Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The peasant struggles in Bihar in general, and, Monghyr in particular, were caused by the attempt on the part of the Zamindars to deprive the occupancy rights granted to the tenantry by various legislations. In the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis the fixity of tenure and fixity of rents did not find a place despite the solicitous attitude towards the tenantry adopted by the framers of the settlement. The new arrangement conferred proprietary rights on a new class of landlords in the belief that the Zamindars will work as entrepreneurs and increase production in agriculture. It was assumed that landlordism will lead to progress. In pursuance of this understanding, the intervention of the state under the permanent settlement in the first phase, conferred greater privileges on the landlords against the tenants who were given neither fixity of tenure nor fixity of rent, as was evident from the Haftman process and Panjami process which gave to the Zamindars greater authority over the raiyats - far greater than what was provided in the original settlement of 1793. In fact the land legislation till 1841 was on the whole disadvantageous to the cultivators and was designed to serve the interests of the landlords. Certain limitations were imposed on the landlords in the original settlement like patta regulations, pargana rates, institution of patwaris and grant of rent receipts. These original limitations also failed to produce any ameliorative effect on the conditions of the tenantry. Hence there was need to legislate for tenants.
Legislation in support of tenants involved a shift in the principles of intervention by the State. It was necessary then to have faith in peasant proprietorship as key to social progress. The intervention by Pax Britannica in India made an attempt to balance the two views and interests of the two sections of the agrarian society. The Acts of the Government since 1859 to 1885 gave rights to the kisans. However, the Acts of 1859 and 1885 did not fundamentally harm the interests of the zamindars. The two legislations mentioned above gave the tenants occupancy rights, which were threatened by the zamindars in an illegal and cruel manner. The tenants faced dispossession.

The system of produce rent i.e. danabandi system, the commutation of rents from kind to cash during 1915-32 causing hardships to the tenants in normal times, the effect of fall in prices owing to Great Depression made the tenants face the problem of rent, which led to land evictions, apart from posing the problems of arrears of rent and rent reduction.

The intervention of the Congress ministry in Bihar representing the right wing of the Congress was on the pattern of the British intervention. It tried to balance the interests of the zamindars and the kisans without fundamentally harming the zamindars. It did not make even an attempt to abolish landlordism. It did not abolish the right of distraint of crops enjoyed by the landlords in pursuance of recovering arrears of rents from the tenants. The Bihar Tenancy Amendment Act of 1937 and the Bihar Restoration of Bakasht Lands and Arrears of Rent Act, 1938 were legislated on the basis of compromises with the
Zamindars, under the guidance of Rajendra Prasad. The approach of the Congress in Bihar was determined by the experiences of Gandhian leadership of peasant struggle in Champaran and Gandhian concepts. The Champaran struggle did not bring into focus the clash between raiyats and native Zamindars. Thus the Gandhian leadership of Bihar, led by Rajendra Prasad, viewed the peasant struggle as a mobilising factor in the struggle against imperialism alone and not against the Zamindars. The Gandhian concepts of class peace and united front of all classes formed the consciousness of the Bihar Congress. It was natural that in an event of a conflict between the Indian people and Imperialism the Congress in Bihar would have organised the peasants. This was done by the Congress during the Civil Disobedience Movement and in the first half of thirties till 1936 elections on the problem of rent. Even here Rajendra Prasad dissuaded the peasants from launching a no-rent campaign. The Congress gave consciousness to the kisans along with the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha during this phase. When the Congress was in office during (1936-39) it viewed the struggle of the kisans with concern. It tried to bring about a compromise to the benefit of the Zamindars. It viewed the kisans struggle as against the Congress, and against national interests. In such an event the tilt towards the Zamindars of Bihar was necessitated. Once again, the experience of Champaran is important. It is concluded by Mrish Mishra in his study of Champaran that the agitations "were not aimed at altering the existing agrarian structure..." and that "as a result of the agrarian agitations, most of the local leaders amassed land at the expense of the actual
cultivators''. In another essay Girish Mishra and Braj Kumar Pandey prove that the family of Rajendra Prasad benefitted and amassed land. Our study of peasant struggle in the district of Monghyr also shows that the Award of Rajendra Prasad in the *bakraht* land dispute, which became the basis of subsequent arbitrations, was in the interests of the *Zamindars* and against the accrual of occupancy rights to the tenants. Hence, the attitude of the Congress towards Peasant Problem in Bihar can be summed up thus. On the one hand it mobilised the mass of tenants against imperialism and initially helped the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha in helping them with their organization and providing consciousness. On the other hand, once in office its attitude towards tenancy reforms was a continuation of the British attitude. Like the British, the Congress ministry also tilted in favour of the *Zamindars*. Thus there was scope of peasant organization and organized action on different ideological lines in the face of the collaborationist role of the Congress on the question of tenancy reform.

The role of the landlords also contributed to the distress of the peasants. Apart from their advantageous position under the permanent settlement and tenancy legislations (which they bypassed by all manoeuvres and machinations) the *Zamindars* of Bihar were very active politically. From the very start of tenancy reform they intervened to influence the legislations. In the thirties they formed the United Party with the blessings

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of the British Government, like the Ialuqdar Association in United Provinces, and Justice Party of Madras, to provide an alternative to the mass politics of the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement. The leaders of this party had links with All India Hindu Mahasabha. This body was against class war and abolition of landlordism. Later, during the period of Congress ministry in Bihar, Ganesh Dutt Singh, representing the Zamindars, was the opposition leader. He continued to obstruct the business of the House till a compromise was reached between the Congress and the Zamindars. The Zamindars intervened from within the Congress also. Zamindars or pro-Zamindar elements were strongly entrenched inside the Congress High Command in Bihar. From outside Ganesh Dutt Singh put pressure to send the Tenancy Bill to the Select Committee, which contained Zamindar influence. As a result, the Congress Party in Bihar entered into a compromise with the Zamindars. Their influence in the Select Committee resulted in watering down the original proposals of the Tenancy reform. The Indian Nation, daily organ of the Zamindars, owned by Maharaja of Darbhanga, justifiably called the Bill "less drastic, more satisfactory". By 1936 the Zamindars engaged in converting the lands settled with tenants enjoying occupancy rights into their own bakasht lands in default of payment of arrears of rent, or, by not settling the same lands in the same


village with same tenants in order to deny occupancy rights. Hence the peasants had to retaliate with direct action.

Thus during late twenties and early thirties the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was organized in Bihar. The history of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha can broadly be divided into the following phases. The first phase was between 1929 and 1936. In this period the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha organized and reorganized itself while fighting against bogus peasant organizations and the attempts of the zamindars to intervene in the matter of tenancy reform during the first part of the thirties. The draft manifesto, and immediate demands of the peasants were formulated during this phase. The main issue that attracted the attention of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was rent reduction even though as a pressure from the district level it accepted in principle the demand for land to the tiller and abolition of landlordism. Its agitational methods were holding of mass meetings of the kisans on the question of rent reduction United Party, tenancy reform, attempts at forming bogus kisans sabhas and thereby creating a consciousness among the mass of peasants of their problems and rights so that they began to initiate action on local issues by 1936.

Second phase of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was between 1936 and 1939. In this phase there was a province-wide agitation on the problem of bakasht lands, which was an agitation of tenants, for restoring occupancy rights.

The third phase was marked by war years which were subdivided into two phases: 1939-1941 and 1941-1945. In the first phase under the slogan of day-to-day struggle the Bihar Provincial
Kisan Sabha decided to continue the Bakasht agitation. In the second phase its politics revolved round the line of National Unity for National Government for National Defence, as interpreted by the Communist Party. During this phase the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was engaged in issues of national importance and not in the immediate demands of the peasants. During this phase the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was split.

The fourth phase of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha began with the postwar year. In this year the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha again resorted to direct action on the problem of Bakasht lands.

Ideologically, the phases of Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha can be divided into three, in accordance with the dominance of particular ideological thinking. During the first phase (1929-34) the ideology of the Congress dominated the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha. This was evident from the role of the Congress leaders in 1929, when the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was organized. The leaders of the Congress were keen on becoming members of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha, though there was a minor dissenting voice. The ideological position of the leaders of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha during this phase was also Gandhite. This phase was marked by the ascendancy of the Socialists.

During the second phase (1936-1939) Socialists dominated the consciousness of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha. They were in majority in the executive of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha which was reconstituted at Patna in 1934. During this
phase the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha had adopted the slogan of abolition of landlordism at the initiative of a socialist, Kishori Prasanna Sinha.

In the third phase (1939-1947) the ideology of the Communists became dominant particularly after 1942. This was indicated by the following facts. It is clear from an official All India report that the Communists were active in the Socialist group of the Congress. In Bihar there was an understanding between P.C. Joshi and Jay Prakash Narayan that the Communists would work in the Congress Socialist Party and not form their own unit. Therefore in the beginning the influence of Socialists had the hand of the Communists. In 1938 it was alleged by H.G. Ranga that Swami Sahajanand Saraswati was moving closer to the Communists at the time of the Comilla session of All India Kisan Sabha. In 1945 Swami Sahajanand split the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha and All India Kisan Sabha on the charge that it was Communist dominated. At this time Karyanand Sharma re-organized the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha which was affiliated to the All India Kisan Sabha. A meeting of members of Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha owing loyalty to All India Kisan Sabha was convened by Karyanand Sharma, which was attended by sixty members of Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha from Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Saran, Champaran, Nuzaffarpur, Patna, Gaya, Palamu and Hazaribagh. In 1940 Karyanand Sharma became a Communist in Deoli Jail. The political line of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was that of the Communist Party during the war years. During

1936-39 Karyanand Sharma led the struggle in Monghyr. By 1946 he led the *bakasht* struggle in the province after the failure of the policy of arbitration followed by Congress leaders in Gaya and Shahabad. It is necessary to point out here that during these phases certain amount of overlapping of ideological influences was evident. For example, during the period 1934-36, when the Congress Socialists were dominant, Congressmen were also present. Again it may be noted that Communists had decided to work in the Congress Socialist Party. So during 1936-41, the Communist and Socialist influence coexisted.

The peasant organization in Bihar had important links with the *All India Kisan Sabha* from the time of the latters' formation in 1936. The *All India Kisan Sabha* adopted a definite attitude towards the problems faced by the peasants in Bihar like the problem of landlordism, rural indebtedness, problem of rent and *bakasht* struggles. The *Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha* and the *All India Kisan Sabha* had a class approach, which caused conflict between them on the one hand and the Congress on the other hand. They viewed the peasants as forming a class in themselves different from the *landlords* and the agricultural labourers. The *All India Kisan Sabha* viewed the peasant as one who had land, cultivated it, and, contracted usurious loans for the purposes of reproduction of social life. This implied that the emphasis of the *All India Kisan Sabha* was more on small peasants. The *Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha* considered a peasant as one whose primarily source of livelihood was agriculture and defender of the interests of the peasants. During the early phase both bodies attempted to draw the rich peasant in their fold and
adopted an attitude of solidarity towards agricultural labourers. By 1946 the All India Kisan Sabha and Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha gave more emphasis to the agricultural labourers. As in the case of Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha so in the case of All India Kisan Sabha the take off of the spiralling political consciousness was Congress reformist understanding of N.G. Ranga and the tapering end was Communist consciousness. The growing left wing consciousness provided an ideological factor for the rise of peasant struggles during the period of our study. We have already noticed that by 1936 Socialist ideology was ascending (which included communist influence). In 1936 the struggle for bakasht lands was launched in Monghyr to be followed by Gaya and Shahabad. In Monghyr the movement was started by Karyanand Sharma without the prior sanction of Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha or Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. This was also done by Jadunandan Sharma in Gaya. These were struggles of tenants for occupancy rights denied by the Zamindars. The ideology and consciousness of the struggle in Monghyr showed left wing tendencies and a thrust towards Communist consciousness. The peasants in Monghyr made collective demands once the tactic of settling individual claims adopted by the Arbitration Committee failed to provide relief. However, there is no indication as to the basis of distribution of the land so demanded. The attitude towards other sections of the agrarian society indicated this consciousness. In the beginning at Monghyr the lands of the small Zamindars were not included in their demands, but later on they were not spared.

The poorest sections of the peasantry participated in the struggle in Monghyr, because their interests and those of the tenants enjoying occupancy rights remained identical in fighting the Zamindars. This was also true of Gaya and Shahabad.

The struggle in Monghyr showed remarkable unity and cohesion. There were no disputes of caste or communal nature. During the struggle attempts were made by the Zamindars to divide the rank and file of the struggle by fomenting Dhanuk and Dhairris dispute. In his study of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha Walter Hauser also maintained that the politics of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was not on caste lines. At the district level leadership was occasionally in the hands of Muslims and lower caste cultivating peasants, primarily kurmis and koiris. The Zamindars were Bhumihars. At the provincial level the leadership of the Kisan Sabha was in the hands of Bhumihars like Swami Sahajanand, Jadunandan Sharma and Karyanand Sharma though Rajputs and Brahmins were also there in a smaller number. This did not prevent them from adopting the slogan of abolition of landlordism. During the actual struggle there were instances of the lower caste Kisans helping Brahmins, like in Majhihiyawon

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6 Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Kisan Kaise Larte Hein (How Do the Kisans Fight), Bankipur (Patna, 1940), p. 72.

7 Agrarian Trouble in Barahiya Tal Area, Government of Bihar, Home (Political) Department, File No. 29II/1939.

8 Walter Hauser, op. cit., p. 77.
During the struggle in Monghyr there was no communal dis-
unity. In Monghyr there was an estate of a Muslim landlord and
the peasants struggled against him. There was no communal inci-
dent. Throughout the period of struggle care was taken that no
direct action of the peasants was started on the days of reli-
gious festivals that involved religious processions. In the
province all castes and religions participated in these strug-
gles. The Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha leadership was against
communalism. Swami Sahajananda Saraswati's visit to Purnea in
Bengal revealed to him that the peasants—Hindus and Muslims—
had similar demands. He was impressed by their unity. He said
masses were one—there were no religious distinctions. During
the war years Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha had adopted the slogan
of Hindu-Muslim Unity for National Government. In 1947 Karyanand
Sharma spoke against the concept of Hindu Raj.

One of the glorious aspects of the struggle in Monghyr
was the mobilisation of women on a large scale. This was also
the experience at Gaya, Shahabad and other districts of the
province. The role of the women in the bakasht struggles drew

10 Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Kisan Kaise Larte Hein (How
Do the Kisans Fight), Bankipur (Patna, 1940), pp. 72-74.
11 Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, More Jeewan Sangharsh, Bihta
(Patna, 1952), p. 525.
12 Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Kisan Sabha Ke Samsaran,
13 Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Kisan Kaise Larte Hein (How
Do the Kisans Fight), Bankipore (Patna, 1940); Ibid.,
all India attention. In his Presidential Address to the Fourth Session of All India Kisan Sabha in 1939 Acharya Narendra Dev said "...the role which the women folk of Rewara played will ever remain a source of inspiration and strength to the kisan movement. They have not been mere camp followers. They have led the fight and dominated the picture. The kisan's movement pays its homage to them". The All India Kisan Sabha passed a resolution on the role of women. It said "The Sabha welcomes the enthusiastic participation of kisan women in hundreds and thousands in various kisan struggles of Bihar...and pays its homage to all those brave kisan women who underwent sufferings and withstood Zamindars' and police terror and dared their repression for the defence of kisan rights".

Monghyr witnessed the participation of student leaders like Anil Mitra representing the All India Students Federation and the leader of Bihar Students Federation, Binod Bihari Mukherjee in its struggle when it launched a demonstration at Monghyr in 1939. There is no evidence of the participation of student leaders in Gaya and Shahabad. The bakasht struggle in the province drew all India attention and the All India Kisan Sabha session at Gaya in 1939 passed a resolution in its support.

At Monghyr, as in Gaya, the Congress workers participated in the peasant struggles. The District Committee at Gaya had supported the agitation at Reora. We have already shown that

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14 All India Kisan Conference, Gaya, Government of Bihar, Home (Political) Department, File No. 259/1939.

the District Congress leaders at Monghyr participated in some of the actions during the period of the struggle. The ordinary workers were very active in some places. The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee was, however, annoyed and rebuked the Gaya District Committee. It forced the All India Congress Committee to pass a resolution against the Congress kisan workers' participation in bakasht struggles during 1936-39. Again in 1946-47 Congress workers participated in the struggles at Gaya and Shahabad. At Monghyr the struggle was led by the Communists.

The provincial leadership of the Congress was pro-Zamindar. At the district level the President and Secretary of the District Congress participated in the kisan procession organized in 1938 in protest against violence of the landlord. At the local level i.e. village level the ordinary Congress workers participated in the struggle.

The struggle in Monghyr failed during 1936-39 whereas it succeeded in 1946-47. At Gaya it was successful in 1938, whereas it failed in 1946-47. At Reora in Gaya in the thirties Policy of Compromise was accepted by the local leader Jadunandan Sharma. One hundred and fifty bighas of land was left to the Zamindars and the rest was distributed among the kisans. This was done in accordance with the Congress bakasht enquiry which said 150 16 bighas belonged to the Zamindars. The settlement here was possible because of the attitude of the Government and the Arbitration Committee appointed by the Government. At Gaya the leadership accepted the Award of the Committee. At Monghyr the

16 Ibid., p. 521.
peasants were making collective demands after the Arbitration Committee's failure to settle individual claims. The Government attitude was hostile. The Rajendra Prasad Award was pro-landlord. The attitude of the Arbitration Committee was to settle individual cases rather than meet the general demand. It adopted repressive measures. The leadership did not accept the Award at Monghyr, whereas at Jaya Jadunandan Sharma had accepted it. In 1946-47 the Congress leader Jadunandan Sharma and Swami Sahajanand again accepted the policy of arbitration. This time the Award did not satisfy the peasants under their leadership who were preparing themselves for second round of struggle by the time of the close of our study. So also was the position of "Revolutionary Democratic" leadership in Shahabad. In Monghyr, however, the local Communist leader did not accept the policy of arbitration and was successful in settling the dispute.

The study of peasant struggle in Bihar indicates that the struggles were conducted on mass lines. Progressively the ideology of Congress, Socialists and Communists was accepted by the peasants. On the basis of the study of bakasht struggle in Monghyr it can be said that the peasant struggle in its ideology, consciousness, organization, mobilisation and forms of struggle progressively moved towards mass politics assuming Communist characteristics. The period between 1940 and 1947 further sharpened the class lines in Monghyr and by 1947 Communists were in commanding position in the peasant struggle. The failure of the Congress leadership in 1946-47 to settle the dispute through arbitration was utilised by the Communists, who now led the peasants at the provincial level. While the peasant struggle in
the province indicates the presence of other ideological influences at the end of our study the experience of Aonghyr where the movement showed leftist characteristics provided an indication of peasant politics after independence.

The policies adopted by the Congress Party and its ministry in Bihar were collaborationist as is evident from the following indicators:

First, the Congress unit in Bihar never seriously studied the condition of the Bihar tenantry, though in the session at Lucknow in 1936 the Congress had asked its provincial units to do the same so that the party could formulate an agrarian programme. The Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee instituted two enquiry committees. The reports of the same were never published. The report of the second enquiry committee, if it had been published, would have embarrassed the Congress after its acceptance of office. Second, the legislation of the Congress ministry was disappointing for the tenantry, for, most of the items of the Faizpur Agrarian Programme were not implemented as we have already seen. Third, the leaders of Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee belonged to the "rightwing" of the Congress. Rajendra Prasad himself was pro-Zamindar and at every stage he was insensitive to the problems of peasants, thus alienating them. Some

17 "Note on the Congress Agrarian Programme" compiled in Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, Home Political Department, File No. 11/1/1937.
18 "In this province as a result of the indifference on the part of Orthodox Congressmen towards the agrarian problem, there has been a certain amount of friction between Congress and All India Kisan Committee", ibid.
Zamindars themselves were leaders of the Congress. Fourth, the Zamindars were so influential that they made the All India leaders of the Congress to intervene in their favour. On the question of tenancy reform they sent their emissaries to Calcutta at the time of the All India Congress Committee session to approach the Working Committee and other leaders. They demanded the personal intervention of Gandhi. The Working Committee of the Party discussed the situation in Bihar. Maulana Azad came to Patna on November 10, 1937 to help matters. Sardar Patel came to lend his helping hand. Negotiations went on between the Working Committee of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee and the representatives of the Zamindars. This resulted in the famous (or from the point of view of peasant's interests infamous) compromise that became the basis of tenancy reform. Apart from appeasing the Zamindars, one of the provisions of the compromise was "The Congress cabinet would not bring forward any other agrarian legislation outside the scope of this agreement", which was injurious to the tenantry both on the question of accrual of occupancy rights, problem of rent and restoration of so-called bakasht lands to the raiyats. This provision became a crying scandal at that time because it meant a commitment on the part of the Congress that it would not implement its agrarian programme. Mahadeva Desai, the Secretary of Gandhi, who was supposed to reflect the mind of Gandhi accurately, discovered "widespread satisfaction" over the Zamindar-Congress agreement. The official


report of the Government of India concluded on the basis of reports from the provinces that "Congressmen have made little organized effort to tackle the problem scientifically or to implement the Lucknow or Faizpur resolutions". Thus, the Congress policy in Bihar was formulated with the advice, guidance and approval of Congress leaders like Patel and Gandhi. Fifth, the Congress adopted the policy of compromise and arbitration in cases of disputes between the kisans and zamindars during the period of bakasht struggle. This policy of arbitration was also pro-landlord as is indicated by the Rajendra Prasad Award in Monghyr. Sixth, in places like Monghyr, where the kisan struggles were led by Communists, Congress ministry adopted the policy of repression during 1936-39. Once again when the Congress formed the ministry in 1946, under the same Chief Minister Srikrishna Sinha, policy of repression was adopted by the government during this period a kind of witch hunt was practiced against the Communists by the police. Srikrishna Sinha advised that since the Communists believed in revolutionary transformation of society, they should be detained under the Defence of India Rules. Thus the Congress failed to tackle the problem of the tenants. It could not provide leadership to the ever radicalising peasant struggles.

The vacuum was filled by Communists and Socialists. The Socialists thought that the policy of Congress ministries was a

21 Note on the Congress Agrarian Programme, op. cit.
subtle attempt to divide the Congress into the extra-parliamentary party and constitutional wing of the Congress. They believed that this would only help the imperialists. The Communist Party warned that surrender to the landlords would mean "the end of the Congress as a people's organization, struggle within the National front and not against nation's enemies." The Communists and Socialists provided revolutionary programme, policies and consciousness to the peasant movement. The Communists led radical militant peasant struggles as in Monghyr on the question of bakasht lands. This struggle though on a partial demand focussed on the problem of landlordism.

Struggle in Monghyr along with the struggles in other parts of the country like the radical armed struggle of Telangana, Punnapra-Vayalar struggle in Travancore State (Kerala), and Tebhaga struggle of Bengal put the abolition of landlordism on the agenda. The movement of Bhooaan started by some eminent Congressmen and Socialists like Jay Prakash Narayan was both a recognition of and a reaction to the demand of land to the tiller. As a solution of the problem Bhooaan movement was a failure. Wherever there were militant struggles they were suppressed by the Congress.

23 Anonymous, "Imperialist Instigation", op. cit.
24 National Front, August 7, 1938.
25 Daniel Thorner, The Agrarian Prospects in India (Delhi, School of Economics, 1956), pp. 73-74.