

印度的土地

India

1948-1960

- (1) Abolition of intermediaries (1948-54)
- (2) Reforms of tenancy (1953-1958)
- (3) Imposition of land ceiling (1956-1961)

zamindaris
jagirs (Rajasthan, 1949)
Inams

(1)

Up to Jan. 1962, 65 acts were passed for the abolition of the intermediary areas cover 45% of India. 2,590,000 intermediaries were supposed to have been abolished. The result being:

1. Cultivator — State relation in U. P., Delhi and West Bengal (except the Bargadars).
2. Cultivator — State relation in Bombay, Mysore, Andhra, Tenants
3. combination of 1. and 2. in other States such as Assam, Bihar and Orissa. (pp. 116)

(2)

Up to Jan. 1962, 35 tenancy enactments were "in force." They deal with 4 kinds of tenants:-

1. tenants on the home-farm of ex-zamindars,
2. Tenants of the 1. (sub-tenants)
3. Tenants of the raiyats (landlords in raiyatwari area)
4. Crop shakers

Here are 5-cases of legal ejection: (1) non-payment of rent,

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(2) Act damaging the land (3) sub-letting the land (4) Using the land for non-agricultural purposes (5) when the owner of the land resumes for personal cultivation. But besides these, in Andhra, Madras, Mysore and Orissa, after the minimum period of lease prescribed by the law, the tenants may be evicted.

⊗ While in H.P. & Delhi no resumption is allowed, resumption of land is permitted in Kashmir, Andhra, Madras and West Bengal. (pp. 117)

Above all, no maximum rent is fixed in Bhopal, Madhya Bharat, and Rajasthan, and Gujarat. In Gujarat, 1952-55, 38% of the evictions were due to rent failures, or (1).

No law is enacted to prevent illegal evictions in Rajasthan, Berar, Punjab, Pepsu and Madhya Bharat. (pp. 118) In Hyderabad, 57% of the protected tenants were ejected from 59% of the area held by them. In Bombay tenants were ejected from 42% of the area in 4 years. (pp. 119.)

(3)

Actual implementation of the land ceiling has been taken only in ^{Jammu-}Kashmir and West Bengal. Laws often disregard the transfers of land, and often disregard the transfers previous to the law. (pp. 122.)

Both the size and distribution of cultivated holdings have not been improved. Uneconomic holdings still persist. The structural imbalance between labour & land continues. (pp. 123.)

(B. R. Kakra, in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Bombay, Jan.-March, 1962.)

Re Panchayat

U.P.

1959-60

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In a village of the district of Etaawah, in central U.P., with about 60 houses and a population of '500', "consolidation of land holdings has been completed recently." But they are all very unhappy about it. It has caused a lot of trouble, said Mahendra Singh, a landowner, "Now we are embroiled in litigation in the courts. Yes, we did have a panchayat committee for consolidation. But most of its members were illiterate. No one understood anything and they simply signed or put their thumb impression wherever they were told to" (pp. 75)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961)

The Panchayat

Bihar

1959-60

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In the district of Gaya there was an excellent system of minor irrigation works maintained by the Zemindars previously. Now a government official, a trained Village Level Worker acts as the secretary to the panchayat executive. One panchayat

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covers a population of about 4,000 people, has failed to maintain its ahars (or tanks), and so they have silted up. When there are no winter showers in the winter, the rabi crops (winter crops) wither away. "Why the ahars are not maintained?" "The Government simply passes orders. Nothing gets done."

In the village of Bashdita, there are 4 wells from the time of the Zemindar. "They were then repaired regularly. Now they are all filled up, and we have no water." "We are suffering terribly."

The members of the panchayat do not want to take the trouble to do the water-supply work, because they say "Let the government do it, why should we do it? What are we paying the government taxes for?" "Why should the government not do it?" is the attitude of all. The chairman of the panchayat said, "The fact is that people here are not inclined to co-operate or work together for a common cause, for any community work. How can a panchayat work in the absence of such a spirit? ... Tell me, can one baria (a grocery man) ever make a bazar?" (pp. 99-101)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N. 7, 1961)

The Panchayat

Andhra

1959

In some villages of Andhra, it is known that the elections for the panchayat (a government-created institution) costed much money. Individuals spend rupees of five figures (10,000) to get elected to the presidency or even just membership of the panchayat.

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961,
pp. 174 footnote)

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土地政策的失敗

Madras, Andhra, Bihar

Madras

① The Madras Land Ceiling Act provides that the ceiling is 28 + 120 acres, according to the quality of the land. This act suffers from numerous exceptions and evasion of the law.

① Exceptions: Temple coconut and banana lands, lands used for industrial purposes (including sugar factory land).

② Evasions: nominal division of the holdings among members of family, near and distant.

Transfer of land to a supposedly charitable institution.

"The land-ceiling act in the Tanjore district is mainly a paper proposition."

Andhra

② Land ceiling in Andhra was enacted in (p. 13) March 13, 1965. Mainstream 1961, after 4 years of debate on the subject.

The ceiling is $4\frac{1}{2}$ family holdings. A family holding varies from 6 to 72 acres according to the quality of land. Thus, the ceiling ranges between 27 acres and 324 acres. The ceiling applies ✓

✓ to the land held by a person rather than a family.

So, an average family of 5 persons may retain 125 to 1,620 acres by making transfers and partitions among its members.

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More can be retained through benami transactions in the names of servants and friends. "Nobody was reticent about those arrangements and every-body involved freely stated that the ceiling was a joke." This was substantiated by the implementation report on 13,120 cases of persons holding land in excess of the ceiling. With 3,000 of these cases disposed of, only 548 acres had been declared surplus. (p.18, March 20, 1965, Mainstream)

Bihar ③ The ceiling law in Bihar allows the tenants of landowners of land above the ceiling limit, to acquire ownership. The ceiling is:—

1. Class A land (irrigated) 20 acres
2. Class B land 30 acres
3. Class C land (orchards, etc.) 40 acres
4. Class D land (flood water) 50 acres
5. Class E land (hilly or sandy, or land not for cash crops) 60 acres

But, first there are exceptions such

as plantations & factory farms, lands of religious & charitable institutions.

Then, the ceiling applies to the land held by a person, not by the whole family.

In fact transfer is permitted within 6 months from the commencement of the law or Act. An average family of 5 persons would be able to retain five ceiling areas (i.e. 100 to 300 acres of land). (p.21, ibid.)

(W.A. Ladizinsky, "Feudal Conditions & the Package Programme", 1965.)

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土地最高限额 (Land Ceiling)

Ways of evading the land-ceiling

- 1) It is known that on buying additional land the increase in the total area of the holding above the ceiling is concealed by fictitiously dividing it up among relatives, and so on.
- 2) When G. Kotovsky travelled in 1961 in West Bengal & Bihar, he knew cases of rich peasants in possession of plots of land for many years, sometimes more than 10 years, which, they said, they had received for use from persons to whom they had once lent money. These transactions are not recorded and by such means of such de facto land transaction, it is not difficult to bypass the law on ceilings.
- 3) In many States, families consisting of more than five persons are permitted to keep additional land. In these cases the total ceiling ^① is double in Bihar, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Rajasthan, Delhi and Manipur; roughly 67% higher in Kerala; 90% higher in Madhya Pradesh; and

families with 50 acres or more, have an average of more than 8 persons.

土地最高限额

土地最高限额

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① The 8th Round of the National Sample Survey,

1953-54, No. 36, pp. 14,

(X) This is how the fairly large holdings in the Delta districts of Andhra Pradesh are preserved.

③

140% higher in Tripura. Besides, in Andhra Pradesh, there is no limit at all in such a case. Andhra allows 6 to 72 acres for every "extra" member of the family, depending on the quality of the land. (In Assam, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, the Punjab, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh, there is no allowance for the size of the family, because in these States, holdings exceeding the fixed ceiling are comparatively rare; there was no need to include in the law any provision concerning the size of the family.)

4) In Andhra Pradesh landlords may keep up to 90 acres of grazing land.

3') Landlords having large families also have a maximum of land-ceiling. Thus in Orissa up to 100 acres, in Delhi up to 120 acres, in M.P. up to 122 acres, in Bihar up to 144 acres, in Madhya Pradesh up to 159 acres, in Madras up to 240, in Maharashtra up to 252, and in Mysore up to 432 acres. But this maximum can easily be evaded because these big landlords have a good many relations who can be included in Hindu joint families, i.e. they can easily divide the land under different names.

5)

In the Punjab and Mysore, the law is so loose that almost any large farm may be interpreted as belonging to "efficient farmers" thus no ceiling is applied. In Madras, the law says any land held by any cooperative is exempted from the ceilings.

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がある場合

1人以上の家族
がある場合

✓ In 1953, the

All-India Congress Committee attached primary importance to land-ceiling.

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土地最高限额 (Land Ceiling)

exceptions are ① Plantations ② sugarcane farms owned by sugar factories ③ orchards ④ cattle-breeding and dairy farms ⑤ farms in a compact block ⑥ efficient farms ⑦ mechanized farms and ⑧ farms with heavy investment.

In the very first days of work of the legislative assemblies of Assam, Bihar, M.P., the Punjab and Rajasthan, revealed a tendency to delay in every possible way the imposition of the upper limit on landholdings. (Link, Bombay, Vol. No. 24, 26, 28-30, Jan.-March, 1959.)

Among those who oppose the land-ceiling and the producers' cooperatives are or have been:

- 1) N. G. Ranga, Secretary of Congress Parliamentary Party in 1958, who in Feb. 1959 resigned from the Congress Party to join the -
- 2) Swatantra Party, which stands for discontinuation of land reform programmes.
- 3) The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industries.
- 4) Many Congressmen reluctant to welcome ceiling.

(Congress Bulletin, 1960, No. 2, 3, and 4, pp. 223.)

(P.T.O. 883)

Reports of the Committee of the House on Land Reforms, 1959.

Ceilings

(Note that more than 60% of landholdings in India under 5-acres)

<u>States</u>		<u>on Existing holdings</u>	<u>On Future acquisitions</u>
(1) (6) Andhra Pradesh	27 — 312	acres	(5) 18 — 216
(6) Assam (13)	50		11 30
(1) Bihar	24 — 72		(12) 30 — 90
Delhi			(13) 30 standard acres
(1) Gujarat	14 — 132		(2) 14 — 132
(4) Jammu & Kashmir	22.75		(5) 22.75
(2) Kerala	15 — 37.5		(3) 15 — 37.5
(6) Rajasthan	30 standard acres		(9) 30 standard acres
(6) Himachal Pradesh			(10) 30 acres in Chamba district, Rs. 125 revenue in other areas
(3) Maharashtra	18 — 126		(4) 16 — 156
(4) Madhya Pradesh	28 — 84		(9) 28 — 84
(8) Mysore	27 — 216		Land yielding net income of Rs. 3,600.
(1) Madras	30 — 120		(10) 30 — 120
(6) Orissa	25 — 100		(6) 25 — 100
Punjab (14)	60		(14) 30 standard acres
Manipur			(7) 25
Tripura			(8) 25 — 75
(2) U. P.	40 — 120		(1) 12.5
West Bengal	25		(6) 25

(6)

(Kotovsky, p. 100)
from

(Third Five Year Plan, p. 236-238)

(Kotovsky, pp. 98)
from

(India, 1961: A Reference Annual, pp. 266-267.)

In 1945-46, in U.P., rent averaged Rs. 6 per acre, while revenue on scr. lands only Rs. 1 per acre. (Report 47 & 48, Vol. 1, p. 520-531)

Zamindars (Zamindar landlords)

In 1936-37, in Madras State, the zamindars paid land revenue averaging Rs. 0.4 per acre, while the landholders in the ryotwari areas paid Rs. 2.5 per acre.

(Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, Vol. 5, Calcutta, 1941, p. 5-33.)

Some zamindars were entirely exempted from paying land revenue. In Assam there were 1,511 such zamindars, whose total holding amounted to 220,390 acres.

(The Assam Land Revenue Manual, Vol., p. XIX)

The Percentage of land revenue paid by Zamindars to the total rent received by them

Assam	% 6
Bihar	7
West Bengal	14
Madras	25
U. P.	39

(Trigun Kotovsky, Agrarian Reforms in India, N. Delhi, 1964, pp. 6)

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The Percentage of Zamindari area to the total area of private holdings

West Bengal	}	about 90%
Bihar		
U. P.		
Orissa		81%
Madhya Pradesh		41%
Andhra		27%
Maharashtra		about 7%
Assam		9%

(Kotovsky, pp. 6-7)

- ① In the year 1947-48 zamindari covered **57%** of the area of private holdings in the nine States of British India. Of the 5% Mahalwari system, much of it has been transformed into the zamindari.

- ② In addition to the 9 States of British India, the private feudal landholdings (jagirdars, girasdars & etc.) were all regarded as zamindari landlord property since the reorganization of the princely states. (pp. 17, Kotovsky)

地主土地 (The Sir land)

(1) Sir land with ceiling:	In acres	
	<u>State</u>	<u>Sir ceiling</u> — <u>Average peasant farm</u>
	Assam	133 5.3
	Ajmer	40 11.5
	West Bengal	25 5.0

(Kotovsky, pp. 48)

(2) Sir land without ceiling: Madras, U.P., Bihar and etc.

One zamindar of Chhapra has 12,000 acres as his Sir land.

(N. Prasada Rao, Abolition of Landlordism - the Key Task, All India Kisan Sabha, p. 17.)

(*) In U.P. there are 7 million acres of Sir lands, of which the larger part belong to zamindars of a peasant stratum, and only 1½ million acres belong to zamindars who are still landlords.

(Kotovsky, pp. 49.)

In either case, (1) or (2), zamindars were allowed to retain their farmstead and all buildings, agricultural implements and machinery, livestock & other movable property. (Kotovsky, pp. 49.)

Zamindars

Bengal-Bihar

1707-1815

(1) Zamindars were originally the Rajas Chiefs and ancient grantees who had a real hold over the country and were already spoken of as "zamindars." They were hereditary in title. (pp. 90)

(2) Quasi-zamindars originated from the revenue farming (which was always a special source of government income when governmental power declined). This system became very common throughout the Mughal Empire in early 18th century. These revenue collectors were mostly speculators, Court favorites and government officials.

⊗ They had to report all revenues collected from the ryots but kept 10% for themselves. They paid their land revenue to the state in the form of a fixed annual tribute. ⊗ Their office was not hereditary. Later, however, when the state power was weakened, they became a revenue farmer, a contractor for a fixed sum. They were then able to make their own terms with the ryots. (pp. 91)

(3) New Zamindars, after the Proclamation of March 22, 1793, declaring (Under the British)

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the settlement to be permanent. "It gave the zamindars the proprietary right to land which they, or at least most of them, had never enjoyed before." Their estates became available to their creditors. (p.272) (pp.271.)

- (4) Zamindars changed hands: "In the course of the 22 years following the Permanent Settlement, one-third or rather one-half of the landed property in Bengal was transferred by public sale." Some of the zamindars saved themselves from ruin by creating permanent sub-infeudations. But within a few years of the Permanent Settlement, the old landed families of Bengal were either ruined or sank into the position of mere pensioners without any direct connection with the soil." (pp.272.)

At that time about one-half of the cultivable land in Bengal was waste, covered with jungles. So the competition among the landlords for ryots saved them from immediate rack-renting. At the same time, the maintenance of the village record of rights, as a check to rack-renting, was discontinued. The landlords (new zamindars) had no difficulty in gradually transforming the village patwaris into their own servants. (pp.273)

(J.C. Sinha, Economic Annals of Bengal, London, 1927.)

Ryotwari landlords

% Ryot Landholdings to the total privately-owned land

Madhya Pradesh 59%

Madras (including Andhra) 73%

Assam (the entire State) 91%

Bombay (Maharashtra) 93%

In some other states, several million acres.

(Grigory Kotovsky, Agrarian Reforms in India, N. Delhi, 1964, p. 11.)

In 1947-48 Ryotwari system covered 38% of the 9 States of British India.

(S.T. Thirumalai, Postwar Agricultural Problems and Policies in India, Bombay, 1954, p. 129.)

In Mysore,
In 1944-45 some 1% of the ryots held 16% of the total land.

(Report of the Committee for the Revision of the Land-Revenue System in Mysore, Bangalore, 1950, pp. 276.)

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Since 1947, the State lands of the princely states have become ryotwari landholdings.

1960

Compensation paid to zamindars (except in Kashmir where no compensation was given)
(in cash or in bonds)

1) Substantial increase in the course of land reform:

In 1950 it was figured by the Reserve Bank of India as a total of 3,500,000,000 to 4,000,000,000 rupees;

In 1953 it was increased to 4,310,000,000 rupees;

In 1956 it rose to 6,150,000,000 rupees;

In 1959 it further increased to 6,250,000,000 rupees;

In 1960 rose to 6,480,000,000 rupees;

In 1961 already up to 6,700,000,000 rupees, or to Rs. 7,122 million.

(India, 1961: a Reference Annual, Delhi, 1961, p. 263; Gov. of India, Third Five Year Plan, Delhi, 1961, p. 222.)

2) Compensation was given not only to the zamindars but also to all kinds of feudal landlords like Jagirdars & Inamdars.

3) Actual amount paid by end of 1960 totalling to 1,642,000,000 rupees. ^(*) Breaking into States, the figures are as follows:

(*) This means: only $24\frac{1}{2}\%$ or little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the payments have been actually given. (P.T.O.)

(*) See Table in the back (X)

Amount of Compensation ^{to be} ~~actually~~ paid (1960) (end 2)

	In Rupees	
Bihar	2,389 million	
U. P.	1,790	
Orissa	781	
West Bengal	700	(India, 1961:
Rajasthan	631	A Reference Annual,
Gujarat and Maharashtra	287	Delhi, p. 263)
Madhya Pradesh	221	
Andhra P.	175	
Madras	67	
Assam	50	
Mysore	39	
Kerala	2	
Total 7,132 million rupees		

Ryot landlord 不脱税地主

Madras

大地主土地

脱税很重

地主少佃户多

Most of the ryot landlords in the ryotwari area possessed a few hundred acres of land or only a few score. Some had very large holdings. For instance, a land lord in Tanjore District in Madras (K. Sambasiva Iyer) possessed 5,000 acres. (People's Age, Bombay, Feb. 9, 1947.)

Ryot lands shift the revenue burden to the tillers of the soil. In Madras State, the rental exceeded the land revenue 9 to 33 times. (Report of the Special Officer for the Investigation of Land Tenures on the Proposals on Land Revenue Reform, Madras, 1950, p. 14.)

The Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee (1949) arrived at the conclusion that during the war "land has been further concentrated in fewer hands and there has been more and more proletarianization of the small peasants."

(Report of the Congress Agrarian

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Reforms Committee, N. Delhi, 1949, p. 137.)

On the basis of a study of the different sources, the landlord holdings in the ryotwari areas between the middle forties and early fifties (1953) of this century can be estimated at roughly 50% of the total land. (pp. 11, G. Kotovsky, Agrarian Reforms in India, N. Delhi, 1964)

英人统治下 印度田赋的三种制度

- ① 包税制 (Zamindari) 以税商所包的地面为单位来征收
 1. 有不变的税率的地方, 如在孟加拉, 奥里萨等邦
 2. 有二十年或更短时期可以改换税率的地方, 如在拉奇布特邦
- ② 农民缴税制 (Ryotwari) 以耕地面积为单位来征收, 如在孟买和果得拉斯邦
- ③ 地权所有者缴税制 (Mahalwari) 以所有地的面积为单位, 如在
 1. 旁遮普 (在十九世纪中锡克统治者已将其改为农民缴税制)
 2. 北方邦西部 (在十九世纪中商人富利得者已将其改为包税制)

二十世纪时代, 第三种制度已不存在。

英属印度的土地制度

1793-1947

- ① The disintegration of the older structure of the village community was brought about by (a) the new land systems introduced by the British and (b) the commercial agriculture developed in the 19th century.
- ② The British introduced two major types of land revenue systems:
 - (a) The zamindari system (Zamindar = landholder) in Bengal and adjacent areas in 1793, by this system of revenue collection the tax farmers and revenue collectors were given some, but not all, of the rights of private property in the land. Zamindari became heads of the villages. ⊗
 - (b) The ryotwari system (ryot = peasant) in large parts of Bombay and Madras at a later date, and in the areas of northeastern and northwestern India at a still later date. More revenue was collected than under the zamindari system. The cultivating peasant was given the right to hold the land, only when he pays in full of a heavy money rent to the State. Direct connection between the State and the peasant.
- ③ A number of legal variants introduced in the course of the 19th century.

⊗ The zamindari (D. & A. Thorner, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1962, pp. 53.) sold out the rights to merchants, speculators & etc. in the cities. Thus intermediaries developed.

形成取消 zamindari system 的 Bigger Pattadars (大地主)

Pattadars (in U.P., Bihar, ^{W. Bengal.} Madras and Andhra), the upper stratum of Community tenants. In U.P. they are the higher occupancy tenants. In Madras (before 1954) bigger Pattadars (including single holders of joint patta) paying land revenue of over Rs 50 made up 8% of the total number of pattars, but they held roughly 20% of the total assessed lands. (Kotovsky, pp. 80.)

These pattadars were strongly for the abolition of zamindari. For they wanted to have easy transferability of land, and also wanted to be as high as the zamindars in social position.

After the abolition of zamindars, these pattadars have become, along with the ex-zamindars, the chief lessors (出租者) of land and employers of agricultural labourers.

Their influence has grown in particular in the villages where there are no sir lands of ex-zamindars. It is

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this upper stratum which now fills the power vacuum caused by
abolition of zamindari." (Baljit Singh, Next Step in Village India,
Bombay-N. Delhi, 1961, pp. 5-4.)

富家

"The rich peasants, along with landlords, are the principal holders of the land: in 1953-54 proprietors of holdings of 10-25 acres, who comprised 10.6% of total land owners, held 29.11% of total land."

(Kotovsky, pp. 165)

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种姓 (Jati) organized on two principles of Segregation and hierarchy. 1963

4 kinds of caste (jati) segregations:

- (1) Each caste has its own name denoting an occupation: such as priest, washerman, barber etc. The untouchables or Harijans are scavengers and music makers. (But many occupations are not caste-defined, for an instance anyone can be a school-master or a lorry driver. Most castes may cultivate the land.
- (2) Usually people of one caste live in the same street.
- (3) Castes have different diets: some are vegetarians, some eat meat, some eat chickens and others will not, some drink milk and others refuse to drink it.
- (4) Castes have their own patterns of diet. Rites at death, birth, puberty, etc. vary in details from one caste to another.

These fields of activity — names, occupation, residence and customary distinctions — are an everyday reminder of difference but they are not the fundamental source of segregation. The fundamental ones are: ① kinship or

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marriage within the same caste. a caste is a group of actual or potential kinsmen. (2) To accept food, and in certain castes water, from a man of lower caste, is to be polluted. (3) Customs vary among the castes; only lower castes permit widow marriage, occupations are graded, those considered more polluting are considered low.

(p. 123.)
[F. G. Bailey, Politics and Social Change: Orissa
in 1959, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963]

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Ratnagiri districts

Kolaba

1818-1880

Khoti 土地制度 (孔坎)

孔坎是介於西高止山和阿拉伯海之間的一個狹長形的地區，長約320英里而寬則是40至50英里。

The Khoti tenure began at least in 1586.

"The rugged nature of the Southern Konkan and the consequent difficulty in collecting revenue contributed to the growth of the Khoti system." (pp.31)

"We have thus documentary proof of which the genuineness is above suspicion, showing": the services that the Khoti rendered to the State were not confined to the payment of Government assessment, but extended to the promotion of cultivation and, as head of the village, "the ^{also} performance of police duties." (pp.33)

(R.D. Choksey, Economic Life in the Bombay Konkan 1818-1939, Bombay, 1960, pp.31 and 33.)

The British Government commissioned one Mr. A.B. Desai in 1907 to carry out regular research among the records of the former governments all the laws governing the Khoti. His findings led him to define the Khoti tenure as "a hereditary right to collect rent and pay it to government, and incidentally there with to

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enjoy profits by extending cultivation and to enjoy also the customary honours and privileges etc."

(Proprietary Rights of Khots in Ratnagiri District:
Selection from Records of the Bombay Government
No. CCCCXLVI, 1907.)

Mr. A. B. Desai was of the opinion that the grant of Khoti was not regarded as alienating important state rights. "The collection of rent for Government was their principal business. The Khot's rights extended over all things in the village, not as an actual holder or occupant or owner, but as a watandar, whose main business was to encourage cultivation, collect rent and pay it to the Government." Mr. Desai was so very convinced by his research that he wrote: "A Khot does not possess proprietary rights any more than a gavkar (in Savantvadi) or a patil (in Deccan) above the Khot does."
"Not a single Khot has been able to produce during the last fifty years (1857-1907) an express recognition by the former Government of his having a right to the soil of the village." (R. D. Chodsey, Economic Life in the Bombay Konkan, Bombay, 1960, pp. 31-32.)

Khoti 土邦 (36th)

1818-1880

(2)

Captain Wingate wrote a most complete account of Ratnagiri and submitted it to Government in January, 1851.

"The rights of the Khoti", wrote Wingate, "appear to me to fall very far short of an absolute proprietorship of the soil."
"In all cases, the rent not the land, was the Khoti's hereditary property." "In mortgage deeds executed by the Khoti, the mortgage referred to the rent and not profits of the village, never to the ownership of a definite plot of land. When Khoti mortgaged special pieces of land, it was his private property, not a part of the hereditary Khoti-ship." (pp. 63, R.D. Choksey)

Then, Choksey commented, pp. 64: "The Khoti had no right over the rent nor the property in soil. He had no right to mortgage even the rent, which he did when he found the former government was weak, and continued this advantage due to the ignorance of the early British administrators."

In 1852, Mr. Kemball, who made the survey of the Khoti tenure, reported that "in spite of the vague powers and privileges claimed by the Khoti, his hereditary rights were limited to the office of a village rentier and mahagar. Mr. Kemball's findings strengthened

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what Captain Wingate had already stated." (R.D. Choksey, pp. 116-117.)

The Government feared that the new settlement could not be successful without legislation. In 1859, Captain Francis was requested to report on the Khoti tenure. The Government was convinced by him on three points:

- ① The Khot had the right to settle with the Government for the whole village (i.e. his old right to be preserved).
- ② The Government had the right to revise and alter the rent paid by the Khot (i.e. no longer permanent);
- ③ The underholder had a right to protection against any over exaction by the Khot. (② and ③ gave the Government the right to come into direct contact with the tillers of the soil.)

But by this system the Khot was to be consulted in all settlements. R.D. Choksey remarked (pp. 117) Such an acknowledgement of Khot's authority shows that even Captain Francis had failed to gauge the true origin of the Khot tenure. His proprietary right in a village remained undisturbed. The Khot was to get a lease of the village at the survey rates for thirty years. In return he was to give a thirty year lease to all permanent occupants. His underholder's right was to be hereditary and under certain restrictions transferable. (Land held by a tenant at will was not transferable without

Khoti 土地制度 (361k)

1818-1880

(3)

the Khot's consent. Land held by an occupancy tenant was transferable after the payment of a fine (Nazrana) to the Khot. If the occupancy holder had made improvements he should have the power to refuse to transfer. "Captain Francis' proposals were embodied in the Bombay Survey Settlement Act I of 1865. His proposals were: ① The Khot continued his hereditary right to manage the lands of his village and was, therefore, the occupant of the village with whom the Government made the settlement. ② The Khot was to collect the revenue and pass a yearly agreement (Kabulat) for the management of his village." (pp. 117)

The Khots, not liking the Government to protect its tenants from over-exaction, opposed the survey and refused to give the boundaries of its holdings or the names of the occupants. In 1873, the Khots filed suits against the Collector for the loss caused by the survey. At the same time, the cash payments were irksome to the underholders, and the tenants-at-will opposed to the payment of certain profits to the Khots; thus these two kinds of tenants were also opposing the survey.

The villages who refused the terms specified by the

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1865 Act, therefore, were taken over by the Collector of the Government.
(By Section 38 of this Act, the Survey Officer could fix the demand of the Khot even on his tenants-at-will, so the survey officer could give every advantage to the tenant under the cover of law.) Litigation began, and it lasted for some years. (Choksey, pp. 118.)

"In 1874, the Government appointed a Commission to ascertain by actual experiments in its fields the mode of settlement most likely to meet the views of the different parties. The final settlement was arrived at in 1877-1879, and embodied in the Khoti Act of 1880. (pp. 118.)
"It was now established by the Act that the Khot was not the grantee of the soil, but he was a limited proprietor, since he held the village on condition of payment of the jama. His rights in Khoti lands were heritable and transferable. He had a right to resume lands held by privileged occupants in his village... All miscellaneous land revenue in Khoti villages was to go to the Khot. All trees in the Khot's private land (Khoti Khazgi) and lands held by tenants (Khoti Nisbat) belonged to the Khot, except those trees reserved by Government. He had no right to fix maximum rent as Government had reserved that right itself. With the exception of the proprietary right in soil and a curtail-

Khot 土地制度 (孔地)

1818-1880

ment of his power over the underholders the Khot continued to enjoy most of his former rights, several of which he had fraudulently imposed upon the early British administrators." (pp. 119.)

"It was in 1894 that Mr. A.B. Desai, with the consent of the Government opened the Poona Records and revealed with the aid of the former sanads (decrees) the correct position of the Khots in the pre-British days. (pp. 120.)

Let us answer the question as to why the British Government thought at that time that the Khot had the private property rights in land. E.T. Candy in his Khoti Tenure report of 1907, said: "The early British administrators received false information which their subordinates gave them. 'The subordinates themselves were either dishonest and in the pay of the Khot, or were genuinely confused and misled.' 'Then the Khots were never ejected from their villages so long as they paid the Government revenue, which was liable to be raised at the time of any general survey.' (Choksey pp. 120.)

"The Act of 1880... removed the proprietary right of the Khot in soil." (pp. 122.) Thus the Khot ① had no property right in land,

- ② Falsely claimed it, 1818-1880;
- ③ Lost it since 1880 but still

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P.

retained several rights fraudulently
obtained from the early British
Government.

所有權

Kanara (south of Goa)

Muli 土地制度 (孔坎)

1807

"Originally all cultivated lands in Kanara were held on permanent right (Muli) and each holder possessed a title-deed (mulpatta). The permanent holders of land were called mulgars." (pp. 35) "The proprietary right was either vested in individuals, or among co-shareholders, each of whom possessed an inalienable interest in the estate, in proportion to the share of the property which he held." (pp. 34) "The existence of the rules for sale, mortgage and lease of land showed that it had been long private property." (pp. 35)

Mr. Thackeray's Report of Aug. 4, 1807 said: "Indeed no person who has seen Canara or considered the subject, can doubt the antiquity and validity of the titles of the Canara landlords." "The existence of the rules for sale, mortgage and lease of land showed that it had been long private property." (pp. 35)

(1) The mulgars (with proprietary right)

↓
(2) mulgenigars ^{sub-lease} → Chaknigars ^{with a written lease}
(permanent tenants) (3) (temporary tenants)
(subordinate landlords) after several generations might have become mulgenigars
(often till the land with the aid of slaves or hired labour.

(88頁)

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The rents paid by the mulgenigars to the mulgar, and the rents paid by the Chalgenigars to the mulgenigar, were either in money or a certain quantity of grain, but never by a share of crops. (pp. 36)

(R. D. Choksey, Economic Life in the Bombay Konkan,
Bombay, 1960.)

土地经过

Bombay State

1948-55

1948, the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act. It gave the tenant the right to buy the land he cultivated. But in the course of seven years (1948-55), only 64,609, or roughly 2% of the total actually bought the land cultivated by them. In the same period of 7 years, 101,053 tenants surrendered "voluntarily" their tenancy rights to 831,720 acres of land. (Nair, p. 61)

1955 Amendment to the 1948 Act. By this amendment tenants were automatically deemed to have become occupants of the land they were cultivating as from April 1, 1957. (p. 61)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961)

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長工 (無貨幣工資)

Punjab

1959

1955, Punjab Security of Land Tenures (Amendment).

1) White-bearded Khem Singh of the village of Shamspur, used to lease 50 bighas. Now he can not get even one acre.

2) The family of Wasan does not own an inch of land. One of his brothers works for a landowner for a wage of 22 maunds of grain per annum plus his daily meals.

The other two do casual labour and get through the year with difficulty. Together with their old brother, their wives and children they live in stark poverty and filth in one room mud huts, their clothes black with age, torn and patched, their faces pale and pinched with constant under-nourishment.

Wasan is a Harijan, his village has only 105 houses. (pp. 109)

3) Both Punjab and Madras are ryotwari areas, tent.

	% of agricultural labour families	% of landowners and tenants
Punjab	10.1	67.2
Madras	23.0	26.7

(Based on 1951 Censuses and Reports of All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry, 1956-57.)

(Quoted by Nair, pp. 110.)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Desert, N.Y., 1961)

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Landlords

Orissa

1959

"In the Independence Movement it becomes a section of the landlord and professional middle class (i.e. the Congress) against the British, the Princes, and the bigger landlords. in the post-Independence conflict the sides are princes and landlords against Congress politicians and some landlords, with professional people found on both sides." (pp. 227.)

"The Feudatory states had been merged in 1948 with the old British province to form the new Orissa State. One state, Mayurbhanj joined Orissa the following year." (pp. 183.)

"The Ganatantra Parishad is commonly labelled feudal reactionary." (pp. 187.) In the middle of 1959 Congress and Ganatantra formed a coalition. "In the Orissa plains, the landlords were corporately active in politics, had their own party, published newspapers, and in general offered a co-ordinated opposition to the Congress. ... Agrarian matters lay at the root of the hostility between the landlords and the Congress." (pp. 172.)

(F. G. Bailey, Politics and Social Change: Orissa in 1959, Univ. of California Press, 1963.)

長工 (一年或一年以上的雇農)

1951-1957

✓ Case 1. The palikapur in Andhra: a permanent farm hand, having experience and ability to supervise hired labour and to conduct effective farming, with or without his employer in presence. A higher wage is paid to him when the employer can not be present. He is a kind of chief farm-servant. (Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Agricultural Wages in India, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1952, pp. 275-76.)

This type of annual labourer have no contract. No loans nor rent-free land were given to him by the employer. He is given an annual cash wage, varying individual to individual, and from village to village, within a range of Rs. 125 to Rs. 300. In addition he receives free food, clothes, footwear, bedding, and accommodation.

✓ Case 2. The Chakar in Bombay State, the Saldar in Berar and Khandesh, or the annual labourer in the Punjab, all have a written contract. He is usually allowed two meals a day over and above the pay indicated in the written contract. The cash payment is given monthly in some cases, and in others by

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two equal instalments in the year. Written contract in the Punjab is usually made in the month of Jeth, from mid-May to mid-June. The following is a specimen from the Punjab as published in Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Agricultural Wages in India, Vol. I, Delhi, 1952, pp. 151-52:—

Agreement

It is hereby agreed that I, son of, caste ..., resident of will serve for a period of one year with of from 1-4-1951 to 31-3-1952.

Conditions are detailed as follows:

1. Pay will be Rs. 25 a month.
2. I shall be allowed an advance of Rs. 100.
3. In case I leave my service, I shall repay the advance taken by me.
4. I shall take one short and one chaddar (coverlet) every six months.

I have given this in writing as my agreement so that it can be made use if need rises.

Signed today, the 1-4-1951.

Witness

Thumb impression

Witness

✓ Case 3. In Bihar, annual labourers are paid all or part of their wages daily. They may receive money, or, more commonly, certain measures of grain at the end of each day's work. (D. & A. Thorner, Land & Labour in India, Bombay, 1962, pp. 28.)

柬埔寨报纸說世界正处在历史轉折点上

反美风暴激荡五大洲 证实毛主席论断英明

新华社金边十六日电 《柬埔寨电讯报》今天在评论国际局势时说，毛泽东主席的话英明地概括了当前国际上的一片大好形势：“四海翻腾云水怒，五洲震荡风雷激”。

这家报纸强调指出，世界正处在历史的转折点上。它说，中国原子弹的爆炸对西方的技术优势敲起了丧钟。从此，科学可以为各国人民所掌握，而不论他们的肤色是怎样的。这种物质进步正在引起精神方面以至政治方面的根本变化。过去受侮辱和

蔑视的各国人民已经认识到自己的力量。

这家报纸说，争取民族独立的潮流正在不同程度地猛烈冲击着旧政权和根深蒂固的旧习惯。即使处在美国的影响和压力之下的国家也是这样。它指出，南越的战争和刚果（利）的冲突，古巴的愤怒和柬埔寨的警惕，都是美帝国主义及其同伙的政策所造成的结果。

这家报纸说，最近在阿拉伯联合共和国、印度尼西亚和巴拿马发生的反美示威，证实了毛主席的上述论断。

据新华社河内十六日电 据越南南方解放广播电台十五日报道，越南南方民族解放阵线中央委员会发言人十二日发表声明，强烈谴责美帝国主义指使朴正熙集团派遣雇佣军到越南南方参加侵略战争。

声明说，这一行动是“明目张胆地侵犯越南南方人民的主权和独立的侵略行动，粗暴地违反关于印度支那问题的一九五四年日内瓦协议，为美帝国主义加强对越南南方的侵略战争和把战争扩大到整个印度支那半岛创造条件。”

声明呼吁世界人民、爱好和平和公理的各国政府，采取紧急措施，制止美帝国主义及其南朝鲜走狗的危险行动。

声明最后说，“为了印度支那和东南亚的和平利益，为了保卫自己神圣的民族权利，越南南方人民将坚决粉碎美帝国主义及其附庸的一切侵

略阴谋，坚决为打垮美帝国主义在越南南方的走狗政权，为争取民族独立、民主自由、和平中立和进而和平统一祖国而坚决斗争。”

新华社十六日讯 中国人民保卫世界和平委员会、中国亚非团结委员会、中华全国总工会近日打电报给越南南方有关组织，强烈谴责美国指使南朝鲜傀儡派伪军参预南越战争。

和大和亚非团结委员会给越南南方民族解放阵线中央委员会、越南南方保卫世界和平委员会和越南南方亚非人民团结委员会的电报说，中国人民对美帝国主义指使朴正熙傀儡集团派遣南朝鲜伪军参加侵略南越战争的罪恶活动，表示强烈的谴责和抗议。美帝国主义这一冒险行为，是它企图进一步扩大印度支那战火，使侵略南越的战争国际化，实行“用亚洲人打亚洲人”的恶毒计划的一部分，是威胁这个地区和平的严重步骤。

电报说，这只能激起越南人民、朝鲜人民、亚洲人民以及一切爱好和平国家和人民的更大的愤怒和坚强反对。朴正熙傀儡集团甘心为美国效劳，也绝不会有什好下场，必将成为美帝在南越的陪葬品。

全总在给越南南方劳动解放协会的电报中指出，中国工人和人民热烈拥护我国政府的声明，坚决支持越南民主共和国和朝鲜民主主义人民共和国政府发表的声明。在反对美帝国主义的斗争中，中国工人和人民将永远同你们站在一起。最后胜利一定属于英雄的越南南方人民！

据新华社金边十六日电 柬埔寨国家电台十五日晚广播一篇评论，谴责美帝国主义扩大侵略南越战争。

评论说，在美国指使下，南朝鲜朴正熙集团已正式宣布派军队到南越去。菲律宾、泰国和台湾也以派遣技术人员为名参加南越战争。这一切都严重地威胁了印度支那的和平，从而将使南越战争国际化。

评论还说，世界舆论密切注视美国扩大战争的计划所造成的南越严重局势。

评论揭露，自从夏威夷会议以来，美帝国主义就企图在东南亚条约组织之外另组成一个新的侵略性同盟，现在这个阴谋已昭然若揭。

越南南方民族解放陣綫发言人强烈譴責南朝鮮参加侵略战争

世界人民必须制止美帝扩大战争冒险

我和大等团体谴责美国企图使南越战争国际化



坚持马克思列宁主义路线 清除叛徒丹吉集团

印度共产党举行第七次代表大会

新的领导机构
国主义、维护民族独立、争取人民民主的斗争，通过党的纲领，选出了
大会发表宣言，号召共产党人反对修正主义，领导人民进行反对帝

新华社十六日讯 新德里消息：据印度共产党中央机关刊物《人民潮流》周刊报道，印度共产党从一九六四年十月三十一日到十一月七日在加尔各答举行了第七次代表大会。

这次具有历史意义的大会宣布，把叛徒丹吉集团清除出印度共产党。大会一致通过了党的纲领，选出了新的领导机构，并就党的当前任务、关于国际共产主义运动的团结、支持民族独立运动等问题，通过了二十多项决议。

大会选出了由三十八人组成的中央委员会。新的中央委员会一致选举孙达拉雅为总书记，并选出孙达拉雅、兰那地夫、普·达·古普塔、南布迪里巴德、高普兰、乔蒂·巴苏、巴萨瓦瓦尼亚、拉马穆蒂、哈·辛·苏吉特这九个人组成政治局。

大会发表的宣言说：“印度共产党第七次代表大会宣告，聚集在这里的代表就是印度共产党的真正代表，丹吉集团没有被称为印度共产党的权利。这次代表大会有一百二十二名代表参加，他们来自全国各地并且是由十零四千四百二十一名党员推选出来的。他们代表着第六次代表大会时期党员总人数的百分之六十。”

宣言说，“大多数党员已经背弃了现在已经变成彻头彻尾的修正主义、阶级调和主义和进行着有组织的破坏活动的丹吉领导集团，站到了我们这一边。党代表大会了解，那些没有站到我们这边来的党员中，大多数人也不属于丹吉集团的成员。”它说，“与召开七大的同时，反对丹吉集团的资产阶级改良主义路线和有组织的破坏活动的斗争的第一阶段结束了。”宣言说，党代表大会深信，在即将展开的四、五个月的第二阶段中，将进一步证明丹吉集团的修正主义和分裂路线的彻底失败。

大会通过的“关于党在目前形势下的任务的决议”说，“国大党将近二十年的统治，以及它不进攻外国资本的阵地和不为农民和农业工人进行土地改革而企图建立资本主义的这种作法，已使国家的经济处于深刻的危机中。危机最尖锐的表现是粮食危机和各种日用品价格扶摇直上。”它说，“政府企图通过向帝国主义寻求大规模援助、邀请外国资本与印度垄断资本勾结在私营企业投资的办法来克服国外资源危机，但是这种作法并未克服危机，而是使危机加剧了。国家今天不但远未建立起自主经济，甚至在粮食和维持现有工业的生产方面，都要依靠帝国主义的援助。”

决议说，“危机严重的一个重要表现是群众日益不满，这种不满以各种形式、在各种问题上表现出来。粮食危机使得人民当中一向没有组织起来的那些阶层行动起来了。”决议说，在最近时期，全国各地举行了示威、集会、不合作、全行业的罢工和全邦范围的罢工。它说，“但是，执政党用镇压和笼络相结合的办法来对付群众日益发展的反对它的政策的运动。它加紧使用不经审讯而拘留、用包铁棍和催泪瓦斯进行冲击、开枪射击和其它传统的镇压办法，紧急状态正在长期存在下去，它还用保卫印度法的不合宪法的规定，而这样做恰恰是为了假借保卫国家的名义来镇压人民。”

决议说，“形势中的最大弱点是共产党力量薄弱。这种薄弱是由于丹吉集团企图强制推行它的阶级合作和修正主义政策的结果。因此，共产党不能发挥它的

历史作用，即有效地领导这些斗争，并向人民指出摆脱危机的道路。”

决议说，“丹吉集团既已越来越暴露和越来越孤立，共产党既已摆脱了这个集团的控制，极其沉重和紧急的责任就落在我们的肩上了。”

“代表大会号召曾经为使马克思列宁主义的旗帜不受沾污而英勇战斗的所有党组织和党员，全心全意地投入一项紧急任务，即对反对政府反人民政策的群众行动给予有组织的领导。”

决议说，“工会运动已经深深地陷入经济主义的泥潭之中。我们未能提高工人的政治觉悟，未能动员他们来支持其他阶层的人民，特别是农民和农业工人。不树立这种觉悟，没有这种积极的支持，所有关于建立以工农联盟为核心的民主阵线的说法，就都成为空话。必须以各种方法迅速克服这个弱点，并迅速使他们提高政治觉悟。”

决议说，“随着越来越多的贫农甚至是中农以及农村工匠的贫困化，构成农村人口百分之四十的农业工人的队伍扩大了。农业工人是工人阶级最坚定的同盟者，不把这些工人组织起来，民主阵线便无从建立。”

决议责成中央委员会在两个月内召开会议，制订出关于工会、农民协会、农业工人协会的具体方针。

决议说，“必须在党内有系统地进行反对修正主义的斗争。同时，党必须警惕地防止宗派主义的表现。”“党必须组织和鼓励学习经典著作，系统地研究我们的国家和运动的具体问题，并学会运用马克思主义来解决这些问题。”

决议号召，把印度共产党迅速地发展成为一个群众性的革命党。

大会通过的“关于苏共领导更迭的决议”说，“在赫鲁晓夫担任苏联共产党的第一书记期间，兄弟党之间的关系，特别是作为国际共产主义运动中的两支最大的突击队伍的苏联共产党和中国共产党之间的关系，极为紧张。国际共产主义运动处于分裂的边缘，社会主义阵营的团结遭到了破坏。”

决议说，“代表大会希望将会采取措施来消除意识形态的分歧，办法是严格遵守一九六〇年八十一一个党在莫斯科会议上所商定的方法，以便恢复团结，这种团结是取得反对帝国主义和反对战争的斗争的胜利，和确保稳定的世界和平的最可靠的保证。印度共产党将支持在这方面所采取的一切措施。”

这次大会是在遭到印度政府当局粗暴镇压的情况下举行的。就在会议前夕，西孟加拉邦政府援引“保卫印度法”，无理逮捕了印共西孟加拉邦委员会的二十七名领导人。但是，印度政府破坏大会的阴谋并没有得逞，大会仍按预定计划进行了。大会结束后，加尔各答市三十多万群众在十一月七日举行了盛大集会，庆祝大会的胜利。

季工 (五个月至八个月)

1948-1960

Free labourers for a single crop season — from ploughing to the end of harvesting.

✓ Case 1. Some of the thagias in Gujarat are employed on a seasonal basis. A thagia labourer is either given a fixed quantity of the harvest as payment, or a share of the produce (usually $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total produce excluding fodder). Some thagia labourers are paid for five months' work, with 15 maunds of grains. When, in some necessary cases, especially during busy seasons, additional workers are hired, the cash expenses on this count are shared by the employer (the farmer) and the thagia labourer in proportion to their shares in the produce. In case the thagia labourer drives a cart for the farmer-employer, the former gets $\frac{1}{4}$ share in the fare earned.

But the farmer-employer is responsible for the expenses of the upkeep of the cart and bullocks, and he also pays for the land revenue, agricultural implements and stock, land improvements etc.

(M.B. Desai, Rural Economy of Gujarat,

✓ Case 2. Seasonal labourers in Bombay, 1948, pp. 156-57.)
in the Eastern and Central zones of

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W.P. who are engaged for about 5-months, from Asadh (June-July) to Kartik (Oct.-November), i.e. for the Khari or autumn crop. They receive mostly cash wages, light meals, and some other perquisites.

(Some of them may be allowed the produce of small rent-free land allotments, some of them appear to remain with the same employers year after year because of perpetual debt.)

(Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Agricultural Wages in India, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1952, pp. 166.)

✓ Case 3. Free seasonal labourers in the coastal districts of Andhra and in the Punjab.

臨時工 (几天, 十几天, 到一个月)

1949-1952-60

✓ Case 1. The paniyals of the district of Quilon in Travancore, now Kerala, work for 3 or 4 weeks on jobs like bunding and ploughing in the rice fields. They work in groups, headed by a kind of contractor who arranges terms with the employer. The head or the contractor is responsible to see that the paniyals will report on time and execute the required work.

(D. S. A. Thorner, Land and Labour in India,
Bombay, 1962, pp. 26.)

✓ Case 2. The migratory workers employed on a group basis for a specific operation such as harvesting. Every year about 1,000 of these migratory workers move from U. P. and Vindhya Pradesh into the wheat zone of Madhya Pradesh during 9th month of Falgun (February-March). They move in gangs of men, women and children, usually 2 or 3 families moving together.

Usually they are paid on piece rates, an average worker who harvests 20 bundles of wheat or gram in a day receives one bundle as wages. The leader receives the entire payment and then distributes among the gang. These outside workers

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earn more than the local labourers, because they are more proficient than the local labourers. (Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Agricultural Wages in India, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1952, pp. 99-100.)

✓ Case 3. The migratory workers employed on a group basis in the months of Feb., March, and April; they move from the district of Ganjam to Cuttack in Orissa. They are engaged for sinking wells, excavating tanks, embanking, land repairs, or reclamation of waste lands for sand beds. Whereas the rate of payment is Re. 1 to Rs 1-4, they are paid a preferential wage of Rs. 1-8 a day. The gangs consist of only males, working for six hours a day (7 A.M. to 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. to 5 P.M.), cooking their mid-day meal during the interval. They work hard and do not require much supervision. (ibid., pp. 146.)

✓ Case 4. Individual temporary workers for ploughing, harrowing, sowing, transplanting, harvesting, and threshing. In some cases the worker receives a daily wage, but in other cases by piece rates (i.e. so many rupees for each acre ploughed). In the South Kanara district, formerly of Madras State but now of Mysore, the worker receives a certain proportion of the produce, usually $\frac{1}{10}$ of the harvest worked on, or $\frac{1}{11}$ very often.

(R.G. Kakade, Depressed Classes of South Kanara, Poona, 1949, pp. 81.)

日工 (做一天的農民)

In India, a day-labourer in agriculture is known as dinacooli or dinmajur.

Day worker or daily labourer is common in southern India, for instance in Tanjore (Madras), in Bangalore (Mysore), and in Jalgaon (U.P.).

Payment $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{on time basis} \\ \text{by piece work} \end{array} \right\}$ may be made in cash, in kind, or in a combination of the two.

Payment may be supplemented by one or more full meals, or by snacks such as tea or parched grain.

日工 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with his own land;} \\ \text{with other occupations;} \\ \text{also a seasonal or a temporary agricultural worker.} \end{array} \right.$

(McKim Marriott, editor, Village India, Chicago, 1935, pp. 43, 64 and 93.)

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"Be the crest of the peasantry,

like the landlords, use the cooperatives,

Can remedy projects and other state-capitalist measures and organizations

to consolidate their economic position."

(Kotovsky, pp. 165)

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The Panchayat (48/24, 18/13¹⁰) West Bengal

1959

The two villages of Devagram and Shona Palasi jointly constitute a single panchayat. ① Before the 1956 election^⑧, members of the panchayat were all middle-aged or old.

The president was 45 years old. All members were from the landowning class and of upper caste. ② Since then, all 13 members of the panchayat became young people, between 25-30 years old. Only one exception of 35- and the president is 29 years old. 8 of the 13 are young school teachers.

Yet not a single landless or scheduled caste peasant is a member of this panchayat. No Harijan was elected in the 1959 election either. A Harijan is usually nominated but not elected.

The village zamindar was abolished under the W. Bengal Estates Acquisition Act of 1953, and by 1955 he disappeared. But, nevertheless, the present members of the panchayat are also ex-zamindar families, since 90% of the upper caste families in the village own land averaging 15-20 bighas, or 5-acres, per family. (pp. 155-157, Museum Nair, Blossoms in the dust, N.Y., 1961)

⑧ The West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1956.

土地改革

Mysore

1952-1961

Mysore as a new State was formed in November, 1956.

It comprises (1) 4 districts of former Bombay State, where there was the Bombay Tenancy & Agricultural Lands Act of 1948, amended up to end of Oct., 1956. The ceiling was to be 3 times the economic holding, one economic holding was to be 16 acres of dry land or 8 acres of irrigated rice land, or 4 acres of permanent irrigated land. (2) 3 districts from the former Hyderabad State. The Hyderabad Tenancy & Agric. Lands Act provided the ceiling as 5 times the economic holding. (3) 2 districts from the former Madras State. The Madras Act provided a ceiling of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of garden land, or 3 acres of dry land. (4) the area formerly known as the State of Coorg. There had been no tenancy law in the Coorg. (5) Districts of Bangalore, Mysore, Hassan and Mandya etc. comprising the former Mysore State. There was the Mysore Tenancy Act of 1952.

1957 a Committee was appointed to investigate the situation.

1961 the Mysore Land Reforms Bill was passed. This set a ceiling of 27 ordinary acres of the first class, or 216 acres of dry land.

(N.P. Patil, "Land Tenure Reforms in Mysore and Ceiling of Holdings," in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Jan. March, 1962, Bombay.)

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Panchayat

Bihar

1961

An ex-zamindar is the president of panchayat in the Patna district. He retains about $\frac{1}{4}$ of his former land-holding, but he (1) owns real property in Patna City and (2) owns a rice mill which gives him an annual income of about Rs. 10,000. He has deposits in the bank. He loans money to other people. One of these loans is Rs. 24,000 for which he receives a mortgage on 10 acres of land as security. He is now a local leader; he is not only the president of the panchayat, but also the president of a multipurpose cooperative society. (Grigory Kotovsky, Agrarian Reforms in India, N. Delhi, 1964, pp. 77.)

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土改的主要内容

U. P.

1950-1960

- (1) 简化了过去近五十种的地权。确定了两种地权, *thumidars and sirdars*, 直接与政权联系。
Sirdars 一次缴纳十年的田赋, 或分期缴纳十二年的田赋即可成为 *thumidars*.
- (2) 使土地买卖更加容易了。
- (3) 土地集中加快了。有三种办法可以扩张土地 (购买, 夺佃, 新闢)。法律所规定的十二个半英亩最高限额很容易超越的。
- (4) 调整了田赋, *thumidars* 只付 *sirdars* 所缴纳的的一半。
- (5) 收田赋的行政费减了; 同时田赋的收入大为增加了。

(P. K. Tandon, Agricultural Development in Uttar Pradesh, in

"New Age" Monthly, New Delhi, Feb. 1961,

pp. 38.)

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土地改革

Saurashtra

1951-1960

地主假造文件

① "A large number of sham documents were put up by the Girasdars and the Barkhalidars with the intention to obtain more land for personal cultivation. The tenants, being illiterate and timid, had to suffer as a result of such 'document'." (pp. 34.)

地主侵佔土地

② "As lands were allotted for Gharbhed without proper survey or settlement, the allotted area was not always accurate." (pp. 34.)

佃農失地

③ "Girasdars resorted to various tactics to see that the tenants were deprived of the lands." "Certain Barkhalidars induced and coerced their tenants in giving voluntary resignations." (pp. 36.)

損失投資

④ "In the majority of cases the amounts involved were not so large as to induce productive (compensation) investment. Again, it must be remembered that facilities for investment are not easily available in the rural areas." "Some of the compensation have been used to pay old debts." "Many of the cases, compensation was frittered away for unproductive purposes." "Only certain bigger Girasdars might have made some fresh investments." (pp. 38.)

(*) "Most of the cases of becoming landless were to be found among the occupancy tenants. This is alarming." (pp. 81.)

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借款亦不是为投资

⑤ For the convenience of the tenants, the Saurashtra Central-Cooperative Land Mortgage Bank ~~in the~~ was established. However, "there is inordinate delay in the granting of a loan, with the result that its loan ceases to be a productive one and is frittered away on uneconomical purposes." (pp. 41.)

耕畜亦有增加

⑥ From 1948 to 1955, in Saurashtra, the number of bullocks ^{公牛} owned increased by only 1.15%, the number of cows declined by 2.1%, the number of buffaloes also declined by 8.16%. These two items of decline indicate a fall in the standard of living of the cultivators. The increase of bullocks is among the Barchalidari tenants. The declines occurred among the tenants especially. (pp. 92.)

农具仍旧未增, 仍旧减少

⑦ "The picture of the number of various farm implements owned by the different categories of cultivators was more or less static one." (pp. 98.)

(R.R. Mishra, Effects of Land Reforms in Saurashtra,
Bombay, 1961)

富农 (土地以前的)

Gujarat

1959

Mathurabhai Ramdas is of the agricultural caste called Patidars. His village is Borjari, in the district of Kaira. ^{Home district of Vallabhbhai Patel.} He is 70 years old but still strong and working in the field.

① His father owned 20 bighas (in this area one bigha is smaller than an acre, because one acre = $1\frac{1}{3}$ bighas), and a small mud hut. There was one well worked by two bullocks. 4 sons worked in the field. He, Mathurabhai, inherited 5 bighas of land about 40 years ago, and worked it jointly with another 5 bighas of one of his brothers.

② Now the 10 bighas have increased to 70 bighas, entirely by the agricultural surplus. He now owns:

✓ cash crops like tobacco
+ cotton + milk products.

- (1) a tractor, (2) a three-storied building of bricks, (3) two more houses in the village, (4) two wells, (5) wells fitted with electric pumps, for irrigation.

He has paid 10,000 rupees dowry for the marriage of each of his two daughters.

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961, pp. 171.)

(*) Patidars are of 2 communities:—

No intermarriage

between the two, but ② is

① Leva, they do not work in the fields

② Kalva, they work themselves in the fields. (p. 177)

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considered inferior.

農業近代化 (資本主義經營) 的障礙

+ (1) Certainly, the tea, coffee, and rubber plantations in India can be characterized as capitalistic. "Apart from these large-scale enterprises it is by no means easy to identify capitalist elements in the countryside." (Page 11.)

-(2) "In parts of the Punjab, in western U.P., in Gujarat, and in Andhra, we find numerous cases of large peasants who carry on their production in genuine capitalistic style; that is, by relying on regularly hired free labourers to grow crops for sale in organized markets with the aim of realizing profits. But these self-same peasants may at the self-same time be obtaining part (perhaps even the major part) of their income from renting out land, lending money or grain, or trading in agricultural commodities." (page 11.)

-(3) Obstacles to capitalistic development:

(a) "The work of running a farm is hard and requires constant attention; there are 1,001 things to do. At the same time, however, the returns from the land may not work out to much more than the 50% obtained by giving the

只有種植園

很少純粹的資本主義農場。

地主不想經營農業。

佃戶均有收入。

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land & cropsharers." (Page 10.)

- (b) "The returns from moneylending and from trading in agricultural commodities may be very high. In some areas, I should note, there are minor public works contracts which may be exceedingly rewarding — particularly if very little work is actually performed and the payment for the contract is ^{often} divided between the village contractor and the public works department official."

- (c) "In cases where a hard-working father of a family does modernizing his farm and succeeds in getting good returns, he is very likely to send his sons to the University. After that, they may want to live in the city and not return to the farm." (Page 10.)

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land & Labour in India,
Bombay, 1962)

± 战后货币经济的发展 (Degree of "Monetization") Hyderabad State 1953-54
1948-49.

资本主义在农业中没有什么发展

I. In ex-jagir areas, "agriculture got monetized only slightly to the extent of 39.3% (of total produce) in 1953-54 compared with 37.8% in 1948-49. In the meantime, labour got as much as 52% of its income in cash as against 42.2% in 1948-49. (Khusro, pp. 98)

II. In Diwani areas, the agricultural price-fall has been considerable. Thus in the Diwani villages the percentage of cash income received by the cultivating community has remained almost static or slightly fallen from 33.5% of 1948-49 to 33.1% of 1953-54 (of total income). Labour, however, has been very considerably monetized, receiving 54% of its income in cash in 1953-54, compared with only 42% in 1948-49. (Khusro, pp. 99)

III. Inadequate investment in agriculture:—

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per acre of Rs. 3.73 in 1948-49, and of Rs. 6.13 in 1953-54. (pp. 173)

(a) In the ex-jagir areas, % of total investment (pp. 112, Khusrro)

	1948-49	%	1953-54
Livestock $4\frac{1}{2}\%$	54.4		46.9
Seeds	2.6		3.5
Equipment & implements	4.9		8.1
manures	6.5		9.3
	68.4		67.8

(b) In the Diwani areas, % of total investment (pp. 117) (pp. 115)

	1948-49	%	1953-54
Livestock $4\frac{1}{2}\%$	39.6		66.53
Seeds	5.7		2.78
Equipment & implements	6.6		3.05
manures	15.0		17.09

(A.M. Khusrro, Econ. and Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad, Hyderabad-Delhi, 1958)

富農 (不擴張)

West Bengal

1959

① The Badan caste in West Bengal is a professionally agricultural caste. They are excellent cultivators working on the land themselves. Fakir Mandal is one of them, and is the biggest and wealthiest family in the village, having the largest holding of land, 200 bighas (or 66.6 acres. One acre is three bighas). He is a real farmer. Yet his sons and grandsons are all babus because they went to school. Not one of them is working with him in the field. It is beneath them now. Fakir said that his children & grandchildren were the babu chasas ("gentlemen cultivators") and they required fine clothes, sun glasses, watches, bicycles, fountain pens. He shrugged his shoulders and said again, "The whole environment has changed. Even if I have to sell my land I must provide them with these. But they do not work." In this case there can be no plea that it has no land, or that the holding is too small to meet the new aspirations for a higher standard of life! (pp. 15-1)

One villager remarked: "In the last ten years no new pucca houses have been built in our village; nor is there any improvement in our tools of cultivation. But yes, the number

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a cycle has increased, and torches, watches, goggles and fountain pens. Transport costs have gone up. Dress also has become more expensive. But because of it all consumption of necessities has gone down. Where else or how else could it be adjusted?

We are definitely eating less and our diet is poorer than what it used to be. In the village of Sahaipur in West Bengal among the cultivators of land wholly owned, the consumption level has deteriorated since 1951.

(J.P. Bhattacharjee and Associates, Sahaipur, Visva-Bharati University,

Santiniketan, 1958, p. 142) quoted by

"We are definitely eating less; we now take less milk, meat, fish and eggs."

Nair in

her footnote, pp. 152.

② Sumed Ali, another rich farmer in West Bengal, complains: "If my son wants a bicycle I must provide him with one even if I have to sell my land. I must give him because otherwise he will get angry. We have to cut down on necessities to provide the young men with all these things". (pp. 152, Nair)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961)

经济地理

Kerala

1960

(1) In Palaghat district of northern Kerala there is a landlord named Narayana murthi, with nearly 2,000 acres of land, of ~~Of this~~ ~~he himself~~ which he himself cultivates only 80 through hired labour, even though the yield on that is 130 paras per acre per crop while the yield to the tenants to whom he has leased out the rest of the land seldom exceeds 80 paras. (one para = $16\frac{3}{4}$ Lbs.) The tenants pay him 70 paras per acre as rent from the two crops they grow in a year.

He hires 40 permanent labourers (20 male and 20 female), all of them are Harijans. They are not paid for the days they are absent. They are given free land on which they make their own huts. They are given work all the year round but often they do not come to work. They are given loans when they need them.

On the occasion of two festivals in the year, Narayana murthi gives his labourers clothes and a gift of one para ($16\frac{3}{4}$ lbs) of paddy per head. When they have a birth in the family, the managing landlord gives one para of grain if it is a male child and a half para if it is a female. The male child will work for him when he grows up. The workers did ask for more

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⑧ 不
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工
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R wage, but the landlord gave them the minimum wage (legally Rs. 1.50 for men and Rs. 1.00 for women per day) and withdrew the other facilities — clothes, loans, and gifts on births, deaths and festivals. Then the employed workers came back and told the landlord and the local revenue official that they wanted to continue the old system. This is a fairly common occurrence.

Narayanamurthy, the landlord-employer, does not work, he only supervises. He uses no mechanized methods of production. (pp. 41-42)

(2) In the district of Trichur, another landlord holds over 2,100 acres, of which 1,200 acres is under paddy, the rest is in coconut groves. He is one of the biggest landlords in Kerala. (the per capita holding in Kerala is only $\frac{3}{4}$ acre, in this district the per capita holding is $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres.) He employs 16 labourers on his holdings, his yields are only 80 paras in an acre which is poor. "The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill" of 1957 proposed the ceiling of 15 acres. But the landlord here says that if a ceiling of this kind is imposed on landholders, agricultural production will deteriorate because the cultivators will have neither the interest nor the capacity to make the necessary investment to produce more. (pp. 43, 44)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N. Y., 1961.)

大经营地主 (对农村的控制) (非资本主义的) 1950-65

In an Indian village often there is a group of six to twelve families who dominate the entire community. They have more than one kind of resources at their disposal, and therefore can do more things at one and the same time. They in fact keep their fingers in many pies. What do they have?

- (1) Land cultivated by hired labourers or cropsharers;
- (2) A small tractor and some small modern implements;
- (3) Rent collected from the portion of land leased out to tenants, or to cropsharers;
- (4) Moneylending and/or trading, particularly in such regions as Gujarat, Andhra, Mysore and the Malabar coast.

These big shots in the village are called the mukhyestaru in the Kandeze language, meaning "the leading personages" or "the all-in-alls". In brief, these principal landowners in the villages are at one and the same time the largest employers of agricultural labourers, the chief traders, the main money-lenders, the shopkeepers, and the village officials, i.e. landlord, rich peasant, merchant, usurer and officer, five in one.

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India,
Bombay, 1962, page 9.)

經營地主

U. P.

1958

Anand Madho Shukla (respectfully called Shuklaji)

He lives near Mahewa, about 200 miles east of Delhi.

He has 90 acres altogether, about 50 acres of which farmed by himself and the remaining 40 acres given out to small peasants on cropshare.

He provides half of the seed and half of the fertilizer, or meets half the cost of the seed and fertilizer. His own labourers and equipment may take part in the first heavy ploughing of the 40 acres. Otherwise all of the work and costs of cultivation right through the eventual harvesting and threshing are borne by the sharecroppers.

When the crop is in, Shuklaji takes on the average from 60 to 70%, about $\frac{2}{3}$. The crop sharer gets only about $\frac{1}{3}$.

The cropsharers who take land from Shuklaji, also have some other land of their own. On their own land, the yields are a good

土地制
100
有
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deal better than on the same quality of land that they take from Shuklaji.

This case of Shuklaji is a typical one, among the larger holders of land in the Uttar Pradesh.

(Daniel Thorner, "The Agrarian Problem in India Today," paper delivered at the 25th International Congress of Orientalists held in Moscow 1960, quoted in Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1968, pages 3-4.

土改的后果

Nair's comment

1960

"Though since 1947, India has enacted perhaps more land reform legislation than any other country in the world, it has not succeeded in changing in any essentials the power pattern, the deep economic disparities, nor the traditional hierarchical nature of inter-group relationships which govern the economic life of village society." (pp. 196.)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961)

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土地后租额大增

Hyderabad

1948-49 → 1953-54

- (1) In the ex-jagir areas, the rent on the average, during these five years, increased by 19%. It was during a period of falling agricultural prices. (pp.104)
The average rent was raised from Rs. 8.79 to Rs. 10.45 per acre. (pp.101) However, 50% of the total rents, was in cash in 1953-54, and the rate of cash rent was raised from Rs. 8.75 in 1948-49 to Rs. 11.20 in 1953-54, or an increase of 27.8%. (pp.101)
- (2) In the diwani areas, in the same period, where 61% of the total rents was in cash in 1953-54, the cash rent was increased by 16.7%. (pp.101-102)

(A.M. Khusrro, Econ. & Social Effects of Jagirdari
Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad,
Hyderabad-Delhi, 1958)

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经营地主的土地

U. P.

1955-

In 1955- in the U. P. 10% of the rural families still held about 50% of the land.

Many small people, on the strength of the village records, have been able to claim sir and khudkasht. Thousands of them have become larger land-holders. The result is that in the U. P. there are some 6,000,000 acres of sir and khudkasht lands.

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India,
Bombay, 1962, page 7.)

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1.
債役制 (attached workers) 盛行於南方和中部, 直到比哈爾。

- 1) Jeeta in Mysore, by system a poor man contracts to serve a wealthy man for one to three years. The wages & terms of service are usually written. The master advances a certain sum of money to the servant or his guardian, which is to be worked off by the servant. The master pays for food and clothing. Often before the service runs out the servant or his guardian borrows another sum of money and thus prolong the service.
- 2) Haukar in Madhya Pradesh, for a loan of Rs. 300, the payment plus interest has to be Rs. 375 (Of the loan of Rs. 300, 200 cash plus Rs. 100 in grain). The debtor has had to work for a monthly wage of Rs. 18. If the haukar leaves the work before the full payment, then he has had to pay twice the total amount of the balance.
- 3) Kothia in Orissa, the employer usually advances to the Kothia interest-free a loan of Rs. 20 to 50, and in addition allots about 1 acre of land (known as Heta) without rent. He receives a daily wage of Rs. 12 but in paddy. The first 4 months of the busy season he can not take up any work elsewhere, or for any other master.
- 4) Kamia in Bihar borrows some money from his landlord and agrees to work at a reduced rate of wage. In the past he used to sell both himself and his heirs into bondage for a lump

Barasalia
 Hara-wale

Sh. Gotti
 Sh. Baranasiya
 Sh. Naga Mubiga
 Danda Mubiga

and Janour

P.

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sum of money. But now he agrees to work till his debt is cleared off. But the position remains unchanged. A Kanvia can not seek work elsewhere except with the permission of his master, and this comes only in the off-season.

- 5) Hali in Surat district of Gujarat, it is usual for a man to work a year as an apprentice before he qualifies to receive an advanced loan & become a Hali. He is usually employed for about 200 days in the year, paid below Rs. 12 per day. In fact, a Hali works for his master (ghanigama) in the peak season at an off-season rate.

- 6) Chanamalu in Guthur district of Andhra Pradesh. The master leases to the servant a piece of land on favourable condition. In return his family members have to do some work for his master, even though they can get better works elsewhere.

Blagala in old Hyderabad.

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, "Types of Employer-Labourer Relationships in Indian Agriculture" in The Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 12, No. 2, Apr.-June, 1957, pp. 92-95.)

- 7) Pannaikal in Coimbatore of Madras.

Izhva in S.W. Madras.

Cheruma

Pulaya

Holiya

Padiyal in E. Madras.

Panniall in South Madras.

债役制

农业工人之地区的分佈和债役制工人的分佈情况,是有密切关系的。南方三区(马德拉斯·孟买·中央省)中债役制最盛行,佔农业人口的 $\frac{1}{5}$ 以上,几乎达 $\frac{1}{2}$ 。(页120)

债役制农业在全国并不超过三百万。即佔农业人口的 $\frac{1}{10}$ 弱,或佔农业劳动人口的 $\frac{1}{3}$ 弱。(页128)

(苏·拉·巴德尔, 印度和巴基斯坦的农业工人, 姜浪译, 世界知识出版社, 1957年。

Surendra J. Patel, Agricultural Labourers in Modern India & Pakistan, Bombay, 1952.

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不自由的無償勞役者

1960

Begar or reth is a system by which the landholder customarily exacts for a certain number of days, free labour from their tenants (raiyas). This, in other words, is a forced, typically unpaid, short-term labour.

- ① In U.P. and Bihar, 3 to 5 days of Begar in the year.
- ② In South Bihar, 20 days of Begar. For additional work the labourer gets the afternoon meal.
- ③ In certain districts of sub-Himalaya regions, zamindars often employ men at 1 anna per day while the local market rate of payment is 2 to 2½ annas per day.
- ④ In East Punjab, the tribe named Chamar (an untouchable class) yields many begari.
- ⑤ In Mysore, one day of forced labour from the tenant during the transplanting season. The landholder may exact begar on other occasions, be it field work or household work. The demand applies not only to the unfree labour himself, but also to his wife and children.

(D. & A. Thorner, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1962, pp. 36-38.)

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不自由的長工 (通常以一年為期的零工或傭工)

1949-1965

Case 1. The Mulada Holeya of the South Kanara District (south of Bombay State, west of Mysore), originally the old hereditary serf attached to the Muli Warg (Estates) and owned by the Wargadar (landholder). The Mulada Holeya is sometimes known as the Salada Holeya. In some cases they are not paid with any wage, but are given only three meals a day. The masters of the Salada Holeyas often loan the service of the Salada Holeyas to new masters, usually for one year. During that one year the new master pays wages and also the rental in kind. The wage is paid partly in advance in form of paddy, and partly in cash at the end of harvest. Moreover, the new master requires the Salada Holeya to make a contract with a merchant for one year during which goods are sold on credit and charges are enormous. So the wage in paddy received by the Salada Holeyas often goes to the merchant as payment or paying for the debt. Refusal to serve his new master is met by direct or indirect punishment, such as the burning down of his hut. (R.G. Kakade, Depressed Classes of South Kanara, Poona, 1949, pp. 78-85.)

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Case 2. The pannaiyal of Tanjore (Madras State). The Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyal Protection Act of 1952 defines a Pannaiyal as "Any person engaged by the landowner or by the cultivating tenant to look after a farm and do all cultivation work on the land whenever necessary in the course of an entire agricultural year (from May through April), but does not include one who is engaged either casually or only for a specific item of work."

Case 3. The jeeta of Mysore, contracts to serve a wealthy man for one to three years. The terms of the service, including the wages to be paid by the master, are usually reduced to writing. The master advances at the beginning of the service a certain sum of money to the servant or his guardian, and this is worked off by the servant.

Case 4. The mahindar of West Bengal, a domestic servant primarily, but works also in the fields during the busy season. (Agricultural Wages in India, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1952, pp. 182-183.)

不自由的唯命是從的僕奴

1950

Case 1. The Kothias of the coastal regions of Orissa have a Gothi (agreement) with their masters or employers. The employer ① advances to the Kothia an interest-free loan in the amount of Rs. 20 to Rs. 50. ② allots to the Kothia without rent a piece of land measuring about $\frac{1}{4}$ acre; ③ "bore the entire cost of cultivation"; ④ pays the Kothia a daily wage of 4 seers (or 8 pounds) of paddy worth Rs. 12. ① The Kothia, on the other hand, has to work for his master in the initial 4 months of the contract (i.e. the busy season) ② He may seek casual employment elsewhere if his regular employer could not find any work for him.

Case 2. The Kamia of Bihar is a labourer who had borrowed some money from a zamindar and has agreed in return to work at a reduced wage. In the past he used to sell both himself and his heirs into bondage for a lump sum down, but, this practice having been declared illegal, he ~~has~~ now agrees to work for the zamindar till he had discharged his debt. But the position remains

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unchanged. No fixed minimum pay is guaranteed. The Kamia cannot seek work elsewhere except with the permission of his master, and this will be forthcoming only in the off-season.

(Mohinder Singh, The Depressed Classes: Their Economic and Social Condition, Bombay, 1947, pp. 56-57.)

Case 3. The hali of Surat District in Gujarat is usually from aboriginal tribespeople, who tends to be easily intimidated. A hali is very often the son of a man who also works or worked as a hali for the same master (dhaniyama). Even so it is usual for a man to be required to serve a year's apprenticeship before he qualifies to receive the advance, which, in many cases, he will never be able to repay. The hali commonly works about 200 days of the year for his master, and then seeks employment elsewhere for the remaining 150 days. He is paid below Rs. 12 per day. He provides for his master an assured labour supply in the busy season at an off-season rate of payment.

Case 4. The Chanamala of Guntur District of Andhra, leases a piece of land from a farmer (ryot), and in return the whole family of the Chanamala has to work for their master or employer.

Case 5. The beck and call (^{11/12} tip & pay) system in West Bengal also allots one tigha of land to the attached labourer, who receives a daily wage Rs. 8 less than the normal local daily wage.
(D. & A. Thorner, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1962, p. 34-36.)

不自由的唯命是從的佃奴

1950

Case 6. 安得拉地區的「納古盧」制度：農業勞動者在農閑時期（即收穫前兩個月）因找不到工作就向地主或富農借糧食。次年收穫期間，要以貸款的200%至400%（年利）來還債，就是說借一袋糧食還一袋半或兩袋。有的时候，負債者還得替還在還債之前全家給債主干活。工資只有收穫期所通行的工資的一半。

（普·孫達拉雅，安得拉邦的土地關係，

原載蘇聯、亞非人民 1961年第2期，

王仲榮摘譯在中國科學院東南亞研究所編印的「東南亞問題資料」 1965年第1期。）

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意大利的封建地租 (非法地租已有150年) 1965

(1) In 1960, local members of the National Peasants' Union found a document indicating that the people of Villanova (阿奇利诺省, Avellino Province), near Naples (那波利) had been freed from the rent back in 1811 (i.e. the quitrent 免役税). But the tenants in Villanova still pay quitrent to the landowners even now. Countess Rosalba Trioni Politi di Nussignano takes 6,000,000 liras annually from the peasants of Villanova.

(2) In 1964, thousands of people in Mirabella Eclano (a district of Avellino Province) still pay an annual tithe (11-12%), established in 1806, to the Church of St. Januarius in Naples.

(3) Scores of thousands of Italian peasants pay levies in money and kind to parish priests, bishops, and descendants of old aristocratic families. The peasant must pay even when he has left the village and gone to the city to find work. "Italy's agriculture is dominated by semi-feudal forms of land tenure."

(4) "According to official figures, more than 50% of the land is in the hands of 4% of the landowners; 53.9% of the

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peasantry own but 4% of the land, and some 85% have an acre or none at all and are forced to hire out or to rent land on chackling terms from owners, banks or business firms."

(B. Raisky, "Italy's Seething Villages" in
New Times, Moscow, Oct. 14, 1964,
No. 41, page 19.)

新的分成農 (法律上有地位) U. P.

1950-65

What was called cropsharers before the Zamindari Abolition Act is now known as bataidars. When you go to the villages in the U. P., the peasants will tell you: "the system of having sajhidars (partners) is the same system as having cropsharers."

This "partner" system has been originated in this way: When the bill for Zamindari Abolition was presented to the Lucknow legislature, it had allowed the cultivators (1) either to work their land with their own hands, (2) or by engaging hired labourers to do the work for them. But many legislative members were themselves larger land-holders or relatives of larger land-holders. They succeeded in inserting (3) the provision for "sajhidars" or "partners," or "helpers."

Now, these newly called "partners," "helpers," or "sajhidars" are known commonly as the "bataidars." Bataidars are the same as the cropsharers before the abolition.

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1962, page 7.)

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土改结果

India

1960

Summarized by Dr. A. M. Khusro of Delhi:

- (1) 大地主仍存在 Ex-zamindars still hold land as high as 500 acres in Rajasthan, and 250 acres in former Vindhya Pradesh. (pp. 184)
- (5) 佃农地位降低 Tenants are worse off now. Dr. Desai and Shri Mehta are of the opinion that owing to insecurity and high rents the agriculturists are worse off than under previous tenancy Acts. This is certainly true in Gujarat. (p. 186)
- (2) 地主剥夺大他们的土地 Ex-girsdars of Samashtra, 9,000 of them, lost 250,000 acres of land from their tenants numbering 55,000. (p. 186)
- (3) 地主驱逐佃农 Evictions: "the number of evictions after the passing of the land reforms legislation has increased far beyond those in preceding years." (p. 187)
- (4) 利息提高 Rent increase: "The Bihar law recognizes sub-letting and only theoretically prevents rent increases." (p. 187)
- (7) 分成制佃农 Share-cropping increased as a result of zamindar abolition, in West Bengal and Orissa. (pp. 191)
- 增加了 "Share-cropping (or underground tenancy) is today the most widespread and the area under share-crop-

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ping tenancy might even be larger in many states than under open tenancy." (p. 192)

Open tenancy (not share-cropping) is no where more than 25% of the agricultural families, and no more than 25% of the cultivated land. (p. 193.)

(6) 正式佃户减少

(Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics,
January-March, 1962, Bombay.)

粮食增产

1950-51

496 million

1960-61

972 million

十年内增产

476 million

(M. L. Santwala, "Financial Implications of Land Reforms: Zamindari Abolition," in Indian Agricultural Economics, Oct.-Dec., 1962, p. 7.)

雇農

Andhra

1958

Mahalaxmi is landless. He has a wife, mother and five children. At present, for at least 4 months in the year, he has no work and lives on loans which he tries to pay back from his extra earnings at harvest time.

"In lean months we have only one meal a day and on several days we fast — yes, the children also." He says it casually as if it were a normal routine. His interest in reform, however, is to the extent of wanting precisely one acre of land. "The girls will go away after marriage, so it will suffice. I will not be able to cultivate ~~any~~ more." (pp. 67)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N. Y., 1961)

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新的雇农(世袭强迫性)

1950-65

Since 1947, forced or unfree labour has virtually disappeared. There may be a few pockets or enclaves of India where some bond labour persists, but these are small. "By and large the force of hired labourers in Indian agriculture is now made up of free men."

"If we go back to the turn of the century, it is probable that the bulk of the agricultural labourers were unfree men, men who were in debt bondage or some other form of servitude."

Thorne,

(Daniel and Alice Land and Labour in India,

Bombay, 1962, page 8)

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稅收增加 (in the zamindari areas only) 在 1911 年比 1901 年。

Increased land revenue after Abolition of Zamindari		Increased expense for administration and special tax reductions	Net annual Increase in Revenue
<u>Bihar</u>	Rs. 149,000 M.	66,800 M.	82,200 M.
<u>U. P.</u>	116,600 M.	50,100 M.	66,500 M.
<u>West Bengal</u>	36,900 M.	13,300 M.	23,600 M.
<u>Madhya Bharat</u>	7,050 M.	1,850 M.	5,200 M.
<u>Orissa</u>	9,200 M.	5,000 M.	4,200 M.
<u>Madras</u>	2,960 M.	1,800 M.	1,160 M.
Total net increase of revenue every year			Rs. 183,460 million (Net gain in Gujarat given somewhere else)

(Source for this table: Report of the Committee
on Tenancy Reform, Annexure II.)

(P.T.O.) 812

"When the author visited some villages in West Bengal and Bihar in 1957 and 1961, practically all peasants complained of the growing tax burden in recent years." (pp. 59, G. Kotovsky, Agrarian Reforms in India, N. Delhi, 1964.)

In Hyderabad and the Punjab, the rates of ^{land} revenue were raised. (All-India Kisan Sabha, Growing Tax Burden on the Peasantry, N. Delhi, 1955, pp. 15.)

In Bombay, Madras, Rajasthan Andhra Hyderabad and the Punjab and other States, betterment levies were instituted in the last five years. (Ajit Das Gupta, On Taxation, N. Delhi, 1957, p. 14.)

The biggest peasant action was the anti-betterment levy struggle in the Punjab in early 1959. "It is due to the united struggle of the peasants that the State government has been forced to reduce the quantum of the levy from Rs. 104 crores to Rs. 42 crores." (16th Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha, Proceedings and Resolutions, April-May, 1959, p. 13.)

In Assam, Madhya Pradesh and U.P., special acts were passed providing for the collection of debt in arrears. (Kotovsky, pp. 61.)

小地主

In the district of Shahabad, the local officers think that at most 25% of the total cultivated area is of leased land.

In whole Bihar, by 1951 Census, persons cultivating wholly or mainly unowned land, were about

P. 14%
(pp. 20)

包税制廢止后 情况

Bihar

Abolition enactment in 1950 and its amendment in 1951. Abolition supposed to be completed in 1956.

On the abolition of Zamindari, the produce rents were commuted into cash at the rate of average cash rent obtaining in the locality. The average rated rent or land revenue which a ryot in Bihar now pays to the Government is about Rs. 3.50 which, considering the current price level, is quite low and is no burden.

Some of the big zamindars did retain quite sizeable areas, and these are now cultivated generally through share-croppers, called bataidars.

Some ryots too have been sub-leasing lands to bataidars.

"This is the structure which has emerged after a decade of land reforms."

(W.A. Ladejinsky, "Tenurial Conditions" in Mainstream, N. Delhi, March 20, 1965, pp. 19)

大经营地主 (对农村的控制) (非资本主义的) 1950-65

In the past 15 years we have heard a good deal about government efforts to improve yields and to transform agriculture. There has been an immense increase in the funds spent for agricultural development, particularly the popularly and nationally known Community Development Programme.

From the Government of India's own Evaluation Reports, we know that the benefits of the Community Projects have chiefly gone to the top families of the village. In the Western U.P. there is a saying "to him that hath much, much shall be given." The Community Development Projects have served to strengthen the position of the strongest in the villages and thereby to accentuate existing inequalities. (Page 10.)

(Daniel & Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India,
Bombay, 1962)

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富农 (X)

Rajasthan

1959

Narendra Singh, of Ganja nagar District, has 13 morabbas (or 203 acres) of land which his grand father had bought in 1928-29, but which has been worked by him since 1947. A college graduate he now cultivates 156 acres. He owns a tractor and drives it himself. He also has a jeep. The average wheat yield with him is 23 maunds to an acre. His house is of brick, and of modern design. (This district has probably the largest number of tractors and jeeps of any district in India.) (This district is known also for its high consumption of fertilizer and improved seeds.) (pp. 118) (Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Desert, N. 7, 1961.)

(X) "Throughout India, in fact, the best farmers are to be found not necessarily in communities most favourably endowed with material resources, but in those that are traditionally agriculturalist by caste, such as the Sadgops in West Bengal, the Jats in the Punjab, and the Patidars in Gujarat." (pp. 190-191)

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土改后果

Bihar

1950 - 1958

1) The Bihar Privileged Persons Homestead Tenancy Act of 1948. This law is supposed to protect the attached labourer against eviction. But it has not worked for

4. 驱逐佃户

(a) Reason 1, the landlord does not want to evict the attached labourer anyway.

(b) Reason 2, the landlord can easily evict the tenant, because the court would easily help him against the labourer.

2) Abolition of zamindari was completed in Bihar by January 1st, 1956. The Bihar Land Legislation Act of 1950 resulted in

3. 土地出租 (a) Little land for lease. (b) Removal of all intermediaries between the Government and the cultivators. (c) "It gave 22,500,000 (Seedars) ⁱⁿ _{U.P.} "peasants" permanent and heritable security of rights against eviction or enhancement of rent." (pp. 92)
1. 佃户地权
2. 保障永佃
5. 生产下降 (d) In spite of the high fertility in Bihar, agricultural efficiency is lowest in India, the average yield per acre is lowest. For every 100 acres sown 46 persons are employed to do field work, as against the all-India average of 31. (pp. 92)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961)

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土地经过

Madras

1948-1960

(1) The Zamindari Abolition Act of 1948.

12½% of the State (after its reorganization) area, or about 4 million acres was under zamindari tenure, resulting from the British "permanent settlement" of 1793. This zamindari area includes zamindari, jagirdari and ~~all~~ ^{large} inam estates. There were 90 large inams paying Rs. 238,926 every year. The zamindars and jagir pay Rs. 1,548,000.

One year before this, the Madras Estates Act of 1947 was enacted to reduce the rent leviable by the zamindars, and the Madras Estates Communal Forest and Private Lands Act was passed to prohibit their alienation, also in 1947.

The zamindari Abolition Act of 1948 was to convert the zamindari into Ryotwari. When the zamindars were abolished, the occupancy tenants were transformed into peasant proprietors of the ryotwari tenure. Compensation was paid to zamindars by the rate of annual net income and in 1 to 5 instalments. A maximum for compensation was fixed at Rs. ½ million. The total compensation worked out to be Rs. 51.2 million, the price of direct control of

in 17 years.

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an area of 4 million acres. Besides the restoration of rural administration to the State, the abolition of zamindari was supposed to prevent the rack-renting by the zamindars. Up to June 30, 1960 a total compensation of Rs 40.8 million had been paid. The last of instalments were to be paid by March 31, 1965.

(2) Fair Rent Act of 1956.

This was preceded by the Tanjore Pannaiyal Protection Act of 1952. Pannaiyals = attached labourers. This Act provided a minimum wage in kind plus a definite crop share. But landholders of less than one vali ($6\frac{2}{3}$ acres) of wet land or irrigated land, or 20 acres of dry land not irrigated, were exempted. The aim of this Act was to prevent eviction.

Because of the disputes arisen from this Act, the Madras Cultivating Tenants Act of 1956 was passed for payment of fair rent. "Fair rent" was fixed as 33.33% to 35% to 40% of the gross produce, according to the source supply of irrigation. In all cases landlords is entitled to 20% of the straw. In the case of paddy alone, the landlords are entitled to get the rent in kind. The 1956 Act excludes from its purview the tenants owning more than $6\frac{2}{3}$ acres of wet land and those cultivating more than $6\frac{2}{3}$ acres of wet land, owned or leased or both. For them

土地经济

Madras

1948-1960

the conversion ratio of wet:dry:garden land is fixed as $1:3:1\frac{1}{2}$. An Amendment to this Act was passed in the same year, 1956. This allows those who own land up to $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres to resume half of the land for self-cultivation, but also provides that no tenant should be deprived of more than half of the land leased to him.

It has been estimated by the author (Professor K.S. Sonachalam) that the average leasehold per tenant family of five persons, is about 7.2 acres. The tenant population of Madras in 1961 was estimated at 600,000 families or 2,988,000 population. But the area leased to the tenants has declined:

1952, 3,700,000 acres

1960, 2,487,000 acres

- 1,213,000 acres

(pp. 179) "There has been a total shrinkage of 1.2 million acres in the area leased out, a significant factor primarily attributable to the implementation of the Tenancy Protection Act." (p. 179.)

(3) The Ceiling on Land Act of 1960. The official name is The Madras Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling on Land) Act, 1960 (Ap. 6). The ceiling is based on "standard acre", represented by

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an acre of wet land paying land revenue of not less than Rs. 10.

The ceiling is fixed at 30 standard acres for a family of not more than five members. For families of more than 5, an additional 5-standard acres for every excess member. But the maximum for any large family is fixed at 60 acres per family. Any family is entitled to own, in addition to the 60 acres of maximum family ceiling, an area up to 50 acres of dry land used for grazing or raising fodder crops.

(converted to standard acres, 50 acres of such land would be $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres.)

Compensation for surplus land: land in excess of the ceiling is taken by the Government on payment of bonds payable in 20 equal annual instalments carrying 5% interest.

It has been estimated that only about 20,000 holdings would receive compensation. (pp. 181). This small figure is because of the fact that "holdings likely to be affected were skillfully and ingeniously split up before the crucial date. The Ceiling Reform was too much publicized rather too early and legislation delayed too long permitting too many landlords to effectively escape from it." (pp. 181). From 1950 to 1960 1955, the number of holdings "above 60 acres" declined from 39,000 to 30,000 or by 25%; the total area occupied by holdings of this

逃離了最高限
的定額土地

土地经过

Madras

1848-1960

category declined from 5,528,000 acres to 4,156,000 acres or by 25% also. Between 1955 and 1960, the process of splitting up the land holdings "rose to a crescendo." (pp. 182.) Some of the Districts there were no more holdings coming under the Ceiling act. "Even a liberal estimate does not place the number of surplus holdings above 20,000 and the total available land for purchase and redistribution above 200,000 acres which would constitute but a chicken feed to about 1,000,000 households of landless labour. Hence, the Ceiling Act in Madras State seems to have missed the bus, ending in exhausting yet almost sterile piece of legislation." (pp. 182.)

"The limits on the rights of resumption for self-cultivation by owners, under the tenancy and ceiling legislation, ... has contributed to fragment holdings. There is an urgent need to fix floors on holdings to prevent further atomization by both laws of inheritance and tenancy." (pp. 182.)

"In Madras State, average holding per cultivating family is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres, but 67.5% of the holdings are of less than 5 acres. And of this total of 67.5%, 66.6% is

土地
分配
不均
很快

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dry land." (pp. 182.)

休耕
地
增加

"Without tapping under-ground water resources, agricultural productivity in this State would tend to stay put at its present level." "The fallow lands accounting for 4,138,000 acres is an index and a measure of the need for water and perhaps finance and adequate supply of agricultural requisites." (pp. 182.)

⑤ No less
than 40
measures
have been
passed.

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"Although tedious and painstaking legislative activity^⑤ has gone into the reorganization of the institutional structure, the paramount objective of stepping up agricultural productivity has yet to be achieved." (p. 182.)

(Prof. K. S. Sonachalam (of Annamalai University),
"Land Reforms and their Implementation",
in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics,
Jan. - March, 1962, Bombay.)

Neale 对土改的看法

Walter C. Neale, Economic Change in Rural India: Land Tenure and Reform in Uttar Pradesh, 1800-1915, New Haven, 1962, 333 pages.

① Neale thinks: -

"the present condition of deepening agrarian crisis and poverty is not related to land tenure, but to other factors such as: 1. a chronic lack of capital for productive investment in agriculture, 2. incomplete introduction of the market, 3. social structure & culture of the Indian village community, and 4. the lack of respect for secular government (i.e. the persistent failure of rational administrative efforts to overcome certain elements of the structure and culture of rural Indian society)." Burton Stein

② Donald E. Smith (Univ. of Minnesota) reviewed this book in The American Historical Review, Oct. 1964, pp. 172-174, said: -

"Scarcely noticed by Neale is the tension that existed in

土改
失败
原因
① 缺乏
资本
② 市场
不完善
③ 农村
社会结构
④ 缺乏
对世俗政
府的支持

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土地改革与土地所有权的矛盾和土地改革之间的矛盾。

政治

经济

British times and continues to exist in independent India between the requirement of a more productive Indian agriculture and those of political stability."

政治不改

土地不改。

Again Stein said, "In both the British and independent Indian situations, the political factors counted for much in the basic design of land reform, and hence its lack of success."

(The Am. Hist. Review, p. 174, An American
Oct. 1964, Washington, D.C.)

The 1950 U.P. Zamindari Abolition Act absolves the so-called cultivator from tilling. This land law does not require the cultivator to till.

There was no reason to do this provision in the land law. First because there are tens of thousands of Brahmans in the U.P. who do cultivate and handle the plough, guiding it through the soil. Then, the Indian Constitution of 1950 made the state a secular one, no law should be based on any religious ground.

However, there was the political fact that the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Act was brought about under the influence of the large landholders who never till the land. These large landholders easily used religion and caste tradition as an excuse to avoid tilling themselves. In India there is an age-old feeling that manual labour or physical work is degrading and that wherever possible such work should be left to the lowly, to the inferior castes. Thus the 1948 Report of the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Committee stated that in some parts of

the State, high-caste people do not plough. "To require them to do so would offend their customs, which draw sanction from their religion." On this basis, which the Report pointed out, the 1950 Act does not require the cultivator to till. In other words, the cultivator does not have to participate in the actual work of cultivation.

(Page 6)

"For NO State in India — not even the recent Communist regime in Kerala — has passed a land reform or agrarian relations act requiring the cultivators to till."

(Page 6)

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India,
Bombay, 1962)

土地 经营地主

Andhra Pradesh

1955-56

According to the 1955-56 census figures, the total number of holdings in Andhra Pradesh were 43,66,272, comprising 33,35,8,380 acres, the size of an average holding being 7.6 acres. Of these, 3,994,000 holdings "were cultivated by their owners" and 372,000 holdings "were tenant cultivated." "Leased out area accounted for 4,292 acres or 7.99% of the total area. The remaining 92.01% or 29,066,000 acres were under the personal management of the owners including lands devoted to non-agricultural uses." "This is a great change from the state of affairs ten years ago when the zamindari, the jagirdari and the Dhan systems prevailed." "Now the Ryotwari system has become practically the order of the day." (p. 185)

(M. S. Randhawa and others, Farmers of India, Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1961)

92%
92.01%
92.01%

$$\begin{array}{r}
 33,35,8,380 \text{ acres} \\
 \underline{\quad .92 \quad} \\
 66,716,760 \\
 299925420 \\
 \hline
 30,65,9109.60
 \end{array}$$

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经营地主

U. P.

1955-

The U. P. Zamindari Abolition Act was passed in 1950. In 1955 five years later, a comprehensive sample survey reported that 10% of the families in the villages continued to own 50% of the land. Of this land the top families give out, in small bits, an impressive overall total, to cropsharers. (p. 5)

Among the larger land holders the giving out of land to cropsharers is very common. By larger holders it is meant those with more than 20 to 30 acres of good land or more than 40 to 50 acres of middle grade or poor land. In the majority of villages, you are likely to find 6 to 12 such large land-holders. When they give out land to the cropsharers, they usually, or most commonly, take 50% of the harvest from the cropsharers. (p. 4-5)

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1962)

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± 政⁷后大地主減少 (Decrease of great absentee landlords)

Since 1947, the big zamindars, taluqdars and jagirdars, i.e. the great absentee landlords, who used to maintain town houses and disport themselves famously in cities like Lucknow, Lahore, Calcutta and Madras, have their land greatly reduced. Whereas they used to have dozens or even hundreds of villages, now they ~~may~~ only have a thousand or so acres, or perhaps a mere few hundred.

Only a small number of these ex-landlords have bought tractors and gone into modern farming. A few who have irrigated land have taken up sugarcane cultivation.

(Daniel and ^{Thorpe,} Slice, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1962, page 9.)

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± 2 1 经济地理

Madras State

1955-56

The Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act, 1948, which came into force in April, 1949. ⊗

The Madras Inam Assessment Act of 1956 (to levy full assessment on Inam lands with certain exceptions). There were 1,580 Inam villages, to which the 1949 Act did not apply. ⊗ Out of 4,764 estates to which the 1949 Act applied, 4,722 estates have been taken over by the State under the Act; the remaining 34 are Inam estates. The estates taken over were surveyed and settled on Ryotwari principles.

What did the 1955 census reveal? In the Madras State there were ~~4,957,000~~ 4,957,000 holdings covering 32,548,000 of converted dry ¹² land (an acre of wet land = 3 acres of dry land). " Of this 32,548,000 acres, 28,533,000 acres were under personal cultivation and 3,570,000 acres were

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87%

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11%

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紙面上的经济地理

cultivated ~~by~~ on lease." "The average holding was between 6 to 7 acres of converted dryland." "The rent on 2,870,000 acres was payable in kind." (pp.129)

In general there are, in this State, three systems of cultivation:—

- சு.சு.உ (1) share cropping (Varam), common in the Delta areas;
சு.சு.உ (2) Fixed money rent (Kuttalghai) for crops in the rainfed areas and for non-cereal crops; the tenant bears all the expenses.
சு.சு.உ (3) Cultivation by debt-labourers (Pannai), who are known as the Pannaiyals (nominally hired workers).

a. "The Pannaiyals are paid in kind and receive presents on festive occasions. When the land is sold, the debts due from the Pannaiyals are often transferred to the purchaser." (pp.130.)
The Tanjore Pannaiyal Protection Act of 1952 fixed a minimum pay to the Pannaiyals, and made the cultivation lease to 5 years. (It was common in the delta to lease from year to year.)
This Act was extended to South Arcot in 1953. The land owner

126

Madras State

1955-

pays the taxes and receives 40% of the produce at the threshing floor. Eviction must have a reason. A change of tenant requires notice of one year before the expiry of the lease. (p. 130)

b. The Tanjore Pannaiyal Protection Act of 1952 was replaced by the Madras Cultivating Tenants Protection Act of 1955.

Under this new Act, the landlord is entitled to resume possession from any cultivating tenant for purposes of personal cultivation, land not exceeding one half of the extent of land leased to that cultivating tenant. The landlord, however, is not ^{out} allowed to resume possession, if he owns land exceeding $13\frac{1}{3}$ acres of wetlands or if he is assessed to sales tax, profession tax or income-tax during 1954-56. In any case he is not allowed to own more than 5-acres of wetland.

c. The Madras Cultivating Tenants (Payment of Fair Rent) Act of 1956, effective by Oct. 1, 1956. The rent fixed by this Act is from 40% to $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ of the gross produce. The

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tenants bear all the expenses of cultivation, while the land owner pays all the taxes and the cesses due to local authorities. (p.131)

(M.S. Randhawa, M.S. Sivaraman and J.J. Naidu and
Suresh Vaidya, Farmers of India, Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1961.)

经营地主的土地

U. P.

1950-65

Sir and Khudkasht, not actual but as recorded.

The U. P. Zamindari Abolition Act, as presented to and passed by the legislature in Lucknow in 1950, allows the larger landholders to keep all the land that they could prove to have been their sir and khudkasht land.

Such lands, broadly speaking, were supposedly lands under their personal cultivation. In practice, however, it was not so much a question as to whether they were actually cultivating these lands as that the records of the villages should state that they were cultivating.

Now then, "the record-keepers in the villages were small people, many of whom owed their appointments to the larger holders. A few strokes of the pen in the village records could considerably increase the amount of a given holder's sir and khudkasht." (page 7)

(Daniel and Alice Thorner, Land and Labour in India, Bombay, 1962)

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经营地主

India

1948-1960

"Loop-hole in tenancy legislation has been the loose way in which the term 'personal cultivation' was defined in various States. In a number of States, crop-sharing arrangements and absence of effective supervision on the part of the landlord were not regarded as tenancies."

"In some States like Punjab (Pekou area), M. P. and West Bengal it is not necessary under the law that cultivation through servants or labourers on wages should be accompanied by personal supervision." (pp. 119.)

The Khuro report on Hyderabad, and the Dandekar report on Bombay, both pointed out that ejections of tenants in the form of "voluntary surrenders" have taken place in a large scale.

(B. R. Kalra, research officer, office of the Registrar General, India, "Land Reform Legislation and its Implementation in Different States" in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Jan.-March, 1962, Bombay.)

(882)

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"In the Second Plan (1956-1961), the proposal was made that where land is resumed on grounds of personal cultivation, it would be desirable to provide for personal labour as a necessary ingredient, in the absence of which the ejected tenant should have the right of restoration. So far this suggestion has not found its way into the legislation undertaken by the States."

"The Panel on Land Reforms has suggested that the condition of residence (in these terms) should apply during the period the main agricultural operations are undertaken. This suggestion should be considered by State Governments and the current definition of 'personal supervision' modified to the extent necessary."

(p. 265, Government of India Planning Commission,
"Progress of Land Reform", Delhi, 1963.)

① Education has not been able to destroy the dogma underlying the usual inherited caste prejudice. A village school teacher of the Birbhum District by the name of Bannerjee, admits: "Yes, of course I could earn much more if I cultivated the land myself. But since I am a Brahmin, I cannot do it I will not plough." He has ten acres of land cultivated entirely by employed labour. Landownership gives status; but to work on it is derogatory.

"Why will you not plough — from conviction or simply because you are afraid of society? You are an educated man and you are expected to teach your students the importance and dignity of manual work. How do you reconcile your education with this outdated and irrational prejudice? Would you plough yourself if you went away to some distant place where nobody knows who you are?" Nair asked Bannerjee. Even after thinking it over he persists: "No I still would not ~~try~~ touch the plough. I do not allow my sons to do so either. But I am only a primary school teacher. There are Brahmin teachers in high schools and colleges and they also will not plough, although they are much more educated

than me. Yes, I do believe that a Brahmin should not plough and that the tradition should be maintained" (pp. 150)

② Sastiram is another landowning school master. According to him, "We too could get much more income if we worked ourselves. I am not a Brahmin. I am a Kayastha. But I cannot work because we have a certain 'status in society to maintain. My father did not work on the land, so I also do not do it. Though with us it is not strictly a religious ban, it would be beneath us to work on the land ourselves." (pp. 150)

③ In the village of Sansat, a group of Muslim agriculturists do not work themselves, but are hired 'labour' entirely. Abdul Rab a young man and a school teacher from among them, states frankly that: "A boy who has been to school up to the seventh or eighth class and who in the company of his friends sees his father working in the field will tell his friends that 'he is not my father'. He feels so ashamed of him." (pp. 151)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N. 7., 1961)

- 1) "The words 'cultivator' and 'agriculturist' do not imply that the peasant necessarily tills the land himself. They may merely indicate that he lives mainly by income from agriculture." (pp. XIX, Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N. Y., 1961)
 - 2) In the village of Acavamangudi, in Tanjore, there are 400 land-owners (mirasdars). About 10% of them cultivate their land directly, which means through hired labour, while the remaining 90% lease it out to tenants. Many tenants also do not work themselves. No land-owner here works for himself. Either work by waram (share-cropping) or by pamraigals (landless labourers). The pattern is repeated in every village. (Nair, pp. 27)
- (Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N. Y., 1961)

意大利的分地農 (半封建性質)

1964

The distinguished Italian publicist Felice Chilanti wrote about Italian social and economic conditions, under the title of "North and South" in New Times (Moscow), 1964, No. 32, Aug. 12th. He commented on the present-day Italian land-tenure as follows:

"The primary reason for the exodus from the countryside is to be found in the backward, semi-feudal forms of land tenure that still exist in Italy. One of these vestiges of the Middle Ages is sharecropping. Sharecroppers traditionally received 50% of what they produced. Then they began to get 52%. Current bills under discussion would increase this share to 53%. The landlord would still get the lion's share."

"The younger generation is loathe to do this heavy, thankless work. It prefers to seek a better life in the cities."

"Thousands of others cross the frontier in search of jobs in Switzerland, West Germany, France and Belgium."

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3. 成制阻擋了資本主義的發展

Madras

1960

In the village of Agaramangudi, in Tanjore, situated at the delta of the Cauvery river, the soil is highly fertile. It, the district of Tanjore, is the rice bowl or the granary of Madras. A landowner (mihasdar) named Swaminathan, owning five acres of land, said to Nair (the author): "Previously the tenant was getting 25% of the gross produce. Then Rajaji (then Chief Minister of Madras) increased his share to 40%. Now he is getting 60%. So, naturally, he is more than satisfied and is not interested in producing more. If we offer to give him five bags of manure he says he wants only two. If we compel him to use more fertilizer, he objects because he has to pay for it. He is not interested in our investing more either, because it adds to his costs." (Nair, pp. 28)

(one bag = 126 lbs.)

A tenant said, "If I produce more, the landlord will ask for more." (p. 29)

Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N. Y., 1961)

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分卷. 下中卷

1950-65

"Throughout India the great mass of petty peasants carry ~~out~~ on their production primarily with their own family labour. They utilize the crops they grow chiefly to feed their own families and to hand over what is due to the moneylenders, merchants or landowners upon whom they are dependent." (Page 11.)

(D. & A. Thorner, Land and Labour in India,
Bombay, 1962)

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貴州經濟地主要是絕少數

1953-54

From the 8th Round of the National Sample Survey in 1953-54, we know that:-

1) Of the total cultivated land, 20.34% was under lease.

2) Of all the rural households owning land, 12.03% lease out land to tenants.

3) Of ~~these~~ ^{the} ~~landlords~~ ^{owners} (landowners who lease out land) that
 * the 30-50 acre grade ~~landlords~~ ^{owners} 28.07% lease out land.
 * the over 50 acre ~~landlords~~ ^{owners} 36.26% lease out land.

4) Land holders of 30 to over 50 acres categories constitute 3.31% of the rural households leasing land, and they lease out a total of 40.13% of the total leased out land of the country. In other words, 3.31% of the landlords lease out land, which account for 40.13% of all the leased out land. Thus, the principal lessors are the big landlords.

少數大地主
出租土地

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± 024 1/2

Saurashtra (四百万人口)

(1954-54)

1948-1955

1

Integration of 222 states of Kathiawar into the State of Saurashtra, in 1948. ¹⁹⁴⁸ (The British rule began in 1820)

The Agrarian Reforms Committee, of the All-India Congress Committee, asked ^{for} the land reform in this new State.

Before 1948 the land tenure was as follows:—

- their tenants not permanent.
- ① Girasdari: The Girasdars were landlords with proprietary rights over the land, but only after 1936 were they allowed to sell their lands to other Girasdars. (Tatukdars)
 - ② Barkhali: The Barkhalidars were landlords with no proprietary rights, were mere grantees of land revenue. Like ① they were also the intermediaries between cultivators & State.
 - ③ Occupancy Tenants: paying revenue (cash or kind) to the states, by cash in case of a big state and by crop-share in case of the smaller states. Crop share varied from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of Kharif crop and $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of Rabi crop.
雨季作物 冬季作物

1) The Amida Settlement of Feb., 1948, which fixed the landlords'

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crop share at $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Jirayat and $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Bagayat crops. This resulted in large-scale ejection of tenants, in increasing rents, and in the forcible collection of rent.

- 2) The Saurashtra Protection of Tenants of Agricultural Lands Ordinance, May 1948. This tried to ask the landlords to get the government permission before ejecting their tenants. The result was more evictions. Mar. 29, 1949.
- 3) The Ordinance of Saurashtra Temporary Postponement of Evictions (1949). This tried to suspend the notices of eviction, but only up to Aug. 31, 1949, as stated in the Ordinance.
- 4) The Saurashtra Gharkhed Tenancy Settlement and Agricultural Land Ordinance, July 1949. (Largely based on the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1948.) This defined the Gharkhed as land for personal cultivation, but excluded the Barkhalidars from maintaining the Gharkhed. It tried to ask the landlord to give the tenant one year's notice in advance for terminating any tenancy. It also established the economic holding as equal to 40 acres, and set the ceiling to 8 economic holdings, and the floor to be 2 economic holdings. The Ordinance even provided the restoration of all illegal evictions. It also forbade any eviction ^{for} of tenants from dwelling houses owned by landlords. It conferred a right ~~on~~ ^{to} the tenant to purchase land. This did not work, because ① the Jiradars

土地情况

Saurashtra

1948-1955

did not like the idea of a fixed gharkhed, and the tenants did not like the idea of a gharkhed because it meant eviction.

5) Then the Gov. of India stepped in. In May, 1950, it appointed the Agrarian Reforms Commission to report. The report was delivered in December, 1950, with following recommendations:

- ① Abolishing the Girasdari and the Barkhalidar, but giving them the gharkhed land, at least one economic holding.
- ② Economic holding is to be fixed in different parts of the state.
- ③ No compensation should be given as the finance of this state did not allow.

Based on these recommendations, the following 3 Acts were passed:-

- ① Saurashtra Land Reforms Act, 1950.
- ② Saurashtra Barkhali Abolition Act, 1951.
- ③ Saurashtra Estates Acquisition Act, 1952. (full occupancy rights)

6) Then they were followed by the following main enactments:-

- ① Prohibition of Leases of Agricultural Lands Act, 1953;
- ② Bhodan Yagna Act of 1953;
- ③ Prevention of Fragmentation & Regulation of Holdings Act of 1954;
- ④ Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1954;
- ⑤ Land Improvement Schemes Act of 1954.

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①

In Saurashtra

Reforms affected	Girardari villages	1,726
	Barkhali villages	361
	Mixed villages	1,413
	Total	3,500 villages
	unaffected villages	915 "
	Total in State	4,415 "

Main Reforms

- 1) Girasders to pay land revenue, but can no longer impose taxes on others.
- 2) Girasders to be given 1 to 3 economic holding (40 to 120 acres) as the Sharkhad land for "personal cultivation".
- 3) Tenant pays 6 times the assessment to the government & he given to the Girasders; Government adds more for compensation. Tenant can borrow from bank at $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ interest.
- 4) Barkhali abolition, giving for personal cultivation, not more than one economic holding, and 40 acres.
- 5) Tenants of the Barkhalidars to get occupancy tenancy without payment.

②

Reforms affected	2,839,500 acres of Girardari lands;
	807,230 acres of Barkhalidari land.

③

In all, the status of 155,767 persons were affected by the reforms.

to pay land price;
not to pay.

- (a) Girasders 28,760
- (b) Barkhalidars 19,248

- (c) Tenants of (a) 71,459
 - (d) Tenants of (b) 36,300
- Total 155,767 persons
- became occupancy tenants

(The Government pays compensation for 15 to 18 years.

土地与农民

Saurashtra

1948-1955

"Within a short period of 4 years (1951-55), all the Girasdari and Barkhalidari tenants were put on an equal footing with the cultivators in the Khalsa areas. But it must be remembered that this fast pace has made it possible for a number of shortcomings to creep in." In many cases by compromise solutions. Absence of properly kept village records led to such compromises. (pp. 21)

"In other states of India, land given for self-cultivation has been so excessive that the landlords had to be permitted to get it cultivated through paid labourers and lessees. In Saurashtra, the majority of Girasdars who have been given or allotted Gharbhed land, have become cultivators in the real sense of the term." (pp. 26)

"All the cultivators - Girasdars, Barkhalidars their ex-tenants and cultivators of ex-Khalsa lands - have become cultivators with full occupancy rights in the land they cultivate." (pp. 26)

(R.R. Mishra, Effects of Land Reforms in Saurashtra, Bombay, 1961, pp. 9-26)

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分地制佃农

U.P. Assam

1959

3

In the Nowgong District, in the villages of Rangaloo area, 167 families out of 342 are landless ^(*). Landless families take land on a crop-sharing basis and must pay 50% of the produce to the landlord in way of rent, although the law (The Adhikar Protection and Regulation Act of 1948) requires to pay 20% only. (pp. 140)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the East, N.Y., 1961)

(*) 31% landless

In U.P. Sharecropping is called Sajchdari, which under the agrarian reform law is not deemed to be a variety of lease. (Kotovsky, pp. 80.) Sharecroppers are called Sajhis. They are not recognized by the law as tenants.

In the village of Shamaspur, in the Saharampur District of U.P., about 12% of the total land is worked by the Sajhis.

(S.C. Gupta, An Economic Survey of Shamaspur Village, p. 30.) (882)
* of Univ. of Delhi.

In Assam
Adhiars

In U.P.
Sajchdars
In Bengal
Bangadars

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In the village of Barhan, in the Agra District 35% of land is
cultivated by the share croppers. (Baljit Singh, ^W 'Next Step in Village India',
x of Lucknow University pp. 120-23.)

熟荒

Rajasthan, The Punjab 1959

Rajasthan ①

Some 2,476 ex-jagirdars had been allotted land in canal areas of Rajasthan up to the end of December 1958, but since they themselves did not cultivate, 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 acres of land is lying uncultivated in Rajasthan for want of cultivators. (pp. 118)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961.)

(Food imports into India: 1951, 4,700,000 tons
1954, 800,000 tons
1956, 1,400,000 tons
1957, 3,600,000 tons

India, 1958: a Reference Annual, p. 261.)

(Nabam population increase: between 1951 and 1961, increase of 16,000,000 in 10 years. (Kotovskiy,

"A majority of the substantial land-owners could not manage their large-sized holdings effectively but were

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The Punjab ②

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reluctant to lease them out to the tenants because
of the legislation." (Dr. A.S. Kahlon (Prof. in Govt. Agricultural
College and Research Institute,
Ludhiana), "Land Reforms
Legislation and its Implemen-
tation", in AICC Economic
Review, July 22, 1962, p. 13.)
N. Delhi.

熟荒 (意大利中部)

Central Italy

1950-60.

There were two acts for land reform in Italy: 1950 and 1960. The latifundia (above 1,000 hectares) began to break up.

"It is necessary to find a solution of the critical situation that menaces large areas of our country. Farming regions that were formerly in the vanward of agricultural progress, must now be considered backward areas. There must be timely and vigorous action in the mezzadria^① zones of Central Italy before the peasants leave them. Share-tenants need to be helped to become tenants or proprietors of the lands they till. A too rapid rate of migration of the rural population from the hills of Central Italy can have harmful effects because situations might arise that make utilization of abandoned lands extremely difficult." (pp. 127)

(G. Medici, "Land Reforms in Italy" in

Prof. of Agricultural
Economics, Nat. Inst. of
Agrarian Economics, Rome.

Indian Journal of Agricultural
Economics, Jan.-March, 1962, Bombay.)

① share-tenancy, whereby the tenant contributes all the labour and part of the working capital. 分成制佃农。

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土改⁷情况：发展信贷合作社的政策

1965

国大党工作委员会1965年1月7日在杜尔加柏通过了关于经济和
社会政策的决议。内称：粮食总产量的增加，不符合指标的要求
物价水平，特别在粮食方面，急剧地和令人不安地上升。仔细分析造成目
前情况的各种原因，以想出一些合适的补救办法，是极为重要的。又说：
（执行土改计划的工作应当在第三个计划（1965-1966）结束以前完成，为
了执行这种计划，大多数都已经制定必要的法律。同时必须成立一
个适当的合作社机构来^{（地方）}满足获得土地所有权或者永久占有权的即
耕种者在财政、技术和商品方面的需要。通过计划提供的信贷数量
必须同这些需要相适应。应当使农村里一些在经济上比较弱的阶层
能够从这种信贷中得到适当的份额。

(1965年1月8日印度新闻处新德里电)

水利工作尚未搞好！ "At the end of the Second Five Year Plan
period in 1961, some 3,500,000 acres of irrigable land
remained unirrigated. Of the irrigated area only
12% was under double cropping!" (Kusum Nair,

Blossoms in the Dust,
N.Y., 1961, pp. 192.)

"The average yield of rice at 906 pounds per
acre (in 1960-61) continues to be the lowest
in the world." (Nair, pp. 194.)

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土改后佃户降为雇农

Andhra

1958

① Since the Andhra Tenancy Act of 1956, according to a landlord (also president of the Congress Committee of the smallest local unit), by the name of Venkatasamakrishna Rao, of a village in Guntur, "some 200 families have been deprived of their land (tenancy rights), covering 500 acres on lease, in a matter of 2 years, in his own village. They are now reduced to working as casual coolies. They were paid off and evicted."

Another man of the same village, Ram Mohan Rao, confirmed this, and said. "Not a single man in this village has or will benefit by the land reform. The tenants were so convinced that even if they went to court or to the tribunal the case would be decided in favour of the landowner that they thought it wiser to negotiate and come to terms with the landowner. So they got as much cash as they could out of him and surrendered their tenancy." (pp.64)

② Pulla Reddy, the president of the panchayat in another village (also in Guntur), said: "Two years ago (1956) there were

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some 800 tenants cultivating approximately 1,500 acres. Today (1958) there is not a single tenant left; they all have become landless labourers. Nor will there be a single acre of surplus land to distribute in this village, if and when the ceiling comes." (pp. 65)

⑤ "In Kuttumba Rao's village there are still some tenants but they have only oral agreements — no records are kept." (pp. 65)

③ In Venkateshwaram's village, himself a landlord in another village, whereas two years ago (1956) there were at least 100 tenants in his village cultivating some 300 acres on lease, "today no body is giving an inch of land on lease even by word of mouth." (p. 65)

④ In the village of Bomuluru, inhabited by Harijans mostly, the people were all tenants five years ago (1953), but now they have all become coolies. This was told by a former tenant Nagindran, who said, "I was not paid a price in compensation, I was cultivating seven acres on lease." (pp. 65)

⑥ Satyanaraynan, president of another village bandayat, admits, "previously

there were at least 100 tenants in this village. Now not one." (65)^{p.}

(7) "Only in backward and interior tracts (not on the river deltas), where lands are vast and the area is thinly populated and unfertile, there may be some tenants and surplus lands still remaining." (pp. 65)

(8) Venkanna, in another village used to be a tenant on ten acres. An elderly man, this year (1958) he could not get a single acre on lease. He complained that no tenants were left. "We are unable to get any land even on oral contract." So he was to be a coolie and had to live partly on loans. (pp. 67)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the East, N.Y., 1961)

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註義

"In Uttar Pradesh some 10,000,000 acres of cultivable land in zamindari estates were in disuse before implementation of the land reform act." (Cross Roads, August 31, 1952)

In Bihar the ex-zamindars drove out (evict) their tenants from their sir lands, for the fear that these tenants might become occupancy tenants of the State. Thus large tracts of land lay waste. In 1955 a law was enacted in Bihar providing for compulsory leasing out idle sir lands from which tenants had been evicted. (Agricultural Situation in India, Vol. 10, No. 8, November, 1955, pp. 605.)

印度
土地
改革
中
的
情况
（India, 1958: A Reference Annual, pp. 256-257.）

("Between 1950-51 and 1955-56 total cultivated area went up from 326,000,000 acres to 363,000,000; and irrigated land from 47,000,000 acres to 56,000,000 acres in 1955-56.")

(P.T.O.) 883

"In U.P. there are lands, which are neither cultivated by the owner nor they are sublet to others on the fear that the cultivator might become permanently owners of the land. These are those persons who are not very powerful in the village & earn their living in the urban areas. The result is that there is fall in production." (Dr. G. R. Madan [Lucknow University] Land Reforms in U.P., AICC Economic Review, Vol XVI. No. 16 [January 23, 1965], p. 38)

没有什么成绩，
只有坏的成绩。

宜文为「经济」这
经济就是用经济。

② 因为地主行列侵

③ 过去没有

仙居卷不
仙居卷

(P.T.O.)

- 1) "What, then, are the reasons for such deplorable results of nearly 15 years of implementation of tenancy legislation in independent India? The reasons lie in the class nature of the whole of agrarian policy pursued." (p. 145)
- 2) "We determine the nature of tenancy legislation not by their proclaimed purposes but according to how, by whom and in whose interests it is carried out. From this point of view one cannot help arriving at the conclusion, though with regret, that in the implementation of tenancy legislation, the tenants' interests were given secondary consideration, and the landlords managed to take full advantage of it for resumption of land for so-called 'self-cultivation'" (p. 147)
- 3) "In the first postwar decade the wholesale eviction of occupancy tenants signified in a way a 'clearing of the land' by landlords for capitalism. It has to be mentioned in this connection that the semi-feudal landlords had no corvée, has made their shift to

进了农业革命。
资本主义。

的基礎。這就意味著
將是新的革命
的基礎。這就意味著
社會主義革命。

④ 兩極化就促
進了農業革命。

④

"The legislative measures for consolidation of holdings promote the expansion of the farms of rich peasants and big landlords, and, on the other, accelerate the process of reversion and proletarianization of the bulk of the peasantry, thereby furthering the development of agricultural capitalism in India." (p. 151)

capitalist farming in India more difficult, as it entails either outright eviction of the peasants or their slow and agonizing expropriation and conversion into farm laborers through cropsharing." (p. 147)

⑤ 地主階級發展了
農業革命。

"The shift of landlords to capitalist farming, therefore, aggravates class contradictions in the countryside on a new basis, contributing to the accumulation of explosive material, which is creating the basis for further development of the revolutionary struggle of the peasant masses." (p. 147-148)

(註) 過去沒有 Corvée 就不易發展資本主義，關於這一點 Kotovsky 作了一個腳註說，"Attention to this important fact was first called by H. Rodavlev, Osnoynnye voprosy sovremennogo selskogo stroya v Indii (當前印度農村土地制度的基本問題)，這篇文章見於 Agrarni Vopros na Vostoke (東方農村土地問題)，Moscow 1933 年出版)

⊗ Eviction:
1950, 42% of
cultivated land
was under lease;
but by 1954, only
20-24%.

(p. 153)

* 他的真名姓是 R. A. Ulganovsky

從這一點 Kotovsky 作了一個結論說，"Thus, the feudal elements proved to be considerably cramped in the sphere of agricultural production and no longer dominate it." (p. 154)

Grigory Kotovsky

⑥ 但印度農業中

6) "The main purpose of the agrarian reforms was to speed up capitalist development in agriculture, while there are no exact figures from which to judge the proportion of the capitalist sector in India's agriculture, the figures on the employment of hired labour are highly instructive." (p.157)

⑦ 印度農業中

7) "According to data of a 1955 survey, 40% of the gainfully employed agricultural population worked for hire all or part of their working time, and two-thirds of them, or some 30% of the total gainfully employed agricultural population, spent the bulk of their working time working as agricultural labourers, thereby representing the agricultural proletariat which had already become formed." (p.157) "The area cultivated wholly or mainly by hired labour in 1953-54, as approximately 25-30%. Thus, judging by the distribution of the operated area, the capitalistic sector has become the leading, though not the dominant, sector in India's agriculture." (p.158)

但在同一頁上，稍為後面一點，又說："the capitalist sector in the country's agriculture is still in the process of 'formation'." (p.158)

農業革命是什麼
根據什麼標準
大批失地的農民
來推動的。

這本又說的甚麼

從事農業的

印度農業中
耕地的30%

工种的，

人們中，30%是

雇農。而這些

人都已是資產

階級。印度

農業革命已走上資本主義。

P.T.O

(882)

$$\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 20 \overline{) 100} \\ \underline{100} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 20 \overline{) 100} \\ \underline{100} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$20 \overline{) 100} \text{ (5)} \quad \begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 20 \overline{) 100} \\ \underline{100} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

⑧ Kotovsky
白

8) "Redevelopment of capitalism in agriculture of India today is proceeding mainly on the old technical basis, as it did before the agrarian reforms" (p. 161.) ① In 1956, iron ploughs made up less than 4% of the total number of ploughs and one tractor for every 15,000 acres of cultivated land & 28 villages. ② The rate of increase in number of agricultural machines other than tractors, has been considerably lowered between 1951 and 1956.

③ "Landlords and rich peasants alike have to resort (p. 161)
to long-term government credit & heavy machinery." (p. 162)

(4) Prof. Mahalanobis estimated that in 1955-56 India used no more than a 20th of the amount of nitrates it needed for its agriculture." (p. 162)

⑤ Landlords and rich peasants "often prefer to invest" (p. 163) in money lending and trading, taking advantage of difficulties in the food supply and for profiteering operations. (p. 163) ⑥ Prof. Mahalanobis stated that 10 to 12 million people in India had no work at all or worked an insignificant number of hours a week. (p. 164)

⑦ "The upper stratum of the peasantry made use of money-lending operations, which are to this day the chief source of primary accumulation by the rural bourgeoisie." (p. 166) ⑧ The upper stratum of the peasantry (rich peasants) also lease out part of their land, but less than the landlords, namely, some 11%. (p. 166)

自己控制。现象和因素，足以
 说明资本主义在印度是正在
 发展的。

Grigory Kotovsky

- (9) "In the last ten years agriculture has kept falling more and more behind the other spheres of India's economy and the disproportion formed is seriously retarding the further development of the national economy." (p. 169)
- (10) "At the present time agriculture possesses very limited possibilities for accumulation of capital needed for accelerating the rate of national economic development." (p. 169)
- (11) The peasants, including a considerable part of the middle peasants, suffer under the heavy tax burden. (p. 169)
- (12) The gap between the prices of industrial & agricultural products, continue to be widened. (p. 169)
- (13) "In face of the rising retail prices between 1951 and 1952, nominal wages dropped by 10%. (p. 170)

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± 32 (Abolition of Tenancy Cultivation) Gujarat

1957-61

Tenancy reform began in 1936, systematically since 1948. Between 1948 and 1956 there were many supplementary laws. The Tenancy Abolition Law was passed in 1956, effective on April 1, 1957. The compensation payments = 20 years of annual rent.

In Padra Talug (Baroda District)

(of the land)

On April 1, 1957 there were 10,459 tenants, cultivating 24%

On Sept. 30, 1961 1,552^② tenants became
(14.83%) landowners.

On Sept. 30, 1961 area added to ownership cultivation was 3,324 acres, 3% of the total cultivated area of 103,922 acres.
(pp. 131-132)

"The complicated procedure provided for under the Act (1956) to go into the cases in the presence of all the parties to them causes delay. ... The difficulties of determining prices and the levels of compensation as well as the conflicting claims to tenancies are additional handicaps." (pp. 132)

§ 4. "It may be broadly surmised that between the exemptions and the refusal and denial of tenancies a

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substantial proportion of land will continue to be worked as before, perhaps under more unfavourable terms." (pp. 132) "The landowners on their part appear to be particular to change the informal tenants every two or three years to avoid establishment of any claims. All most all such tenants cultivate on half crop share.... The Act thus brings into existence a peculiar phenomenon of insecurity of tenure and high rents.... The abolition of tenancy thus seemed to take us back to the pre-land reforms days." (pp. 133.)

①. "A sizable area of land will continue under recognized and concealed tenancies despite tenancy abolition. These do not take into account the fresh concealed tenancies that are rising and which involve new landlords and fresh tenants. Their terms and conditions too are very unfavourable to and exploitative of new tenants." (pp. 133.)

(R.S. Mehta, "Abolition of Tenancy Cultivation" in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Jan.-March, 1962, Bombay.)
 Of Dept. of Agri. Econ. of University of Baroda

④ 土地改革

③ 租額增高
 ② 租額增高

① 隱蔽的佃戶

± 1/2 经过

Saurashtra

1948-1961

(附注) At the time when the state of Saurashtra was formed in 1948 the problem of girasdari (zamindari) landlordism persisted.

The total number of Saurashtra villages ~~was~~ was 4,400, of which nearly 2,700 villages obtained full occupancy rights immediately on the formation of the state in 1948. But in the rest of the villages numbering about 1,700 (nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the state area) there were different kinds of landlords, broadly under two tenures: (1) Girasdari tenure (A) Talukdars and Bhagdars who were local rulers by the Gov. of India Act of 1935. (B) Mul-girasidas, originally landowners, granted permanent protection by the local rulers. (C) Bhayats, younger sons of local rulers who were granted land by their brother rulers. All these landlords were known as girasdars. (2) Barkhali tenure. These landlords were classified according to the nature of the gift by the local rulers: (A) Chakariats (B) Dharmada, (C) Paschata, (D) Inramdars, etc. In lieu of past services rendered to the States, they were granted rights to collect and receive the revenue from the lands so granted to them. But they were not the owners of the land, without the proprietary

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rights. Under these two tenures, covering 1,700 villages and comprising more than 60,000 tenants, almost all of them tenant-at-will.

(法令) 1948 Ordinance to protect the tenants from arbitrary evictions.

1948 Ordinance to settle rent disputes

1949 Ordinance to postpone evictions till August

1949 Ordinance to regularize the landlord-tenant relationship

These did not solve the problem of landlordism. So, the Gov. of India and the State Government, through joint consultation, appointed a Commission of Agrarian Reforms. This Commission after investigation recommended the immediate abolition of Girasdar and Barkhali.

(1) 1951 The Saurashtra Land Reforms Act, Sept. 1st, applying to nearly 28,000 girasdars and their 55,000 tenants, involving nearly 2,400,000 acres (30% of the total cultivated land in Saurashtra).
8,600,000 acres

On Sept. 1, 1951, about 11,800 girasdars had 275,000 acres of land for "personal cultivation", the remaining land was in the hands of 55,000 tenant cultivators. But the girasdars were classified into 3 classes: (1) Those with 800 acres or more of agricultural land could retain land equivalent to three economic holdings, along with the land already in his possession. (2) Those with 120 acres or

土地经过

Saurashtra

1948-1961

more of agricultural land but less than 800 acres could retain land equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ economic holdings, along with the land already in his possession. (3) Those who have agric. land below 100 acres could retain land for personal cultivation equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ economic holding, along with the land already in his possession. An economic holding varied from 12 to 40 acres according to land classification in different areas. There was an overall provision protecting the tenants to the effect that, in each case, the tenant must be left with not less than one half of the total area of land in his possession. As a result of this, about 9,000 girasdars got 250,000 acres of land from the tenants. "There was however not a single case of eviction." (pp. 137.)

The tenants received occupancy rights on the land left to them by paying a compensation to the girasdars, which was fixed at 6 times the annual land assessment. (pp. 137)

The State paid ^{annual} compensation to the girasdars according to the 3 ^{State} classes of girasdars (15 annual assessments, 18 and 21 annual assessments) all without interest. (p. 137)

(X) The Government would receive for 21 years revenues from the occupancy tenants about Rs. 84 million, during this period Government would pay to the girasdars as compensation some Rs. 80 million. So the Gov. will have net income of Rs. 4 million.

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(2) Before this 1951 Act, Government got from Girasdar annual revenue of Rs. 937,000, or a total of Rs. 19,600,000 in 21 years. But after the (p. 179) Act Government would receive in 21 years revenues totalling Rs. 32.5 million, thus gaining a net of Rs. 12.9 million.

The Saurashtra Central Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank was established to grant loan to the tenants for their payment for the occupancy rights. During a period of the first $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, 53,000 tenant cultivators received total loan of Rs. 23,500,000. Occupancy certificates were to be issued only after the debt was cleared. By end of 1961, the Bank recovered more than Rs. 20,000,000, only Rs. 3,500 remain to be collected.

(2) 1951 The Bharkhali Abolition Act. While the Bharkhalidars (grantees of land revenue) were allotted land for "personal cultivation", their tenants were entitled to occupancy rights without payment. Then, the Bharkhalidars were to receive a cash annuity from the Government on the basis of the land revenue assessments: 15 years to those holding one or more villages and 18 years in other cases. At the same time the Bharkhalidars were to pay "concessional assessments" to the Government for the lands allotted to them for "personal cultivation" (holders of 120-800 acres to pay for 12 years, those of less than 120 acres to pay for 18 years).

Before this Act, there were about 19,000 bharkhalidars and 28,000 tenants, involving 710,000 acres of land, of which 550,000 acres were in the hands of the tenants. As a result of the implementing

± 改 経 計 Saurashtra (Gujarat)

1957-61

of this Act, about 40,000 acres out of the 550,000 acres were granted to about 6,000 barchhalidars for "personal cultivation".

(X) ③

tenants of

(pp. 139.)

(Barchhalidars
42X)

The barchhalidars pay to the Government for the land for their personal cultivation (known as concessional assessments) totaling to Rs. 24.4 million. At the same time the Government pays to the Barchhalidars on account of each annuity an amount of Rs. 21.6 million. Thus there will be a net gain to the Government of Rs. 2.8 million.

(4) The annual revenue from the Barchhalidars was Rs. 278,000. Total for 21 years would be Rs. 5.838 million. At the same

(Barchhalidars
42X)

42X

(pp. 139)

time, the Barchhalidars would pay an annual revenue of assessment for 21 years totaling Rs. 12.9 million, out of this the Government would pay Rs. 3.2 million to the Sharmada and so the net receipt to the Government would be Rs. 9.7 million, and the net gain would be Rs. 3.9 million.

Summing up the 4 items, we can see how much the Government would gain financially in 21 years:—

- ① Rs. 4,000,000 from tenant cultivators, after deducting compensation to Giradars.
- ② Rs. 12,900,000 from the giradars in form of revenues.
- ③ Rs. 2,800,000 from the cultivators after deducting

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④ Rs. 3,900,000 from the shareholders for new land of personal cultivation.
 payment of cash amount to the shareholders.

Total Rs. 23,60,000, the financial gain in 21 years. (pp. 140)

(3) 1952 The Estate Acquisition Act, abolishing the rights, title and interest of
 landlords and shareholders, and vesting the same in the Government.
 As a result, all lands excluding the lands for building and other non-
 agricultural purposes, are now ~~vested~~ treated in the Government. A uniform
 land revenue was made applicable. Cash revenue introduced, whereas
 before 4,60,000 acres out of 8,60,000 acres of cultivated land was
 under crop-sharing system.

(4) 1953 The Prohibition of Land Revenue Act, effective since Oct 7, 1953.

(5) 1954 The Land Improvement Scheme Act, for improving agriculture.
 The Government Agricultural Sectors' Policy Act.

(6) 1954 The Act fixing ceiling on agricultural lands. (pp. 141)

(Madhavarambhi, Chairman of Joint State Cooperative Bank, Mortgage Bank Ltd., "Joint Reform Legislation and its implementation in the Co-operative Societies State, Economics, Jan.-March, 1962, Bombay.)

ii. Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Jan.-March, 1962, Bombay.

经营地主 (半数土地出租) Gujarat
Samiala (village), S.W. of Baroda 1963

This is a village of 334 households and of a population of 1,400. (pp. 3)

72% of the Patidars own land. (pp. 10.)

The employment rate within the village population is only $\frac{1}{3}$, or 33% in general. Of the employed people $\frac{3}{4}$ are in agriculture. (pp. 13.) 70 persons employed in non-agriculture. Women, especially among the Patidars, not working with hands. (pp. 13)

地主 In this village there were about 10 landlords, owning an average area of 6 to 7 hectares. "The only landlord living in the village who could be called a landlord appropriately was J. Shah of the Baria caste. This family came to the village some 70 years ago, set up a general store and engaged in money-lending. In this way they acquired land. When J. Shah's father died in 1939 the family owned 12 hectares of land, but since then 2 hectares were acquired, so that the Shah family became the landlord of 15 hectares."

All other landlords were absentees, living in Baroda or Padra. The majority of them were merchants and money-lenders. (pp. 24)

十分之九的地主是出租地的, 不在或不住在地主。

钱粮借贷, 变为对分租。(pp. 25)

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± P2 ± 1960, 12 J. Shah family acted or had acted in the following way.

- 1) In 1947 after India's independence, Shah took $3\frac{1}{2}$ hectares from his Indian Hindu tenants. He continued this with his holding of 2.3 hectares cultivated or managed by himself. Thus in 1948 he managed a holding of nearly 6 hectares.
- 2) Shortly afterwards, 1.4 hectares was leased out for cultivation, although he maintained the fiction that it was still under his management. The land was leased out on the traditional 50% share-cropping.
- 3) In 1952, Shah dug a well, installed an irrigation pump and converted the 1.4 hectares into a fruit farm. At the same time he turned his tenant into a hired labourer by the year. He supervises & his two sons work.
- 4) In 1960, when the new Act came into effect, J. Shah handed over 8 of his 15 hectares of land to his former tenants. Actually, however, it was only a change of name, from tenant to employee. The payment of half of the harvest ~~was~~ is no longer called rent, by now known as wage.

There are cases in which landlords take up the cultivation themselves.
(a few) (pp. 26-27)

(Takashi Fukutake and Onchi and Nakane, "The Socio-economic Structure of the Indian Village, Tokyo, 1964.)

Abolition of Zamindari Gujarat (Kutch)

1958-1965

The Inam Abolition Act of 1958 has not worked.

In the beginning of December, 1964, prolonged talks took place between

- ① State Minister of Revenue and Agriculture, assisted by department heads
- and ② Kutch Rajput Sabha represented by a deputation of top landlords.
- ③ Some Kutch district (formerly a State) Congress leaders also participated.

The Inam Abolition Act of 1958 was to operate in the former "C" State of Kutch, for the abolition of the zamindari system.

It is reported that the State Government is willing to consider the following new concessions:

- ① providing land for "personal cultivation";

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- ② Writing off certain debts;
- ③ Constituting a fund for education of the children of landlords affected by the Inam Act. This fund is to be drawn from the interest on the 'Compensation money' which the landlords have hitherto refused to claim;
- ④ The landlords may also receive benefit from the interest on rehabilitation grants announced by the Government when the Act was passed; this is a grant of 4,500,000 rupees;
- ⑤ Claims made by landlords on quarry lands and grassland may be partially conceded.

Landlords and their opposition to the Act: Some 45,000 landlords owning a total of 1,000,000 acres of land were or are affected by the Inam Abolition Act. The Kutch Rajput Sabha launched opposition campaigns, such as protest pact, demonstrations, and no-tax campaigns.

租佃制改良的失敗

租稅
不定

1) "In Tanjore, West Godavary and Shahabad, the land records do not contain any information about tenants. Ejection of tenants has taken place in the past and the landlords still continue to change tenants from plot to plot to defeat the tenancy laws. The few tenants who were allowed to continue over a fairly long period feel insecure. Thus a large number of cultivators hold no title to the leased land, pay exorbitant rents, and are never certain of their status. They are left with little to subsist on and much less to invest." (p. 1)

租稅
提高

2) In Tanjore, Madras, the rentals ranged 75 to 80% of the crop in a decade ago, and there was a startling lack of security of tenure. 22% of the agricultural population were tenants. But 35% were farm workers including the "pennaigals" or casual labourers. What is the situation today?

	Village Sirumandur	Village Kanjanoor	(These are the typical villages in Tanjore)
Owner cultivators	15	43	
Tenants	45	62	
Part-owner & part-tenant	48	52	
	<u>108</u>	<u>157</u>	Total
Plus total families	68	120	277 families (883)
Landless workers			

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⑨ Oral leases can not enable the tenant to secure a loan.

at any rate, more than 50% of the cultivated land is now under tenancy, under lease. Moreover, in most cases, tenancies are held on oral leases. Rent is still as high as 60-65% of the crop to the landlord, although the Fair Rent Act of 1936 in Madras is 40% of the normal gross produce. "One hears no land protests from the tenants for the fear of being deprived of the land altogether." (p. 12)

The prevailing form of paying rent is "batai," or crop-sharing.

There is also fixed rent in Tanjore. But in recent years, the fixed rent is moving up. The prevailing situation is: a rent of 6-7 bags one year becomes 8-9 bags next year, depending upon the landlord's estimate of the yield. "For all practical purposes the line of demarcation between fixed and share rent has been obliterated, the stake of the landlord always running close to 60% or more than to 40%." (60-65%)

3) Insecurity of tenure in Madras:—

The Madras Cultivating Tenants' Protection Act of 1935 provides that a landlord is permitted to resume land up to 5 acres for his personal cultivation, the tenant retaining half the area in every case.

"The gaps between the theory of a well-intended measure and the practice

租权
不定

租佃制改良的失败

of non-enforcement can be summed up as follows: (a) an invitation to evict tenants at the landlord's pleasure and (b) a constant threat to the tenants that they can be evicted."

租权

无保障

"The result is the shifting of tenants not merely from holding to holding to prevent any possible claims to 'occupancy' rights, but from larger to smaller holding. We have encountered this process in every village we visited, and the examples are too numerous to cite here." (p. 13)

(W. A. Jodanis, "Tenurial Conditions and the Package Program", in Mainstream, New Delhi, March 15, 1965.)

4) Evictions in W. Godavary (Andhra):

"It does not take much searching to realize that numerous, if not wholesale, ejection of tenants had taken place in the last decade." (p. 17, Mainstream, March 20, 1965)

The fair rent under the law (Andhra Pradesh Tenancy Act of 1956) is 50% of the gross produce, which is the highest rate stipulated by law

租佃
执行

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in any part of India. But $\frac{2}{3}$ rent (or ~~66~~⁶⁶) of the gross produce is quite common and in some cases ³ it is even ¹⁰⁰ higher. More often rents are paid as a share of the produce. Sometimes they are also paid as a fixed quantity of produce, and the method is usually applied to the first crop, while the second crop is generally shared half and half. The cost of cultivation, i. e. seeds, manuring, harvesting etc., is borne by the tenants, the landlord paying the land tax and the water rate. If irrigation is irregular and the landlord's cost is more than the normal charge, the tenant has to make good the excess charge. Regarding fertilizers, which is applied mainly to the second crop, the cost is usually shared half and half between the tenant and the landlord. (p. 18, March 20, 1965, Mainstream)

5) Insecurity of tenure in W. Godavary (Andhra): —

租权
无保障

"An estimated 100,000 tenants out of a total of 200,000 farm families hold no titles to land cultivated, pay exorbitant rents, and are never certain of their status. They are left with little to subsist on and much less to invest. (p. 18, Mainstream, March 20, 1965)

6) Insecurity of tenure in Bihar: — "The security of tenure offered to

租佃制改良的失败

租佃
无保障

tenants by law is unreal, illusory and ineffective." (p. 21, ^{Mainstream} March 20th 1965)
 "In any case, even the owner-tenants, let alone the pure tenants, could not undertake any permanent improvement on the land without a secured right in it" (p. 21, *ibid.*)

"Even where some few tenants had been cultivating the land for 12 years, with oral leases being the rule, it would be impossible for them to prove possession over a period of 12 years. In fact, it is difficult to prove his possession at any point of time."

7) In the Punjab, rent has not been reduced.

租额
提高

"We did not come across a single case in which the provision of the law that rent shall not exceed $\frac{1}{3}$ of the gross produce was observed. Now cash rent is Rs. 70 to Rs. 150 per acre, depending on the quality of the land. Where the rent is paid as a share of the produce, fertilizer cost is shared 50 to 50 between the owner of the tenant."

(p. 12, Mainstream March 27, 1965)

(p. 2)

The following are the conditions reported of the village Jamulpur in the district Ludhiana:-

- (a) "The fixity of land tenure was guaranteed by the Act ("Punjab Security of Land Tenures Act, 1953), but it did not work effectively in practice. Duration of the lease was shortened to year basis." Large scale evictions of tenants have taken place. "Voluntary surrenders")
- 退佃
盛行
- (Eviction was also easy.)
- tenants-at-will now on the increase.

- (b) Competition for land was severe and majority of the tenants were paying higher crop share rent than provided by the legislation."
- 租額
提高
- "Ignorance of the tenants about the provisions of the Act, was partly responsible for non-implementation of the Act." (p. 13 of

AICC Economic Review, N. Delhi, July 22, 1962,

Dr. A. S. Kahlou and Pal Singh, "Land Reforms Legislation and Its Implementation."

租率的上止 (1949-1964) + 3% 之

- Legal rates of rent**
- 1) By 1957 most of the States had fixed the rent as 20% or 25% of the value of the crop.
 - 2) In other States, the old higher rates prevail:
 - (a) In the Punjab (including the former Pepsu), and in parts of Mysore and Gujarat, 33% of the crop.
 - (b) In Andhra and W. Bengal and Kashmir, 50% of the crop.

- Non-implementation of the law**
- 2) But the tenancy legislation, as a rule, is not enforced. In Hyderabad, the average rent is double the legal maximum. (A.M. Khurro, Econ. & Soc. Effects of Jagirdari Abolition, pp. 23, 103.) In the Maharashtra districts only 18.4% of leased land has paid legal rent. (Dandekar and Khudanpur, Working of Bombay Tenancy Act, p. 120.) In Orissa, although the law fixed the maximum rent at 25% of the crop, ¹⁹⁴⁷ the 1955 average rent payment was 50% of the value of the crop. (B. Misra and B. Jena, Working of Two Recent Tenancy Laws in Orissa, in the Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 12, No. 2, Apr.-June, 1957, pp. 119.)
- (882)

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The general conclusion arrived at, by the first Panel on Land Reforms, which stated in 1956:

"We noticed along our tours that in spite of a new legislation in the statute book, in the field the old practice still obtains. Tenancies continue to be governed by custom or agreement. Old rents still continue to be paid and accepted though law has scolded them down in many areas and the receipts of higher rent is illegal."

(Report of the Committee of the Panel on Land Reforms, p. 37.)

Later in 1961:

"In many ways, despite the legislation, the scales are weighted in favour of the continuance of existing terms and conditions." (Third Five Year Plan, p. 223.)

永佃权 (Permanent Tenancy)

無永佃权

連續耕種
七二年才有
永佃权

無保障
永佃

1) In some States like Andhra and Madras, tenants were given occupancy rights only for a period of some years, not permanently.

2) In some States like Assam and Bihar tenants received permanent occupancy rights if they had cultivated the leased land continuously for a long period. In Assam & Bihar, for a period of 12 years. (Kotovsky, pp. 131)

3) In the Punjab, occupancy tenancy has had no safeguard. At one time evictions took place in every district, totaling over 150,000. (New Age, Dec. 6, 1953). In 1958, the Punjab Legislature passed the Punjab Security of Land Tenures (Amendment) Act, which was intended to check eviction of tenants.

Dr. A.M. Khusro's survey ^{in Gujarat Hyderabad} shows that between 1951 and 1955, some 42% of the occupancy tenants were evicted. In some districts of Maharashtra, between 1949 and 1953, 43% of the occupancy tenants were evicted.

(A.M. Khusro, Econ. & Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition, p. 48. V.M. Sandekar and G. J. Khudanpur, Working of Bombay Tenancy Act, 1948, Bona, 1957, p. 4.)

In Hyderabad between 1952 and 1955, 5-7 per cent of the occupancy tenants lost their land.

(Reports of the Committee of the Penal
or Land Reforms, p. 36.)

The Princely States prior to 1947, and since 1947.

Number 601 (Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India, London, 1947, p. 257.)

Territory 45% } (White Paper on Indian States, Delhi, 1950, p. 17.)

Population 24% }

In the princely states there were 3 forms of land-ownership: (1) State (Gov.), (2) the ruler's domain, (3) privately-owned land.

State Land { Baroda total villages 2896, state-owned 2483
thus 85.74% of all land was state-owned.
(Rural Baroda, compiled by Gov. of Baroda, Bombay, 1949, p. 22.)

Travancore 75% } (S. Parameswaran, The Peasant Question in Kerala, Bombay, 1951, p. 16.)

Cochin 50% }

Hyderabad the state land (Diwani) 59.20% } (Report of the Agrarian Reforms Committee, Hyd., 1949, p. 2; 8.)

the ruler's domain (Sarf-i-Khas) 9.8%

the private feudal-holdings (jagirs) 31%

In Hyderabad
Sub-jagirdars
held 376 villages.

Of them 3 families held 1,200 villages
between them.

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Jagirdari lands (private feudal holdings)

In Kashmir, 2 feudal estates (Poonoh and Chenani) covered a territory with a population of over 240,000. (P.N. Kaul, "Land Reforms in Jammu & Kashmir State" in Indian Journal of Economics, No. 147, April, 1957, p. 380.)

Rajasthan	62%	of cultivated land
Uttar Pradesh	40%	
Saurashtra	38%	
Madhya Bharat	18%	

(Compiled by Kotovsky, pp. 14)

Since 1947, the Union of India had 5-5-5 princely States, in addition to the bulk of the territory of the former British India. Later, these 3-5-5 states underwent three waves of change:

- (1) 216 princely states were merged with neighbouring states;
- (2) Hyderabad, Mysore, Bhopal, Tripura, Manipur, etc. became separate constituent States of the Indian Union;
- (3) The rest of the princely states became united to form new States of the Union, such as Madhya Bharat, Uttar Pradesh, Travancore-Cochin, Pepsu and Rajasthan.

Following the administrative reorganization of the princely states, the different forms of private feudal landholding were all regarded as zamindari landlord property.

Steps in Land Reform

- Tenancy
- (1) The economic programme adopted by the Indian National Congress at its Karachi Session in 1931.
 - (2) The special Agrarian Programmes adopted by the Congress at its Lucknow and Faizpur sessions in 1936.
- Abolition of zamindars
- (3) The Congress manifesto for the 1945-46 elections first mentioned the elimination of the "intermediaries" between the State and the peasants.
- Abolition of co-ops
- (4) The Congress economic policy as approved by the All-India Congress Committee in 1948, declared "all intermediaries between the tiller and the State should be eliminated, and all middlemen should be replaced by non-profit agencies such as cooperatives." Ceiling was also urged, surplus lands should go to cooperatives. Small holdings should be consolidated.

⊗ Landlords dispersed the nominal land-ownership among the members of their "joint families", each assigned 10 hectares.

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Ownership and Employment W. Bengal (Supur of 334 households)

Supur, in the district of Birbhum, about 4 km. N.W. of Santiniketan where Tagore founded the Visva-Bharati University in 1901.

After the abolition of zamindari, only one exzamindar is in the village, i.e. the Majumdar family.

Before the land reform, Majumdar used to own 270 hectares of land (of this 17 hectares cultivated, 8 hectares cultivated but attached to a temple, and 7 hectares non-agricultural land, these 32 hectares were in the village).

After the land reform, Majumdar retained only 18 hectares in the village (10 hectares of their land-holding and 8 hectares belonging to the temple). He is still the greatest landlord in Supur. ⊗ Next to him are: a Brahmin owning $13\frac{1}{2}$ hectares and a Baidya owning 10.8 hectares. The vast majority of landowners have $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 hectares each. There are 132 households, exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ or 50% of the peasant households, owning land, the average is only 1.9 hectares. (p. 119-121) (pg 2)

- Labour employment:
- 1) Landowners of more than 3 hectares run their holdings with Kishans, or give out the land to the Bakchas. Land nearby given to Kishans to cultivate, more distant land to the Bakchas.
 - 2) All by verbal contracts, and in general tenancy is indefinite, but the landlord can terminate the tenancy unilaterally.
 - 3) The Bakchas are supplied by the landlords with seed and compost manures; the Kishans are usually for one year.
 - 4) The Kishans usually change their employment after 4 or 5 years.
 - 5) Kishans usually allotted a piece of land of 1.6 to 2 hectares, supplied by landlords with seed, implements, fertilizers & work-animal.
 - 6) If the Kishan finds his own labour not enough, he

West Bengal (Safur)

2.

must hire others^{*} at his own expense. The landlord may pay for him and make deduction later. ^{*} These hired are called Mahinder.

7) The Kishan gets $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce, the straw goes to the landlord.

(Bakhas gets $\frac{1}{2}$ of the produce & retain the straw).

8) The Kishan^⑤ do not get enough to live on, so they also take employment as day-labourers. In this case, the landlord has priority to claim their labours. Their daily wage is lower than usual, receiving only Rs. $\frac{1}{2}$ per day.

9) It is not difficult for landlord to make a nominal change in the status of land cultivated by Bakha tenants and to bring it under the category of land cultivated by Kishans. (pp. 120-121)

~~Fukuchi~~

(Tadashi Fukutake, Tantomu Onchi and Chie Nakane, The Socio-Economic Structure of the Indian Village, Tokyo, 1964.)

⑤ Kishans
are Santals.

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土地经济

Sep. 13 Andhra

1956-1961

The Andhra Tenancy Act, 1956, had two important points:

- (1) Fixing a fair rent. In the case of commercial crops, the rent is 45% of the gross produce. In the case of non-commercial crops the rent is 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ %, 45% or 50% according to the sources of irrigation. (Crops non-commercial or land irrigated by Government water source, the rent is 50% of the gross produce.)
- (2) Security of tenure. After this Act, minimum period of lease is 6 years. The Tenants Protection Ordinance of 1956 had already safeguarded all the leases before this Act for a period of 3 years. This 3 year period was further extended to 4, 5 and 6 years, through a series of amendments during 1959-61.

Legal eviction is permitted, if the tenant does not pay rent after one month when rent is due; if the tenant sub-let the land; if he does permanent injury to the land.

The Andhra Pradesh Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings Act, 1961, fixing land ceilings from 27 acres to 324 acres. Lands held by Government, by religious, charitable or educational institutions, the cooperative societies and land mortgage banks, tea-coffee, rubber plantations are exempted from a ceiling. Orchards, cattle-farming, dairying, sugar-cane farms and efficiently managed farms & lands awarded for gallantry are also exempted.

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± 02 中 8 8 8 8 (The Tenancy Act of Sept. 13, 1956): -

- (1) The Tenancy Rules for carrying out this Act was published on Jan. 22, 1957. In the interval, the landlords easily evicted the tenants. Even after Jan. 22, 1957, the landlord can easily evict the tenant because it is hard to prove a tenancy owing to lack of a written contract and because it is hard for the tenant to pay full rent within one month due. (pp. 164) Landlords said they were "self-cultivating".
- (2) Many landlords paid some compensation to their tenants and had them evicted, thus the Act was evaded.
- (3) Landlords gave a note showing how much the tenants owing money. Thus the rent to be paid was regarded as a debt clearing and the tenants became the labourers. The Act was thus evaded. (pp. 166)
- (4) "The tenants refused to answer any question at all, ... they were not willing to state anything as they were frightened as to what the landlord would do." (pp. 167) "Due to the scarcity of land, there was no unity among the tenants."
- (5) Rent was not reduced. "In the West Godavari villages the rent paid is 66% of the gross produce whereas it should be 50% according to the Act." "In the Chittoor villages rent is 50% whereas it should be 45% according to the Act." (pp. 167)

土改经过

Andhra

1956-1961

- (6) Tenants do not wish to fight for 6 years' tenure, because they were afraid of the landlords' retaliation after 6 years. "Possibly if legislation conferring permanency of tenure had been passed along with the tenancy Act, the tenants would have asserted their rights more confidently," (pp. 167)
- (7) The ceiling was placed so high that "it was not possible to find many people exceeding the ceiling," (pp. 167) The landlords had long ago divided their lands. The land-sales during 1957-58 were unusually active. (pp. 168.)
- (8) "The situation of the tenant appears to have worsened as he is now more uncertain of procuring land for cultivation, than before!" (pp. 168.)
- (9) Leased-out land is excluded from the ceiling. So there can be no land available for redistribution.

(Mrs. L. Krishna murty, University of Madras, "Land Legislation in Andhra - the Tenancy Act of 1956 and the Andhra Pradesh Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings Act of 1961", in Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Jan.-March, 1962, Bombay.)

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土地政策

Prof. S. N. Agarwal (then General Secretary of Indian National Congress) wrote a "forward" for H. D. Malaviya's book Land Reforms in India, New Delhi, 1954. Malaviya was then Secretary of Economic & Political Research Department of All India Congress Committee.

In this "forward" Prof. Agarwal said:—

"The Indian National Congress has always been attaching great value to the question of achieving far-reaching land reforms in India by eliminating the feudal intermediaries and by bestowing security of tenure and economic stability on the peasantry. Abolition of zamindari in India became, more or less, a symbol of socio-economic revolution through peaceful democratic and non-violent means. The Congress Government were able to achieve substantial land reforms even before the attainment of Independence. The pace of progress in this direction since Independence has been fairly quick in many States in India, although much still remains to be done to complete the process of land revolution in the country."

后两个用大笔土改政策的各阶段

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I. 國大黨土改政策的第一階段: "The Indian National Congress ... had one of its persistent demands during its early years the extension of the Permanent Settlement of land to non-settled areas in order that the rights of landlords may be protected." (p. 3, Malaviya, L. Reforms in India, N. Delhi, 1954)

II. 國大黨土改政策的第二階段: Since the Satyagraha movement led by Gandhi in Bihar & in Gujarat in 1917, and since the Kisan Conference held at Allahabad early in 1918, about 700 delegates attended the Annual Session of the Congress at Delhi in 1918. Welcoming the Kisan delegates, the Congress President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya declared, "It is a happy augury that the session of the Congress which used to be attended by Rajas, Maharajas and Talukdars is now attended by hundreds of representatives of our annadata (food-giver), those who toil in summer, winter and rain. Still they eat but once in ten days. For them not the electrically lighted mansions of Delhi but their dilapidated mud cottages. It is a great day for the Congress when their representatives have graced its Annual Session."

(X) 1921 in India

① currency contraction.

② Reduction of agricultural export to Europe.

③ Peasant indebtedness increased.

Then there was the Kisan upsurge in the Awadh districts of U.P. in 1919-1920, in which Janki Chandra Lal Nehru took part. Nehru wrote later (in his autobiography) of the Awadh Talagaddars, "They have not even the virtues of an aristocracy. As a class they are physically and intellectually degenerate and have outlived their day; they will continue only so long as an external power like the British Government props them up."

(X) The 1921 non-cooperation movement led by Gandhi was a mighty challenge to the British ever since 1857. The consciousness of the Indian peasantry was aroused, and this development profoundly affected the agrarian policies of the National Congress. Nehru in his "Glimpses of World History" stated: "They (the British) bolster up a dying feudal class; they credit landlords; they support the hundreds of dependent Indian rulers in their semi-feudal states."

H.D. Malaviya says, "Congressmen, inside and outside the legislatures, give greater & greater attention to peasant problems and championed their demands."

"Peasant demands found increasing expression in Congress resolutions and declarations." (pp. 22, ibid)

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pp. 16, H.D. Malaviya, Land Reforms in India, N. Delhi, 1955.

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Nehru's speech at the Jhansi conference, Oct. 27, 1928 (Malaviya, pp. 19, 20)

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By the Lahore Declaration, land tax occupies 20% of all government income. (pp. 23, Malaviya)

At the Allahabad Kisan Conference, presided by Vallabhbhai Patel, adopted a resolution, April 28, 1935: "In the case of pethy zamindars and tenants the principle should be accepted that those whose total income is insufficient to meet the necessary requirements of their family be exempted from payment of revenue or rent." "Complete cancellation of debts of the poorer peasants..." "Confirmation of occupancy rights..."

巴特爾

王姓，姓者有其田？ ————— (Malaviya, pp. 57-60)

- II 1936 Congress programme adopted at the Faizpur Session in Maharashtra, presided by Nehru. (Malaviya, pp. 63-65)
- II 1942 Quit India resolution. (Malaviya, pp. 70)

Nehru
1944

(1983) 11 1942 Gandhi's views told to Louis Fischer (Malaviya, p. 71-72) 3.
11 1944 Gandhi in Aga Khan jail. "to take land by force". (Zamindari abolition), pp. 73.

- III. 國大黨土改政策的第三階段:
- 1945 (July 8) Nehru & Hensley (Malaviya, p. 73).
 - 1945 (Sept. 27) Press Conference in Bombay by Nehru (pp. 74).
 - 1945 (Nov. 13) another Press Conference in Bombay by Nehru.
 - (1948 (Dec.) Jaipur session of the Congress.
 - (1947 (Dec.) N. Delhi conference of all state Revenue ministers, (Malaviya, p. 81-82.)
The Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee
with Kumarappa as chairman, pp. 82.
Its Report of July 1949, chief recommendations (Malaviya, p. 83-84.)
 - 1951 Nehru's report (Malaviya, pp. 91)

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Nehru wrote "The Discovery of India," in Ahmadnagar Fort prison, ap. to Sept, 1944:—

"The permanent settlement came in the way of any effective reform in Bengal. Almost everybody is agreed that this must go, and even an official Commission has recommended it, but vested interests still manage to prevent or delay change." (pp. 349, 1951 edition by 3rd edition Meridian Books Ltd., London.)

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"For the Congress, the agrarian question was the dominating social issue and much time had been given to its study and the formulation of policy. This varied in different provinces as conditions were different and also the class composition of the provincial Congress organizations differed from one another. There was an all-India agrarian policy which had been formulated by the central organization and each province added to it and filled in the details. The United Provinces Congress was ~~the~~ in this respect the most advanced and it had reached the conclusion

that the zamindari system should be abolished." (p. 349)

土地经过

Andhra

1949-1960

① 1949 The Hyderabad (Abolition of Jagirs) Regulation. This did not affect tenant-landlord relationships, nor the distribution of land.

② 1950, the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act. This Act sought to give security and permanency of tenure to the lessee, to regulate the rent paid by him, to impose a ceiling equivalent to $4\frac{1}{2}$ family holdings. (A family holding is estimated to yield a gross annual income of Rs 1600.) This Act also fixed a floor for land-holding. That floor is called economic holding. It also gave the tenant an option to purchase the land he cultivated at a reasonable price fixed by the State. Only a very few tenants bought land. 600,000 protected tenants were created, 12% of them bought land. Many tenants did not want to become "protected". Out of a total

③ 1954 Act providing that the landowners must declare their holdings, and that there should be compulsory and automatic transfer of ownership of the land to the tenants. Within a year (1955-56) only 549 landowners out of 213,953 were found to be in possession of more than the ceiling amount of $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the family holding. This Tenancy Act became effective in 1956 (Sept.) in Andhra. (pg 8)

Eviction and
land purchase.

Only 233 tenants in Raichur purchased the land they cultivated, amounting to only 2,976 acres, in the district of Raichur, 23,047 "protected tenants" had been evicted by 1955-56, while 1,688 surrendered voluntarily.

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④ 1960 Act establishing a ceiling holding of land yielding a net income of Rs. 5,400 per year for existing holdings, and of Rs. 3,600 on future acquisitions. (Nair, pp. 60-61)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961)

土改的结果

1950-1965

- ① The Zamindari retain their "home farms" (sir and Khudkashi in U.P.) as large as they wish by falsifying the village records through the village record-keepers (the patwaris).
- ② As the new laws do not require the owners to do the tilling, the new landlords employ labourers and also sharecroppers (the Sajhidars in U.P.).
- ③ The number of land labourers & sharecroppers vastly increases, both in the Zamindari and the Ryotwari areas (the manhar = farm servant).
- ④ Increases of tenants-at-will (yearly contracts) in the Ryotwari areas.
- ⑤ Large farms "reduced" in area because of the avoidance of the "ceiling". Land is divided among relatives and friends. The popular sayings makes it a "paper partition".
- ⑥ Virtual disappearance of begar and other forms of forced labour. Land labourers are now almost fully free, only subject to the usual bargaining disadvantage of binding poverty.

Note: the "Grow-More-Food" campaigns, the Community Development Projects, the National Extension Service, Shramdan (labour-gift movement), Bhoodan (land-gift movement), Gramdan (village-gift movement), the "Japanese" method of paddy cultivation, other technical assistance missions from abroad, — all these have not changed the above items

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邦土地改革委员会委员
所述:

强迫佃户放弃租佃权

包税制废止的失败

Bihar

W. A. Lodejinsky (American "specialist") discussed the problem of land reforms with the Land Reform Commissioner at Patna.

He, the Commissioner, narrated an earlier experience in the district of Purnea, where the operations of land survey had given rise to considerable agitation and resistance on the part of the landowners.

"He succeeded in getting a fairly large number of tataidars recorded, but ultimately the landowners succeeded in coercing some into disclaiming their tenancies, in driving out some others, and evicting many more through the device of 'voluntary surrender'."

"He felt that under the socio-economic conditions which now obtained in the countryside of Bihar, it was a Herculean task to prepare a correct record of tenancies or to prevent evictions."

"He was apparently one of the rare officials who seemed genuinely disturbed by the turn of events. But if the

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failure of his efforts is to be accepted as an excuse for leaving the matters as they are, all attempts at land reform would be meaningless."

(W. A. Ladéjinsky, "Tenurial Conditions" in
Mainstream, N. Delhi,
March 20, 1965, p. 20)

的
比哈尔土改委员会一位委员为该邦土改弄
得焦头烂额。他说，他在 Purnea 进行丈量时
曾经遇到地主的重大阻挠。他费了很大的气力
查出很多的分租佃农 (BATAIDAR)，并且把他
们登记起来。可是，这些佃农有些人的租佃权
在地主的压迫下被否认了，有些人的租佃权被
地主买去了，更多^的佃农用“自动放弃”租佃权
的形式被地主驱逐掉了。

他认为在比哈尔农村的社会经济情况下，
要正确地~~地~~登记租佃权，防止夺佃，~~是千~~
难万难。如果，他真是白忙^了一场，那~~是~~一
筹莫展，那末土改的全部企图~~就毫无意义~~实
在~~是~~没有什么意义。

教條主义者

修正主义者对土改的看法

Grigory Kotovsky 到过印度三次：1956-57, 1957, 1960-61.

著作①很多文章；②书籍有①1951出版的俄文《印度国大党的农村计划》；②1953出版的^{俄文}《印度不接触者的社会经济背景》；

從1950到
1963的十三
年內他寫
了很多文章
和^中本書。

③1953年出版的俄文《印度农民经济崩溃中高利贷所起的作用》；
④1954年出版的《南印度种植园对劳动者剥削的创造》；⑤1955年
出版的俄文《马哈拉施邦租佃制》；⑥1957年出版的俄文
《1860年代英国在印度所实施的农村政策》；⑦1958年出版的
俄文《马哈拉施邦特兰在十九世纪下半期至二十世纪初的农村关系》；
⑧1958年出版的俄文《近代印度的农村关系》（又在1964年3月在
新德里（People's Publishing House 人民出版社）出版了一本1823
的英文版《印度的土地改革》（Agrarian Reforms in India）。

他在莫斯科大学历史系所作博士论文的题目就是《马哈拉施邦和
喀拉拉的农村关系》。这大概是在1950年以前（1917-1917）

写的。1952年即苏联科学院亚洲人民研究所¹当上研究员。现任该
研究所的农村问题组主任，并兼任莫斯科大学的印度史讲师。（P.T.O.）

⑨1959年出版的俄文《印度土地》。

Kotovsky's "Preface to the Indian Edition" (1964年英文版):—

"This book was completed in the spring of 1959. Naturally, therefore, the characterization of the agrarian reforms in India given in it, applied to the situation as it obtained at the close of 1958. * In the three years that have passed since then, the agrarian reforms and the struggle waged around them have further developed. The author had access to many new materials... new analysis of the agrarian reforms under way in India have appeared in the Soviet Union and other countries and, in particular, in India. All of this has made it necessary to revise some parts of the text for the English edition and to add some new material."

"The author hopes that publication of the book in English would serve, to some extent at least, as a contribution to the wide theoretical discussion going on around the problem of agrarian reforms in India."

Moscow, 15 Jan, 1964.

地权集中

"Before implementation of the land reforms, roughly two-thirds of all the land in India belonged to landlords and some three-quarters of the peasants were landless tenants or agricultural labourers." (pp. 19, Kotovsky)

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土改的后来

U. P.

1952-1957

Govind Ballabh Pant, first Chief Minister of U. P. and later Home Minister in the Union Government, went to speak in the district of Etawah (Central U.P.), in 1952 and 1957. He promised the people two things: abolition of zamindari and root out corruption. And the people voted for the Congress.

Zamindari, a system covering 90% of the U. P. holdings, was abolished in U. P. on July 1, 1952.

Hira Singh^① told Nair the authoress, "Corruption now is at least eight times to what it used to be (1947 or earlier); as for zamindari, we are not very happy that it has gone. We get no consideration from the government, such as the zamindar used to give." Another man endorsed this view. "We are more happy with zamindari, now everything goes for taxes. The government takes much more." Swaminin here steps in. "Zamindari's going has to some extent been beneficial. But there is more injustice now. Whoever has power today wants to make money." (pp. 76-77)

In the district of Ballia, in eastern U. P., there is a village of 85 families, 81 have land, though less than 3 acres. Of the

① President of a credit cooperative.

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1) 扎的世
廣止

2) 稅務
大區

4 landless families, some members go as far as Assam to seek work. Those with land are finding life more difficult with the abolition of zaminidari. As Shiv Sahar, who has to feed a family of 18 members on 5 bighas ($1\frac{1}{2}$ bigha is one acre), put it: "Previously, at least we could get additional land to cultivate on lease; even the landless could get some. Now we cannot get an inch." (No landowner in U. P. is permitted now under the law to lease out his land unless he is disabled.)

Very few of them could assume their thoomidar rights, because they could not afford to pay the price or more often, because the Zaminidar compelled them to give up their rights on the land "voluntarily." (Thoomidar used to be the tenant of the Zaminidar. By paying ten times the rent to the government he could acquire thoomidar rights on the land he was cultivating. It made him its owner.)

"Ironically, only the ex-zaminidars — he owns land in the village though he does not live there — seems to be happy with the abolition of his zaminidari. His Baithak (house for staying overnight) is the only structure of brick in the whole village, with empty stables where his elephants used to stay

新地主
何有大批土地

in the good old days. He still owns 200 acres of land but is happy to have been relieved of the responsibility of administration rent collection and so on which ~~geminates~~ involved. "There used to be much trouble before. Now we have peace. We have received our compensation and we have more than sufficient land for our own needs." (pp. 83-84)

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961)

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地權

列宁说，不了解所有权、占有权、支配权、使用权诸概念间的区别，就会发生误会。（社会民主党在1905至1907年第一次俄国革命中的土地纲领，1950年莫斯科中文版，页144）

马克思有时用“享有”一词表现所有权与占有权统一。“享有”德文为 *Aneignung*，此词在德国古典哲学中是“同化”的意思。（政法译丛法学批判，Diez, 1958, S. 241）

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馬克思列寧主義教導我們，判斷一個政黨，同判斷一個人一樣，“當然不是看他的聲明，而是看他的行為；不是看他自稱如何如何，而是看他作些什麼和實際是怎樣一個人”①。“在歷史的戰鬥中，更應當把各個黨派的言辭和幻想同它們的本來面目和實際利益區別開來，把它們對自己的看法同它們的真實本質區別開來”②。

注：①恩格斯：《德國的革命和反革命》。《馬克思恩格斯全集》第八卷，第九十四——九十五頁。

②馬克思：《路易·波拿巴的霧月十八日》。《馬克思恩格斯全集》第八卷，第一百五十一頁。

前后苏共中央給其他兄弟党的信件中，以及在一九六四年十二月十二日苏联《真理报》刊登的《关于召开筹备共产党和工人党国际会议起草委员会的通告》中，苏共新领导都重申了赫鲁晓夫所下的命令。他們坚持兄弟党的国际会议的筹备会议，必須在苏共领导决定的那个起草委员会的基础上进行。他們并且說，已經得出了結論，“主张召集起草委员会的兄弟党有权着手进行起草委员会的会议的实际准备工作”。

此間仍旧执行赫魯晓夫的命令。只通知一九六〇年的那个早已不在

事可以变成好爭。它越趨越地揭露修正主义的面紗，暴露了他們修正主义的本来面目。它帮助人們从苏共新领导的花言巧語中，透过現象，看到本质。它帮助全世界共产党人和革命人民懂得，赫魯晓夫修正主义的产生和发展，决不是个别人的問題，也决不是偶然的現象。它具有深刻的社会根源和历史根源。只要世界上存在着帝国主义和反动派，存在着阶级和阶级斗争，赫魯晓夫修正主义就必然会产生。

印度的土地

1950-1965

- (1) The Indian National Congress (through the All-India Congress Committee) published "Resolutions on Economic Policy and Programme 1924-1954" in New Delhi in 1954.
 - (2) But in the first 3 years (1947-1950) of Congress rule "land reform" was delayed because of lack of funds. Indo-Pakistan relations led to a large military budget, the military expenses formed $\frac{1}{2}$ of the state budget. The question of compensation to the zamindars was solved by three ways:
 - (a) Scaling down the proposed payments,
 - (b) Paying long-term bonds,
 - (c) By 1955 Constitutional Amendment, compensation offered by the state can not be raised through the process of courts.
 - (3) Land reform was delayed also by the poor harvests (therefore food shortages) during 1947 to 1952.
 - (4) The Congress Land Reform consists of two broad lines:—
 - (a) Abolition of the intermediaries in Bihar, U.P. & Bengal; (since 1950)
 - (b) Protection of the tenants in Bombay State and
- ④ ① 6 or more years Andhra (Bombay Act of 1948, several amendments in the 1950's, Andhra Act of 1956)
- ② reduction of rent from 50% to 17% of the produce.

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± 02 的 記 錄

Grigory Kotosky

1959

In his Preface to the Russian editing Agrarian Reforms in India 1959,
(~~original~~ Russian title is Agrarian Relations in Modern India (1959))

the author says that the agrarian reforms include:-

- ✓ 1) Abolition of the zamindari system
- ✓ 2) Fixing the maximum size of holdings (ceiling)
- 3) Voluntarily releasing land in favour of the landless & land starved peasants (bhodan & gramdan)
- ✓ 4) Tenancy legislation
- 5) Consolidation of holdings

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土改的结果

Hyderabad

1951-1955

Situation of Protected Tenants in 1954-55 (the beginning of 1955)

Out of every 100 Protected Tenants Created in 1951

still remaining ^{变为自耕农} Those who purchased land and became owners ^{被迫放弃} "Voluntarily" Surrendered ^{Legally} Evicted ^{Illegally} Evicted

Ex-jagir areas	Telangana	55.50	45.39	17.12	17.83	10.61	3.54	13.90	22.14
	Marathwada	23.80		2.12		22.22	0.50	51.80	
	Karnataka	31.34		5.75		53.00	1.15	9.08	

Diwani Areas	61.38	19.69	6.39	0.79	6.65
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Changing Situation of Protected Tenants (Khusro, pp. 40)
1951-1955

Ex-jagirdari areas

Diwani areas

Became owners	12.16
Remaining Tenants	45.40
Lost Chud-Tenancy	42.50
(Surrendered and evicted) x (35%)	

19.70
61.40
14.00
(from the above figures on pp. 40, Khusro)

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- x Large number of evictions took place between the enactment of the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1950 and the distribution of protected tenancy certificates in 1951 and 1952. Many landlords refused to renew the leasehold. In 1955 still 6% of the protected tenants on the land declared that they were in danger of being evicted. The rent was to be enhanced, or the surrender of the certificate of protected tenancy was to be demanded by the landlord. (Khurro, pp. 45.)

II. Both in the jagir and the Diwani areas, between 1948-49 and 1953-54, the relative position of food crops and cash crops remained unaltered. The food crops accounting for about 74% of the total agricultural production in ex-jagirs and about 76% in Diwani. The cash crops constituted about 26% and 24% of the total respectively. The pattern of production was not changed by and large, as a result of land reforms and jagir abolition. (Khurro, pp. 88)

III. Between 1948 and 1953, as a result of land reforms, productivity per ex-jagir acre declined by 5.3%. Meanwhile, total sown area had increased by 10%, thus the total production had risen by 4.2%. In the Diwani area, productivity declined by 6.7%, (Khurro, pp. 93.) sown area increased by 2%, thus the total production had risen by 4.8% (pp. 93)

Raiyatwari ± 土地制度

Hyderabad

19th Century

- 1) Originary and invariably, raiyatwari was a system of peasant proprietorship (自耕农制), i.e. the cultivator was the holder of occupancy rights.
- 2) Tenancy system began to develop, and the land owner began to lease out land; thus a landlord-tenant relationship has developed. This was because:
 - (A) As ownership implied saleability and mortgageability, & as land became a valuable commodity in the 19th century, and as land ownership brought about security and prestige, many non-cultivators began to acquire lands and leased them to tenants for cultivation.
 - (B) The growth of indebtedness increased the land mortgages and land sales to the non-cultivators who, after acquiring the land, leased it to the tenant for rent.

Thus, arose
a body of
absentee
land holders
and a class
of tenant-
cultivators.

Land Reforms in Hyderabad

- 1) 1945, the Asami Shikmi Act: (a) The Government to fix

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a minimum rent. (b) new tenants to have a ten-year tenure;
(c) Some tenants with permanent tenure were cheated with
the condition that rent must be paid.

2) 1949, the Agrarian Reforms Committee was appointed.

3) June 10, 1950, the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act was
passed. This Act provides: (a) All tenants who had held land for
six years within a prescribed period^x
were declared to be "protected tenants,"
who were not to be alienated or evicted
unless they failed to pay rent or sub-rent.
(b) Protected tenants have the right to
purchase land from the landlord on
easy terms.
(c) Ordinary tenants were guaranteed their
tenure for ten years.
(d) The Act defined an "economic holding"
as the minimum area of land which would
enable a cultivator to maintain an average
family of five persons including himself.

x Fasli
year
1342-
1352.
or 6
yrs.
before
Jan.
1948.

in reasonable comfort.

- (e) No person who held more than five times the size of an economic holding was allowed to acquire more land.

4) 1954, the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands (Amendment) Act. (a) The Act substituted "the family holding" for "economic holding."

A "family holding" is defined as an area cultivated by a family of five people including the agriculturist himself, and this area must yield Rs. 800 after reducing 50% as cost of cultivation.

- (b) No person is allowed to acquire an area which would make the total holding exceed three times the family holding.

- (c) The Government has power to take over any land holding which is in excess of the ceiling. The ceiling is set at $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the family holding.

- (d) Along with the ceiling, there is a footing or floor, which is $\frac{1}{3}$ of a family holding.

- (e) No future tenancies are to run for less than

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five years; and ordinary tenants are not to be evicted during the term of tenancy.

- (f) The protected tenants are given facilities to purchase the land on easy terms and become owner-cultivators. The price for buying land is as low as 40% of the market price, payable in 8 years.
- (g) Rents are not to exceed 4 times the land revenue for irrigated lands and 5-times the land revenue on dry lands.
- (h) The right of personal cultivation is reserved to the landholder. He may resume the right to cultivate two family holdings, but by cultivation it includes cultivation through servants and relatives.

(A.M. Khusro, Economic and Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad, Hyderabad-Delhi, 1958, pp. 18-25.)

土改的结果

Andhra

1958 (October)

The Tenancy Act became effective in Andhra in Sept., 1956. A Bill for setting the ceiling of land-holding was in the State Legislature in Oct., 1958, which became an Act in 1960.

Subbarao, a school teacher in Guntur, told to Miss Nair, the author of "Blossoms in the Dust" N.Y., 1961, the following: "You see, practically everyone has distributed any surplus land that he had already, though the ceiling legislation is yet to come. Today, almost nobody here will be found to possess, in his own name, more land than the proposed ceiling which is expected to be imposed. Moreover, practically no tenants are left since the Tenancy law (the Andhra Tenancy Act, 1956) was passed two years ago. What is the Government going to do about it?"

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y., 1961, pp. 64)

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佃戶可以低价買地

in Hyderabad

1) In 1951 occupancy tenants were allowed to buy land. But by 1955 only 12% of them were able to buy land, which made up 15% of the total leased area. (A. M. Khusrro, Ec. & So. Effects of Jagirdari Abolition, pp. 42, 48.)

In Maharashtra between 1948 and 1953, occupancy tenants acquired land rights only amounted to 3% of the total land leased. (V. M. Gauddekar and G. J. Khurankar, Working of Bombay Tenancy Act, p. 109.)

2) In Gujarat, about 80% of the tenants wanted to buy land, but they had no money to do it. As a result only 17 out of 770 tenants interviewed bought land, i.e. only 2.2% bought land. (M. B. Desai, Report on an Enquiry, pp. 64.)

3) The price for the occupancy tenant to buy land, i.e. the compensation to the landlord, is too high. In Maharashtra it is equal to 200 times the land revenue assessment; and in the Punjab it is equal to 75% of the average market value of land in the last 10 years. (Kotovskiy, pp. 138.)

With the acute land hunger, the land price can't be less than the prevailing market price! (SSE)

買地的佃戶很少

要買地的人多

地價太高

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細戶待地，遠不及
細戶失地。

In Gujarat, for instance, the tenants bought 0.8% of the leased land from their landlords; but as a result of the landlords' resumption of land, they lost 1.5% of the leased land. (M.B. Desai, Report on an Enquiry)

地权集中

Kerala

1960

% of land% of land-holderssize of holding

8

55

below 1 acre

50

4

but only $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ of the
holdings are
above 25 acres

Highly developed commercial crops:

(1) 70% of cropped area in Kerala is under
food crops (rice, jawar and ragi).
paddy 36% of land. also Tapioca.(2) 30% of area cultivated are plantation
crops, like:

pepper 90%

rubber 95%

Cashew 80%

Coconut 70%

arecanut 65%

40,000 acres of lemon-grass (oil) 97%

Cardamom 60%

of India
to all ag. prod.
annual
total value

Rs. 1,800,000,000

(1955-56)

of this total
about 50% were
of paddy and coconut.

(over)

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(M.S. Randhawa and others Farmers of India,
Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1961)
pp. 319-320.

Hanumanthu, a poor peasant has one acre of land, on which he cultivates bajra. His family used to own 25 acres of land but 25 years ago 24 acres were lost to the money-lender, due to his father's unpaid loan. His village is in Guntur, one of the richest districts of Andhra. Hanumanthu has a wife and five children below the age of 13. His wife also works when she is not giving birth to babies. "For the last 4 months I have been living on only one meal a day of bajra." One day he was employed to fish out the vessels that had fallen into the village well, and for that he received only seven annas per day.

What has he said about the land reform? "What is the use? I am not bothered about your land reforms." "We have been crying for this land reform since 1921. I gave food and shelter to Congress volunteers in British times and was beaten by the police for doing so. But where is the assurance that the reforms will come even now? In the Assembly they just talk and talk. Nothing ever gets done. I know your Ministers. —'s brother-in-law has 2,000 acres of land. Can you expect him to implement land reforms?"

(Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust, N.Y. 1961, pp. 63-64.)

Jagirdari 土地制度

Hyderabad

Early 18th century

The "jagir" was a free grant of one or more villages from the ruler of the State to the granted as a reward for some conspicuous service either military or otherwise. The jagirdar was not the owner of the land. He had the right to collect land revenue and generally retained the whole of it without passing it on to the State. The jagirdar either cultivated the land themselves or leased it out to tenants for a rent.

The jagir area: Of the total state area of 82,700 sq. miles, about 33,700 sq. miles or 40% are the jagir land. Of the total number of the villages in the State of 21,875 villages, about 8,128 villages or 37.2% are the jagir villages. Of the total population of Hyderabad's 18,000,000 inhabitants, about $\frac{1}{3}$ is affected by the jagirdari system. However, if we exclude Nizam's Sarkar, the jagirs accounted for:-

35.7% of the State's area;

34.0% of the total number of villages;

29.4% of 1949 population. (pp. 2)

Origin of the jagirdari: "Asaf Jah had brought with him from

③ 人 戶 土 地

② 面積 佔 總 面積 的 40%。

① 已有 自有 土地。

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Malwa a number of followers. Mohammedians and Hindus who were attached to his person and fortunes. To the Mohammedian nobles 'he granted jagirs or estates on military tenure and employed them as his generals. The Hindus he employed principally in administrative work in the departments of revenue and finance. To them also he granted jagirs as a remuneration for their services, and all these jagirs, whether granted for civil or military purposes, came to be considered as hereditary in different families." (pp. 2-3)

- (1) Life-tenure (The jagir was assigned (1) either for a stated term or (2) more usually for the life-time of the holder, lapsing on the death of the jagirdar to the state, although frequently renewed to his heirs on the payment of a "nazaranah".
- (2) Permanent Tenure - Sometimes it was specified to be a hereditary assignment. (pp. 3)
- A special court called "Atiyat Court" looked into all cases of succession. (pp. 4)

"Unlike the zamindars and taluqdars of other parts of India, the jagirdars of Hyderabad had no proprietary rights over their jagirs. The jagir was inalienable, and the jagirdars were only entitled to the

Jagirdari 土地制度

Hyderabad

revenue accruing from the land over which they supervised." (p.3)

The jagir reforms

- 1) Hyderabad was integrated with the Indian Union in 1948.
The Military Government of Hyderabad promulgated the Jagir Abolition Regulation on August 15, 1949.
- 2) The Sarpe khas (8,109 Sq. miles, of 1,961 villages) was merged with Diwani in February, 1949.
- 3) In September, 1949, all jagirs were taken over by the State, by the newly appointed Jagir Administrator:
 - (a) The jagir tracts were merged into adjacent Diwani ^{land} taking as.
 - (b) Remission of 1949-50 ^{land} revenue to the extent of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$;
 - (c) Pending the land survey of the jagir areas, the rates of land revenue of the jagir area were fixed equal to those prevailing in adjacent Diwani lands of

① 編定土地制度一附(五)邦有土地制度總論

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similar nature.

- (d) The jagirdars were given an interim maintenance allowance during the period 1949 to March 1950, amounting to 41 & 75% of the income of the previous year; Rs. 10,673,000 were given out.
- (e) From the record of ten years (1938-47) the average annual income of the jagir was established, and from this, with certain deductions, a total compensation arrived at about Rs. 180,000,000. The annual burden on the State owing to compensation payments may be seen as follows:-

Period	No. of years	Total expenditure
1950-1960	10	Rs. 114,500,000
1961-1965	5	50,000,000
1966-1970	5	12,600,000

- (f) Annual payments to the dependents of the jagirdars,
Rs. 500,000.

20 years

Grand total Rs.

(pp. 14)

→ 137,100,000

- (g) Annual payments to the pensionary jagirdars,
Rs. 200,000.

(pp. 15)

(A. M. Khuroo, Economic and Social effect of Jagir-dari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad, Hyderabad, Delhi, 1958.)

经营地主 1953 土地限制

Hyderabad State

1953-55

- 1) Total area of the State, 82,700 Sq. miles, with total number of villages of 21,875, with total population of 18 million in 1949. (pp.1)
- 2) The census of land holding was taken in the State from Sept., 1953 to Oct. 1955 covering 21,875 villages or 16,000,000 of plots. This total land area was held by about 3,000,000 landholders. Based upon this Census, an up-to-date Records of Rights has been prepared.

"All this means that the old system of registering the lands in the names of pattadars, irrespective of their actual possession, has been improved upon and the names of more than half the landholders which did not figure in the Revenue Records hitherto, have been entered for the first time" (pp.26)

(A.M. Khuro, Economic and Social Effects
of Jagirdari Abolition and
Land Reforms in Hyderabad,
Hyderabad & Delhi, 1958)

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Jagirdari 制度废除总结

Hyderabad

1958

④ 租佃关系
未改 1) "For its ^{its} abolition left undisturbed the primary relationship between the tenant-cultivator and the owner of the land. It tackled only the upper layer of relationships between the owner and the revenue-collector: it substituted one revenue-collecting authority for another — though a more efficient one for a less efficient — the Government in place of the jagirdar." (pp. 16)

⑤ 生产未
增加 2) No increase of agricultural production: "in practical terms it seems a far cry from jagir abolition to increased production. Numerous other conditions have to be fulfilled before lower taxes and increased security can be translated into larger agricultural produce." (pp. 16)

③ 土地税
及诉讼
提前方 3) "It resulted in a complete shake-up in the administrative and judicial organization of the areas concerned." "The merger of the jagirs with adjacent Diwani areas meant a reorganization of the boundaries of talukas and districts. This obviated the need for the jagirs."

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raiyat to travel long distances before having access to revenue or judicial officials: they could now proceed to the near-by tehsil or munsif's court. This might be expected to make for swifter dispensation of justice." (pp. 16)

② 封建制
前权

4) "The removal from the scene of the jagirdars, in whose hands wealth tended to concentrate, would perhaps hasten the redistributing process." (pp. 17)

(A. M. Khusrro, Economic and Social effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad, Delhi, 1958.)

① 确定地权⁵) (See next page)

(without ownership) (去所有权)

2.

Jagirdari 土地制度废除的结果 Hyderabad

Early 18th Century to 1958

Jagirdari Vs. Raigatwari Tenure

"Theoretically the fundamental difference between the jagirdari and the raigatwari tenures was simply this: Whereas in the raigatwari areas the Government was the supreme overlord, granting ownership rights to 'pattadars' or registered occupants and collecting land revenue from them, in the jagirdari tracts this function had been delegated to the jagirdars. While the Government remained the nominal overlord in the jagir areas, the jagirdars became the actual ones. It was they who granted patta or ownership rights and collected land revenue. (去所有权) They were thus the substitutes for the State. Apart from the small tracts within the jagir areas, called 'seri' lands, for which they had special 'sanads' from rulers of old, the jagirdars were not the owners of land. It was the 'pattadars' the occupants, who was the owners with full right to use, bequeath, sell or mortgage, the land as he pleased.

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In practice, however, many a jagirdar had attempted to assume the role of owner of the whole land in the jagir, even as the zamindars of U.P. and elsewhere were barbers. The interpretation of the Government, however, was that no land which is not directly cultivated by the jagirdars could be shown as their 'patta' or owned land. To the extent the jagirdars believed and behaved as if they were the owners of all land and treated all the occupants in their tracts as tenants, a situation very similar to that in zamindari areas 'had developed and the consequent uncertainty and fear among the real owners was perhaps having a detrimental effect on incentives, investment and production. Jagir abolition, however, put an end to this uncertainty to the extent it was real and perhaps it was real in smaller jagirs.' (pp. 18)

(A.M. Khusro, Economic & Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad, Delhi, 1958.)