,693 man hours).

What clearly emerges from this study is that there is considerable under-utilisation of capacity in various industries of Bangladesh and the situation is not likely to improve unless serious attempt is made to remove the basic causes identified above.

A STRATEGY OF INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

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I

Introduction

Really perceptive analyses of central issues of economic policy in Bangladesh stress, quite rightly, that the primum mobile for rapid economic development in that country must necessarily stem from a modernizing transformation of its vast rural sector. However, no possible paradigm for such a transformation can sensibly exclude Bangladesh's small scale industrial sector from analytical and policy purview for several reasons. In the first place, agriculture and manufacturing, both large and small, closely interact from both supply and demand sides. Thus, for instance, assuming economies of scales in Bangladesh agriculture are not substantial at the moment, rapid growth in agricultural output and marketed surplus may not be absorbed at adequate prices by the consuming, non-agricultural sector owing to both low *per capita* income and unequal income distribution in that sector. This is why, planning for agricultural transformation must be consistent with potential growth in the small industries sector. Secondly, the sector is essentially labour intensive producing labour-using products and requiring relatively little capital the production techniques here thus being in keeping with existing relative factor endowments. More importantly, techniques are simple and use of indigenous inputs relatively important. A cognate fact is a fairly large proportion of this country's industrial labour force which is employed in this sector. Thirdly, small industry is more foot-loose in the sense of being more amenable to locational diversification since it does not need proximity to large product and factor markets, elaborate infrastructural facilities as much as large industry. Small industry is thus the only

vehicle of relatively evenly diffusing the locations of manufacturing, with quite beneficial effects in terms among others of reducing both open and seasonal unemployment. A quite related fourth reason of this sector's importance owes to the fact that small industry development is one of the most rapid instruments for income redistribution through productive avenues and thus for reduced income inequalities. In principle, such redistribution may activate latent sources of long-run growth by way of reducing dissavings at low incomes levels, and reducing small enterprise frustrated savings. This sector may also be characterized by simultaneous production-saving-investment activity originating from the use of own or family labour in the production of non-tradeable capital assets. Such activities tend to have significant skill effects. In fact these non-monetized investments, which by definition are difficult to quantify, and the still less quantifiable skill effects may be substantial in Bangladesh in small industry in general and in rural areas in particular.

In view of the above, any possibly strategy for industrial development must embrace considerations as to small and cottage industry development. In this paper, we shall touch upon some aspects of some small industries of Bangladesh, aspects which may partly explain why they have stagnated in the past and thus indicate broad directions for growth and modernization policies in this sub-sector,

II

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR SMALL INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT

Socialist Institutions

By institutional framework I mean one entirely conducive to socialist development in agriculture, industry and services. Development, whether socialist or capitalist whether of small or large industry, essentially is a product of interactions between physical factors (labour, capital, natural resources), institutions and level of technology. But development is not a value-neutral process but itself perpetuates a certain brand of value and generates those complementary to the former. It is through particular institutions that particular values take deep roots. Now in

Bangladesh we have decided to strive to attain a socialist order, based on like values. But those values presuppose socialist institutions. One of the most fundamental institutions is referred to in the preposition that the means of production should remain in the hands of the direct producers. I, for one, take this institutional stand. And this position has obvious economic implications. *This country can not productively engage each and every one of its citizens in social and economic development without a far greater relative equality in incomes and income-generating assets than is the case today:* Only when incomes and assets are much more equally distributed will the stakes for each and every one of us in life, and in all that make that life materially fuller, be high.

III

SOME ASPECTS OF SMALL AND COTTAGE

INDUSTRY IN BANGLADESH

The small industry structure

Very little is known about this structure. However, the CSO of Pakistan and the Bureau of Statistics, Bangladesh have individually shed some statistical light, from which there emerges a vague structure but yet worthwhile. It clearly appears from Appendix Table 1 that hand looms, food manufacturing and wood cork manufacturing are the three largest segments of the small industry by all possible criteria such as employment, value added, investment and indebtedness. However, in terms of value added, textiles are absolutely preponderant with 54% of total value added, with food manufacturing a lagging second with 22%. Given this preponderance of the small-scale hand loom and also given the relatively greater published statistical coverage on this industry, in the following we are pre-occupied the hand looms industry in Bangladesh.

The handloom industry

In our rural areas, this industry is predominantly family-based, hiring only about 23% of total industry employment. Quite likely, the industry in better times was more important employment-wise, given that the number of hand-loom has been declining in Bangladesh

and that thus the labour absorptive capacity of it was also going down. The industry, it seems, is also largely composed of rather small enterprises, 93% of the enterprises employing only upto 6 persons. Clearly, when the average size of the industry is so small, the technology is very simple and cheap. One reflection of this is the fact that value added per worker was only Tk. 224 in 1969. In view of the close association between capital intensity and labour productivity and, via the latter, between earning capacity, I would argue that our small-scale textiles industry urgently needs a widespread improvement in methods which use more equipment and/or more expensive materials than has been so far the cases, but far less than is the practice in the latest technologies in the large-scale industries. This, in turn, would need substantial expansion of credit for both fixed and working capital to the industry.

Working Capital in the industry

The industry has been perennially starved of adequate working capital. We have shown that most entrepreneurs are small and rural based. Not well acquainted with the procedures of institutional credit, and, even if acquainted with them, looking risky debtors because of little in the way of collateral, they are thrown to the unorganized money and capital markets, where rates of interest are often astronomically high and which moreover tends to fossilize the dependency relations between the economically weak weavers on the one hand and the "mahajans" and "beparis" on the other. Institutional credit for fixed capital formation is so little in relation to capital formation through concomittant disinvestment in assets like land, livestock, ornaments that in 1969 the two sources for fixed capital formation figured roughly on a 14 : 86 ratio. Note moreover these sales of land, ornament, livestock may also have involved exploitative terms of exchange. It thus seems that an expansion of institutional credit to the weavers will substantially raise their efficiency by making the institutional imperfections less severe and thus accelerate their growth.

Marketing aspects :—The sum and substance of our arguments is that an inequitable structure of the money/capital markets in Bangladesh tends to keep our hand-loom (as well as other small) industries relatively undercapitalized, Undercapitalization leads to

under-remuneration for the weavers. So there is a cycle. And the cycle becomes all the more inequitable because of imperfections in the marketing systems. Vigorous marketing embracing product-adaptation (according to changes in tastes and fashions) and—development, market organization through creating special marketing outlets and through advertizing are quite obviously beyond weavers who can not, in the first place, produce efficiently because of imperfections in the factor markets. And yet some of the factors affecting the marketing efficiency of hand-loom products proposed in the literature could be substantially changed in a positive direction. We take up only one factor which that study discussed at some length, namely, competition from mill products, especially synthetic textiles where raw materials are imported either directly or indirectly. It is known that synthetics are simultaneously more durable, of more consistent quality and incorporate vastly more appealing designs. Moreover, produced under capital-intensive conditions, they are characterized by substantial scale economies and lower costs. Now the durability, quality consistency and designs of hand-looms are surely capable substantial improvement. The process will involve time, capital and technical assistance. I suggest that these can be provided to our hand-loom industry by the government among others, intervening in the market for both cotton and synthetic textile. Since the demand for superior quality textiles, both cotton and textiles, is inelastic (more so for the latter) it is possible to raise a suitable specific tax on these. Let the whole or nearly all of the proceeds be made available to the weavers as a grant. One merit of this would be that it is the relatively rich who will be subsidizing the poor weavers. Another will be that, to the extent that price responsive exists, it would favour the hand-loom sector producing comparable products.

IV

Summary and conclusion

The paper outlines the structure of the small-scale industry in the rural areas of Bangladesh, in terms of value added, investment outlay, debt liquidation, form of organization, employment. Assuming that the structure is identical in the urban areas (which is most probably the case by and large), we here have

preliminary structure of small industry in Bangladesh. All data relate to 1969. In view of the serious economic dislocation and pauperization particularly involving the "small" man (whether in agriculture or industry) in the post-liberation period, the structure may have substantially changed. The paper concentrates on hand-looms, the largest industry by value added as of 1969.

The chief conclusion of this author is that, without fundamental asset distribution promoting much greater relative income equality than is now the case, no strategy of small industry development can attain much practical pay-off. *Ad interim*, the industry needs more equitable distribution of capital, and more immediately a substantial flow of funds which does not increase indebtedness. In order for the consequential one-shot rise in productive efficiency to be sustained, it needs expanded supplies of conventional facilities by BSIC preferably within a new and more vigorous perspective centring on entrepreneurial development.

বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির

দ্বিতীয় বার্ষিক সম্মেলনে

প্রদত্ত ভাষণ

ଦ୍ଵିତୀୟାଂ ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣାୟ ନମଃ

କାବ୍ୟାଳଙ୍କାର କାବ୍ୟାଳଙ୍କାର ଇତି

କାବ୍ୟାଳଙ୍କାର

স্বাগত ভাষণ

মনোয়ার হোসেন,
ভারপ্রাপ্ত সভাপতি, বি, আই, ডি, এস,
সভাপতি, অর্থনীতি পরিষদ।

মহামান্ত্র রাষ্ট্রপতি, বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির মাননীয় সভাপতি, সম্মেলনী ভাষণকারী মাননীয় অধ্যাপক মীর্জা নূরুল হুদা, মাননীয় অতিথি-বৃন্দ সম্মেলনে অংশগ্রহণকারী প্রতিনিধিবৃন্দ!

বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির দ্বিতীয় বার্ষিক সম্মেলনের এই উদ্বোধনী অধিবেশনে অভ্যর্থনা পরিষদের তরফ থেকে আপনাদেরকে স্বাগত জানাতে পেরে আমি সম্মানিত ও আনন্দিত।

অর্থনীতি সমিতির বার্ষিক সম্মেলনের মূল উদ্দেশ্য একটি জাতীয় সমাবেশের আয়োজন করে দেশের অতীব গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অর্থনৈতিক বিষয়াদি সম্পর্কে অর্থনীতিবিদ, যারা অর্থনীতি সংক্রান্ত সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়ে থাকেন এবং যারা এর বাস্তবায়নে নিয়োজিত রয়েছেন তাদের মধ্যে মতামত আদান প্রদানের ক্ষেত্র সৃষ্টিকরা। এ সম্মেলনে আজ যারা সমবেত হয়েছেন তাদের মধ্যে এই গোষ্ঠীত্রয়ের সার্থক প্রতিনিধিত্ব বর্তমান।

আমরা সচেতন যে এই সম্মেলনে যে সব সমস্যা সম্পর্কে আলোচনা হবে তা প্রতিটি দেশবাসীর সমস্যা এবং এমন অনেকে আছেন যারা এই সম্মেলনে উপস্থিত থাকলে আলোচনায় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অবদান রাখতে সক্ষম হ'তেন। আমরা আশা করছি সম্মেলনের আলোচনা সম্মেলন কক্ষের বাইরেও প্রতিধ্বনি সৃষ্টি করবে এবং যে জনগণের সমস্যা নিয়ে এ আলোচনা তাদের কাছেও পৌঁছাবে। এর সাফল্যের ব্যাপকতার উপরই নির্ভর করছে সম্মেলনের সার্থকতা। সমুদয় জাতীয় প্রচারমাধ্যমে ও সম্মেলনে সমাগত স্বাধীন যুগপৎভাবে আলোচনা সমূহের মর্মবানী সর্বস্তরের জনগণের মধ্যে পৌঁছে দেবার গুরুদায়িত্ব পালন করবেন ব'লে আশা রাখি।

অর্থনীতি সমিতির কার্যনির্বাহী সংসদ সম্মেলনের মূল প্রতিপাদ্য হিসেবে নিয়েছেন “বাংলাদেশের অর্থনীতি : আমরা কোন পথে”? প্রতি-

পাশ্চ বিষয়টির প্রাসংগিকতা ও যথার্থতার ভিত্তি জাতীয় ও আন্তর্জাতিক প্রেক্ষাপট বা আমাদের অর্থনীতির উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করছে।

বিগত কয়েক বছরের আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনৈতিক পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে আমরা সাম্যক অবগত। মুদ্রাস্ফীতি, জ্বালানী সংকট, খাদ্য ঘাটতি, আন্তর্জাতিক মুদ্রাব্যবস্থা সংকট সামগ্রিক পরিস্থিতিকে প্রকট করে তুলেছে। তৃতীয় বিশ্বের সম্পদ-স্বল্প দেশগুলো এই পরিস্থিতির বিশেষ শিকার। এ থেকেই উদ্ভূত হ'য়েছে এক নূতন আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার গোড়াপত্তনের জ্ঞান ক্রমবর্ধমান দাবী। আন্তর্জাতিক উন্নয়ন সাহায্যের দর্শন আজ উত্তরোত্তর প্রবলের সম্মুখীন হ'চ্ছে।

বিশ্বের জাতি গোষ্ঠীর সদস্য হিসাবে এসব আন্তর্জাতিক সমস্যা সমূহে বাংলাদেশের অর্থনীতির উপর প্রভাব বিস্তার করেছে। কিন্তু আমাদের অনেক-গুলো অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যার ভিত্তি দেশের অভ্যন্তরে বিরাজমান। সাম্প্রতিক কালে আমাদের জাতীয় অর্থনীতির পরিমণ্ডলে প্রকট মুদ্রাস্ফীতি, আন্তর্জাতিক লেনদেন ঘাটতি, বহা, খাদ্য সংকট ও দুর্ভিক্ষ, প্রশাসন ও পরিচালনা সমস্যা এবং এসব সংকট নিরসনের জ্ঞান গৃহীত ব্যবস্থাবলী, যেমন মুদ্রার অব-মূল্যায়ন, বিমুদ্রাকরণ, রাজনৈতিক ক্ষমতার ক্রমবর্ধমান কেন্দ্রীকরণ ও গ্রাম সংগঠনের ক্ষেত্রে একটি নূতন ব্যবস্থা বিকাশের ব্যর্থ প্রয়াস আমরা লক্ষ্য করেছি।

গত বছরের শেষের দিকে পরিবর্তনের পর থেকে আমরা প্রত্যক্ষ করেছি ঘর গোছানোর দৃঢ় প্রয়াস, আইন শৃঙ্খলার পরিস্থিতির উন্নতি, চাল ও অগ্ন্যাগ্ন দ্রব্যাদির মূল্যের নিম্নগতি, জনসংখ্যা সমস্যার উপর বিশেষ গুরুত্ব আরোপ ও খাদ্যে স্বয়ম্ভরতা অর্জনের প্রচেষ্টা।

বিগত কয়েক বছরের মধ্যে এবারই প্রথম আমরা একটা আত্মজিজ্ঞাসা ও সং পর্যালোচনার সুযোগ পাচ্ছি। গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ও আশু সমস্যা সমূহের সমাধানের উদ্যোগ একদিকে যেমন প্রশংসনীয়, অশুদ্ধিকে এগুলোর স্বদূর প্রসারী সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক প্রতিক্রিয়া সূচিস্থিত মূল্যায়নের দাবী রাখে। অনিশ্চিত তেল ও পানি সম্পদ, জন সম্পদের মত পর্যাপ্ত ও সম্ভাবনা-পূর্ণ সম্পদ থাকে দারিদ্র ও ক্ষুধার কবল থেকে মুক্ত ক'রে তার পরিবেশকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ ও দেশের প্রগতি ও সমৃদ্ধির কাজে আত্মনিয়োগে সক্ষম ক'রে তোলার মহৎ লক্ষ্য এখনো ভবিষ্যতের গর্ভে নিহিত। সাম্প্রতিক ঘটনাবলীর এই

প্রেক্ষিত ও ভবিষ্যতের অনিশ্চয়তা এবং সুদূর প্রসারি ঐতিহাসিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর আলোকেই সম্মেলনের প্রতিপাদ্য বিষয় নির্বাচিত হয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশ ইনস্টিটিউট অব ডেভেলপমেন্ট স্টাডিজ এই সম্মেলনে আতিথ্য করতে পেয়ে আনন্দিত। আপনারা অনেকেই জানেন এই প্রতিষ্ঠানটি উন্নয়নের ক্ষেত্রে অনেকদিন যাবৎ গবেষণা ও জিজ্ঞাসায় রত। সাম্প্রতিক কালে আমাদের গবেষণা ও পেশাগত কাজে সামাজিক গুরুত্ব বহনকারী বিষয়াদির উপর প্রাধান্য দিচ্ছি।

বাংলাদেশ ইনস্টিটিউট অব ডেভেলপমেন্ট স্টাডিজ এই সম্মেলনে আতিথেয়তা করলেও একথা অনস্বীকার্য যে ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পূর্ণ সহযোগিতা ব্যতিরেকে সম্মেলন অনুষ্ঠান সম্ভব হত না। ব্যবস্থাপনায় হয়ত অনেক ত্রুটি থাকবে। এর যা কিছু ব্যর্থতা তা সবটাই আমাদের এবং এজ্ঞা আগে থেকেই আপনাদের নিকট মার্জনা প্রার্থী। কিন্তু ব্যবস্থাপনায় সাফল্যের কৃতিত্ব মূলতঃ ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রাপ্য।

মহামান্য রাষ্ট্রপতি ও সমবেত স্বধীৰন্দ্র আমি আবার আপনাদের স্বাগত জানাই ও সম্মেলনে আপনাদের সার্থক অংশগ্রহণ কামনা করি।

খোদা হাফেজ। বাংলাদেশ জিন্দাবাদ।

বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির দ্বিতীয় বার্ষিক সম্মেলনে

প্রেসিডেন্ট

বিচারপতি জনাব আবুসাদাত মোহাম্মদ সায়েমের

ভাষণ

জনাব সভাপতি ও সমবেত স্রুধীবৃন্দ,

বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির দ্বিতীয় বার্ষিক সম্মেলনের উদ্বোধনী অনুষ্ঠানে যোগদান করতে পেয়ে আমি আনন্দিত। অনেক ঘাত-প্রতিঘাতের মধ্য দিয়ে দেশ নতুন কর্মোদ্যমের যে পর্যায়ে এখন উপনীত হয়েছে তার প্রেক্ষিতে এই সম্মেলন সমরোপযোগী হয়েছে বলে আমি মনে করি।

২। একটি স্রুষ্ঠ এবং বাস্তব অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা জাতীয় উন্নয়নের মূল ভিত্তি। এই ভিত্তিকে কেন্দ্র করেই গড়ে ওঠে উন্নয়নের কাঠামো। দেশের সমস্যার মোকাবেলায় ও চাহিদা পূরণে যে কোনো উন্নয়ন প্রচেষ্টার পূর্ব-শর্ত হচ্ছে বাস্তবধর্মী অর্থনীতি।

৩। আপনারা দেশের অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যাবলী সম্পর্কে সচেতন। এই সমস্যার মোকাবেলায় সরকারের বিভিন্ন পদক্ষেপ সম্পর্কেও আপনারা ওয়া-কেবহাল। দারিদ্র ও বেকারত্বের সমস্যায় দেশের জনসংখ্যার এক বিরাট অংশ জর্জরিত। এর মধ্যে রয়েছে ভূমিহীন কৃষক, অদক্ষ শ্রমিক ও শিক্ষিত যুবসমাজের বেকার সমস্যা। উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনার মূল লক্ষ্য হতে হবে দেশের অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের সঙ্গে দারিদ্র্য ও বেকারত্বের অবসান। এ সমস্যা বাংলা-দেশের শহর-গ্রামে বিস্তৃত এবং এর ব্যাপকতা শহরের তুলনায় গ্রাম অঞ্চলেই বেশী। বিক্ষিপ্ত কর্মসূচী এই সমস্যা সমাধানে তেমন সহায়ক হতে পারে না। দারিদ্র্য ও বেকারত্বের সমাধান তখনই সম্ভব যখন ব্যাপক ও সমন্বিত পরিকল্পনার মাধ্যমে সকল কর্মক্ষেত্র মানুষের জন্ম কর্মসংস্থান ও ন্যূনতম আয়ের ব্যবস্থা নিশ্চিত করা যায়। দেশের প্রাকৃতিক ও জনসম্পদের পূর্ণাঙ্গ ও স্রুষ্ঠ ব্যবহারের মাধ্যমে সার্বিক উন্নয়নের দ্বারা দারিদ্র্য ও বেকারত্বের অব-সান সম্ভব।

৪। আমাদের এই কৃষি-প্রধান দেশে যেখানে শতকরা ৯২ জন মানুষ গ্রামে বাস করেন, সেখানে উন্নয়নের পরিকল্পনা ও কর্মসূচী গ্রামমুখী হওয়া

অপরিহার্য। আমাদের অর্থনীতি মূলতঃ কৃষিভিত্তিক। সরকার কৃষি উন্নয়নকে অগ্রাধিকার দিয়েছেন, এ সম্পর্কে আপনারা অবহিত আছেন। কৃষি উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির প্রচেষ্টার সাথে সাথে সর্বাদীণ পল্লী উন্নয়নের জগ্রে যে স্বনির্ভর কর্ম-সূচী এগিয়ে চলছে, সরকার বিভিন্ন পর্যায়ে এতে পূর্ণ সহযোগিতা দিয়ে যাচ্ছেন। গ্রামীণ অর্থনীতির উন্নয়নের সরকারী প্রচেষ্টার সঙ্গে সমবায় পদ্ধতির গুরুত্ব উপলব্ধি করে সমবায় ব্যবস্থা প্রচলনের জগ্রে জনগণের নিজ উদ্যোগে এগিয়ে আসার প্রয়োজন রয়েছে। সরকারের গৃহীত বিভিন্ন প্রকল্প জনগণের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতার বাস্তবায়িত হলেই দেশের সাবিক উন্নয়ন, দারিদ্র্য দূরীকরণ ও বেকার সমস্যা, বিশেষ করে ভূমিহীন কৃষকদের সমস্যার সমাধান সম্ভব।

৫। কৃষি উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির সঙ্গে সঙ্গে শিল্প উন্নয়নের গতি ত্বরান্বিত করার উদ্দেশ্যে কয়েকটি পদক্ষেপ ইতিমধ্যেই নেয়া হয়েছে। মৌলিক শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠান-সহ রপ্তানীমুখী শিল্প, কৃষিভিত্তিক এবং কুটিরশিল্প গড়ে তোলার ব্যাপারে সরকার উদ্যোগ নিয়েছেন। স্বাধীনতার পর দেশের অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থার বিশ্লেষণ ও মূল্যায়নের অভিজ্ঞতার প্রেক্ষিতে শিল্প উন্নয়নসহ আমাদের সাবিক অর্থনৈতিক কর্মসূচী গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। উৎপাদনমুখী এই নীতির লক্ষ্য হচ্ছে স্বল্পতম সময়ে দ্রুতগতিতে উন্নয়ন ত্বরান্বিত করা। এর পূর্বশর্ত হিসেবে দেশে যে স্তরু পরিবেশ প্রয়োজন তাও নিশ্চিত করা হয়েছে। রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত শিল্পে দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধি, শিল্প বিনিয়োগ নীতি, বেসরকারী খাতে পুঁজি বিনিয়োগ, রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত শিল্পের সাবিক মালিকদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দান, সংরক্ষিত কয়েকটি শিল্পক্ষেত্র ছাড়া অগ্ন্যাগ্ন শিল্প বেসরকারী খাতে রাখা, অন্তর্বর্তীকালীন শ্রম-নীতি, আমদানী-রপ্তানীসহ ব্যবসা-বানিজ্যে উদারনীতি' সঞ্চয়, বিশেষ করে ক্ষুদ্র সঞ্চয়কে উৎসাহিত করা, উন্নয়ন প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নের ক্ষেত্রে বিভিন্ন অন্ত্রবিধা দূর করা ইত্যাদি এর মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য। অর্থনৈতিক ভিত্তি স্বদৃঢ় করে সাবিক জাতীয় অগ্রগতি ও জনস্বার্থে এই বাস্তবধর্মী ব্যবস্থাসমূহ গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। আমাদের অর্থনীতিতে এই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পদক্ষেপসমূহের এবং এগুলোর বাস্তবায়নের স্ত্রফল আপনারা নিশ্চয়ই লক্ষ্য করেছেন। আমরা আশা করি, সরকারের গৃহীত এইসব ব্যবস্থার ফলে দেশে বর্তমানে যে অনুকূল পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি হয়েছে আর প্রেক্ষিতে বেসরকারী বিনিয়োগকারী উৎসাহের সঙ্গে এগিয়ে আসবেন।

৬। আপনারা জানেন, জনসংখ্যাকে দেশের সম্পদ ও অর্থনীতির ধারণ ক্ষমতার মধ্যে সীমিত না রাখলে সমস্ত উন্নয়ন প্রচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে। এই কারণেই জনসংখ্যা বিস্তারকে সরকার এক নম্বর জাতীয় সমস্যা হিসেবে চিহ্নিত করেছেন। ব্যক্তি ও জাতীয় স্বার্থে, সীমিত পরিবারের প্রয়োজনীয়তার উপলব্ধি প্রতিটি পরিবারের মধ্যে জাগিয়ে তোলা এবং পরিবার পরিকল্পনার সুরোক্ষ-সুবিধা পেঁাছে দেওয়ার এক ব্যাপক কর্মসূচী এগিয়ে চলছে।

৭। বর্তমান যুগের বৈজ্ঞানিক অগ্রগতির আলোকে এবং আমাদের মত উন্নয়নশীল দেশের চাহিদার দিকে দৃষ্টি রেখে জাতীয় শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তন অপরিহার্য। এ বিষয়ে শিক্ষাক্রম ও পাঠ্যসূচী কমিটি প্রয়োজনীয় পদক্ষেপ নিচ্ছেন। কারিগরি ও বৃত্তিমূলক শিক্ষা আরো ব্যাপক প্রচলনের বিষয়টি পরীক্ষা করা হচ্ছে বাহাতে সমরোপযোগী ও দেশের চাহিদা অনুযায়ী শিক্ষার প্রচলন সম্ভব হয়। এর ফলে কৃষি ও শিল্পক্ষেত্রে প্রয়োজনীয় দক্ষ জনশক্তি গড়ে উঠবে, উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি নিশ্চিত হবে এবং সেই সঙ্গে বেকার সমস্যারও সুরাহা হবে। এ ছাড়াও কারিগরি ও বৃত্তিমূলক শিক্ষা ছাত্রদের শিক্ষাকালীন অর্থোপার্জনে সহায়ক হবে।

৮। একটি দেশের দ্রুত অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন স্বর্চু ও দক্ষ ব্যবস্থাপনার উপর বিশেষভাবে নির্ভরশীল। ব্যবস্থাপনার মান উন্নয়নের উদ্দেশ্যে শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠানসহ প্রশাসন ব্যবস্থার পূর্ণ বিকাশ করা হয়েছে এবং কর্মকর্তাদের অভিজ্ঞতা ও দক্ষতা অনুযায়ী দায়িত্ব অর্পণ করা হয়েছে।

৯। দেশের বিভিন্ন মৌলিক সমস্যার সমাধানের ক্ষেত্রে সরকারের প্রচেষ্টার সফল ইতিমধ্যেই পরিলক্ষিত হচ্ছে। এর মধ্যে কৃষি ও শিল্পক্ষেত্রে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি, নিত্য-প্রয়োজনীয় দ্রব্যের মূল্যে স্থিতিশীলতা, রপ্তানী আয় বৃদ্ধি, মুদ্রাস্ফীতি রোধ ও টাকার মান উন্নয়ন বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। কৃষি, শিল্প, শিক্ষা, জনসংখ্যা নিয়ন্ত্রন ইত্যাদি প্রতিটি ক্ষেত্রে যে আসার সঞ্চার হয়েছে তাকে স্বল্পতম সময়ে ফলপ্রসূ করতে হলে দেশের সবাইকে ক্ষুদ্র ব্যক্তি স্বার্থের উর্ধ্বে উঠে বৃহত্তর জাতীয় স্বার্থে উৎসাহিত হয়ে সাধ্যতম অবদান রাখতে হবে।

১০। এখানে সমবেত অর্থনীতিবিদদের মধ্যে অনেকেই পরিকল্পনাও অর্থ মন্ত্রণালয়ের সঙ্গে যুক্ত রয়েছেন। আমাদের অতীত অভিজ্ঞতার পটভূমিতে

এবং বাস্তবতাকে সামনে রেখে এই সম্মেলন দেশের অর্থনীতির বিশ্লেষণ করবেন এবং মূল্যবান বক্তব্য রাখবেন বলে আমি আশা করি।

১১। পরিশেষে, আপনাদের সবাইকে ধন্যবাদ জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ অর্থনীতি সমিতির দ্বিতীয় বার্ষিক সম্মেলনের উদ্বোধন ঘোষণা করছি।

খোদা হাফেজ।

বাংলাদেশ জিন্দাবাদ।

SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1976

Address by

Dr. M. N. HUDA

Member,

Council of Advisers To The President

March 15, 1976

THE STATE OF THE ECOKOMY OF BANGLADESH

The year 1975 has been a critically difficult one for Bangladesh in more senses than one; the big political change of August 15 shocked and astounded people everywhere; and while the Government was still feeling its way both at home and abroad, November 3 came with its suddenness and confusion; and then came November 7 when Sepoys in the Army asserted themselves, threw out the adventurist regime of November 3, brought the present Government into power, and received rousing reception and welcome from the people.

2. In November 1975, the economy was in a state of utter confusion, but for agriculture where God was kind and the aman crop was good. In industry and trade, the nationalised sector was performing very poorly, was a constant drain on the Government's resources, and was stuck up with unsold, and in some cases unsaleable, inventories, and a growing volume of indebtedness to the banking system, which was killing both, and denying credit facilities to eligible borrowers elsewhere. The private sector had almost gone out of existence, contrary to the expectations of the Constitution and investment policies thereunder. The potentially dynamic sector of the economy—Industries—was groaning under heavy pressures—of losses sustained and in sight, of debts which looked like irrepayable, and of uncertainties which were beyond their control, with no proper guidelines from any quarters.

3. Economic policies were ones of drift, except for the monetary policy of the Bangladesh Bank; exports and foreign exchange reserves came down to an all time low, our L. Cs. for imports were required to be backed by third parties, and Bangladesh was almost given up as a lost case.

4. The new Government took a quick look at the situation, and identified the areas where immediate action had to be taken to salvage the economy—the Administration as a whole, the structure and functions of Sector Corporations, the bottlenecks to proper functioning of the Public Sector, measures for activating the private sector and for improving the investment climate generally.

5. The Government started taking action from the beginning of December; this process is continuing and will continue in future. Steps taken so far include the following:

A. Regarding Administration.

- (i) The number of administrative Ministries and Divisions has been brought down from 43 to 36.
- (ii) The number of Sector Corporations in Industries has been reduced from 12 to 6.
- (iii) There has been a reshuffle in top positions in Government and in Corporations with a view to improving administrative efficiency.

B. Regarding Public Sector.

- (i) Corporations have started gearing up their administration, relating personnel with performance, and pushing up sales, even at some apparent loss.
- (ii) Decision-making and action-taking have been decentralised beyond recognition—within Government, between Government and Corporations, and between Corporation and Enterprises.
- (iii) Corporations have started identifying the 'hard core' of their activities—major enterprises 'nationalised' out of conviction; and separate them from minor, odd and uneconomic units 'taken over' as abandoned properties

and subsequently nationalised, in the absence of any other acceptable alternative.

- (iv) Corporations will henceforth concentrate their efforts on the hard core of the nationalised sector, and divert themselves of the taken-over abandoned enterprises.
- (v) In export trade, and import trade, and in internal wholesale and retail trade, Corporations concerned are being made to work on major items on commercial considerations; and to ensure that, the private sector is being brought in to compete with the Corporation.

C. Regarding Private Sector.

- (i) The psychological barrier created between Government and the private sector has been removed through a series of meetings, formal and informal, at all levels.
 - (ii) The earlier-made promise of paying compensation to shareholders of nationalised enterprises—not abandoned ones—is being fulfilled.
 - (iii) The investment policy has been revised, raising the ceiling to Tk. 10 crores from Tk. 3 crores opening up 10 out of 18 reserved industries to collaboration with the private sector including management contracts, if possible, and providing for cheaper electricity for less developed areas in the country.
 - (iv) Black money has been allowed to come out, without any question being asked if invested in industrial enterprises.
 - (v) Abandoned and taken-over industrial and commercial enterprises are to be disinvested to the private sector.
 - (vi) The Stock Exchange and Equity participating agencies like the ICB and the NIT are being revived.
6. Several other measures deserve special mention :
- (i) The law and order situation has been brought under effective control, abandoned houses illegally occupied, and abandoned cars illegally allotted, are being taken back.

- (ii) The Border has been sealed for all practical purposes, and smuggling reduced to a minimum, resulting in better supply and price situations.
- (iii) The planning process has been reviewed—priorities sharpened on Family planning and Agriculture, and the formulation, examination and approval of schemes expedited.
- (iv) Fiscal and monetary policies are being geared up to ensure maximum dependence on domestic resources, and a near-embargo on deficit financing. Financial discipline, which had practically ceased to exist, is being increasingly restored.
- (v) Government subsidies are being gradually withdrawn, and market forces increasingly allowed to play due role.
- (vi) Prices received by farmers are being fixed realistically and in time; this year's rice prices have been considerably higher than market prices to provide incentive to the growers.
- (vii) The performances of the Administration and of the economy are being constantly reviewed at all levels—Advisers, Secretaries and Chairmen, with a view to identifying and removing bottle-necks as they come up in the way of effective efficient implementation of decisions taken.

7. These measures are having their effects, with varying degrees of success, in different fields. The administration is getting back its self-confidence and its sense of involvement, commitment and dedication is going up. The Public Sector is improving its efficiency, although one would like to see much faster progress in certain directions. The Private Sector no longer feels 'left out', and is gradually coming forward; one hopes that once our disinvestment proposals are finalised, the Private Sector would be in a position for a bigger jump into real and effective participation in the country's economic development. Donor countries are taking us seriously and looking at our programmes and policies

with a certain amount of confidence. Some foreign investors are showing keen interest for joint industrial ventures, in collaboration with local enterprise—Public and/or Private. There is a good deal yet to be done on all these fronts, and it is here that you in this conference can help us a lot. Government has an open mind and flexible approach in dealing with these problems. Please feel entirely free to discuss these and other problems facing all of us, and let us have your considered views. I can assure you that your views and recommendations will receive our utmost consideration.

8. Mr. Chairman, you have posed a very vital question before this Conference; namely, which way is the Economy of Bangladesh moving? That the economy is moving is an obvious fact, and I hope you all feel happy about it. Which is moving—it is very difficult to say. Our immediate concern is to make it move towards higher production, greater efficiency, better distribution, deeper involvement and wider participation by the people, greater selfconfidence and self-reliance, and increasing dependence on our own resources and resourcefulness. We have to be determined to stand on our own legs only then others will take note of us.

9. All these were visualised in the Constitution and the laws of the land, but the vision never came true, and both the Public and Private Sectors have let us down. The nation could not afford to go down any further, and we have created some of the conditions which should enable both the Public and Private Sectors to get out of the rut into which they were thrown, and go forward to their desired goals. The basic relationships between the Public and Private Sectors, as envisaged in the Constitution and the laws of the land, has not been disturbed; rather, some enabling measures have been taken for efficient functioning of both as integral part of the economy. But they must function properly and perform efficiently—not merely in their own view, but more importantly, in the opinion of the people who are the real masters in a democratic society. We have done whatever we could to help both—we shall continue

to do so and make more intensive efforts in that direction. In our economy, the Public Sector will always have a predominant role, but the Private Sector will also have a lot to do within the framework of a planned economy. To both of these sectors, in fact to all, our appeal would be : Please put forth your very best efforts and perform efficiently for yourselves and for a happier people.

So help us God.

THE SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE-76

About this Conference

Muhammad Shamsul Huq

Chairman, Preparatory Committee

The Honoured Chief Guest, Mr. Chairman, Professor Huda. Dr. Monowar Husain, Distinguished Delegates, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

On behalf of the Preparatory Committee of this Conference I have great pleasure in extending my warmest greetings to all of you present here this morning. We are happy to have you with us and honoured by your presence.

We are especially grateful to our honoured Chief Guest for taking time out of his busy schedule to be here to inaugurate Conference. We are honoured by his august presence and we have no doubt that his inaugural address will be a source of inspiration to the participants at the Conference and to the members of the Bangladesh Economic Association.

We are also very happy to have in our midst Professor Mirza Nurul Huda. Besides being the Member of the President's Advisory Council in-charge of the Ministry of Planning he is also an eminent economist in his own right. We are grateful to him for kindly consenting to deliver the Conference Address which we trust will set the tone for the deliberations of the conference.

The present Conference has been hosted by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies. On behalf of the Preparatory Committee, I would like to convey our gratitude to Dr. Monowar Husain in his capacity as Chairman of the Institute and also of the Reception Committee.

I would also like to express my sincere appreciation for the valued assistance received from my esteemed colleagues on the Preparatory Committee. The preparatory arrangements for this Conference involved considerable planning, organizational and staff

work. Our special thanks in this regard are due to Dr. Mohiuddin Alamgir, President of the Association who not only provided the initiative and leadership in all these arrangements but also quietly bore the main burden of the work.

Thus, while I felt greatly honoured to act as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, at no time I have had any cause for worry. It was, indeed, a most rewarding experience to work with such a distinguished group. I am truly grateful.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University kindly made the Teacher-Student Center available for the Conference free of rent. The Director of the Centre and his colleagues, and the teachers and the students of the Department of Economics have been extremely helpful in connection with the Conference. We are grateful to them. Our thanks also go to the representatives of the media and the government and non-government agencies who have in various ways helped us.

Above all our sincerest thanks go to our distinguished participants, the chairmen of the various sessions, the keynote speakers and the discussants. They are all outstanding persons in their respective fields with many demands on their time. It was, indeed, most gracious of them to respond positively to our invitation.

In keeping with the Conference theme, the topics selected for various sessions bear on the key-problem-areas. Unlike the First Conference, the present Conference does not have before it a plan-document to dissect and discuss. But, the aim and concern are fundamentally the same,—an analysis of the country's economy and a search for new paths in the light of the social realities. Hopefully the present Conference proceedings will in the fine tradition of the Association also be marked by the same forthright, incisive and insightful analysis. In this context it is important to bear in mind that the fate of the First Five Year Plan should not be allowed to cloud our objectivity in thinking. The criticism levelled against it at the First Conference should not be construed to underrate the value of academic discipline implicit in planning.

The present "non-plan" state can not and should not continue indefinitely in the larger interest of the country. A hard-core

plan is reportedly in the making, and will, let us hope, avoid the pitfalls of all the earlier plans.

If the First Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh was faulted as an attempt at model-building in a social and political vacuum the same was no less true of the earlier plans as amply demonstrated by the traumatic experiences of Bangladesh. The villain was not the stress laid on economic growth which was admittedly a prime need but the myopic approach to the concept of development in which development was equated with economic growth.

But growth in output is only one of the components of development. As widely recognized today, other important components are quality of life a minimum living level consistent with human dignity, more equitable sharing of income and wealth, improvement of employment opportunities, better education health, nutrition, and social welfare services.

However, even in the narrow economic sense, the pace of growth was not fast enough to produce any visible impact on the central problems of mass-poverty and mass-unemployment even after a generation of development effort. It is now evident more than ever before that with the present global constraints on the transfer of capital-resource, a plan-model based on the dual sector concept of modernization will not be able in the foreseeable future to absorb the vast traditional sector and productively utilise the equally vast idle manpower.

Despite their technical sophistication the most serious flaw of the earlier plan models was clearly their failure to recognize the central role of man in development and the profound influence exercised by the social structures and values. The most important lesson of history is that the change implicit in the process of development depends on the will of the people to seek the change and on their skill and sustained effort in achieving the desired change. In like manner a plan-model is evolved in a social milieu, and can not be just lifted from one social context and planted in a different one. The utility of such exercise was amply demonstrated by the sharpening of the conflict between the claims of 'growthmanship' and of social justice, and the

erosion of the country's value-moorings, resulting in rising inflation, mounting unemployment, and rapidly increasing population below the poverty-line.

Bangladesh in transition is now clearly in a twilight zone. Let us hope that the deliberations of this Conference will prove to be a constructive contribution in illuminating the way to a plan-strategy which

- (i) stresses the human aspects of development as much as its economic aspects,
 - (ii) recognizes the driving force provided by a motivated innovative and creative people as central to the development process, and
 - (iii) can capture the country's most abundant resource, namely, its human resource in productive employment.
- Thank you, Sir, Mr. President, and Thank you ladies and gentlemen

ADDRESS OF

President, CMLA and Chief of Staff of the Army, the then
DCMLA,

Major General Ziaur Rahman

in the concluding Session of the Second Annual
Conference of the Bangladesh Economic
Association as Chief Guest.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen.

The Answer to the vital question as to which way our national economy should move in future must be found in the context of our given socio-economic relations. The solution to the economic problems of the country must be rooted to the soil of Bangladesh. The solutions can never come from outside."

"Let us understand one truth and accept the fact that Bangladesh means villages and if we have to develop Bangladesh, we have to develop the villages and improve the rural economy. We have to be fully rural oriented, educate the rural masses and carry the message of civilisation to the poor people in the villages. We must build good roads, extend irrigation facilities and reach electricity to the villages. If we do that, only then we can say that, we are trying to develop Bangladesh."

Populations Growth

"The present alarming rate of population growth in the country must be arrested at all cost. Otherwise the results of all our efforts to develop the country would be futile. We have to fight the population growth on permanent basis and let everyone contribute in this regard and carry the message of population control in every nook and corner of the country."

"The present rate of population growth must be halted to an acceptable level so that economic plans and programmes could be executed to the benefit of the people. We must succeed in our endeavour to control population explosion. Otherwise we shall fail in everything for, all gains of development will be swallowed by an ever increasing population,

Economic Welfare

"The time has come to ask ourselves as to how far we have been able to succeed in fulfilling the task of bringing the economic welfare to the people. We must look into the last few years of our independence and try to analyse as to how we have fared. If the performance was not fair, the reasons of failures should be determined. I hope, the economic experts of the country will be able to tell us as to what we should do for the future."

Excessive corruption

"The biggest fault in our productive sector had been excessive corruption, endless mismanagement, extreme financial indiscipline, employment of superfluous manpower, weak industrial security, bad planning, lack of technical support, bad maintenance of machinery, complete lack of motivation and absence of incentives. With all these negative factors interplaying in productive sector, particularly in the industries, the economy of the country virtually stood ruined. There had been many industrial units in the public sector which were running at profit and government had to give large subsidies and support to keep them in production. This factor led to terribly heavy drain of meagre budgetary resources of the country."

Export :

"In the field of export healthy competition was not allowed to grow. The organised and widespread smuggling of vital commodities across the border of the country went unabated and permit seekers made the country their own haven. As a result our foreign exchange earners, such as Jute, Tea, hides and skin, sugarcane products and a few other items suffered heavily. Normal rule of economics in this regard were not allowed to function."

Communication :

"The communication system the railways, roads and river transport also suffered heavily because of law and order problem, lack of spare parts, poor management and maintenance, excessive corruption and other malpractices."

Agriculture :

"The agricultural sector was also a victim of these factors. Fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, irrigation pumps and other inputs and services were badly managed. As a result agricultural production was also low. Irrigation pumps were not repaired and did not reach the needy people. Fertilizers, seeds and pesticides were smuggled out across the border and the people in position sponsored organised smuggling of food grains and imported goods liberally."

"There have been deviations from the normal banking rules and corruption and mismanagement also entered into the banking system."

"There was virtually no investment policy in the country. The total distribution system of the country was virtually controlled by a handful of people belonging to certain quarters. As a result goods were sold several times higher than the production cost and there was virtually no trade and commerce in the private sector."

"We have failed to get what we could have from the talented and capable sons of our country. Talented and capable people qualified and technical persons had to leave the country creating economic vacuum."

The earnings of the government were greatly reduced as a result of evasion of taxes and government dues and non payment of loans. The government officers in their respective positions were just not allowed to work properly and they were occasionally abused manhandled and even threatened for their lives."

"Now, let all of us work hand in hand. We have to stand on our own feet, we should find our own solutions to our problems and not look elsewhere for seeking solutions. Because the right solution can never come from outside."

Khudda Hafez. Bangladesh Zindabad.

Political Economy 1976

Corrigendum

<i>Page No</i>	<i>Parra</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>instead of</i>	<i>Please read</i>
9	2	— 10	দরিদ্রতা	দারিদ্রতা
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45	2	— 10	resoueces	resources
52	1	— 6	সাকুয়া	সাকুল্য
53	2	— 15	সাম্রাজ্যবাদী	সাম্রাজ্যবাদী
60	1	— 1	উৎসৃষ্টি	উৎসৃষ্টি
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67	2	— 5	capibility	capability
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96	2	— 10	neural	neutral
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103	2	— 2	vacuuum	vacuum
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461	3 — 1	সৃজির	সৃষ্টির
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551	Heading	Industrial	
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