CHAPTER - I
INTRODUCTION

The most challenging, and perhaps the least tractable issue before the Indian state since independence has been the agrarian question. The post-colonial state in India has sought to resolve it through its direct intervention on two fronts: institutional and technological. The reforms which are attempted on the institutional fronts included the measures for land reforms, establishment of co-operative agriculture, community development etc., and the stated objective of all such reforms has been to ensure an egalitarian pattern of resource distribution. An attack on the technological front has proved to be a compelling necessity to ensure agricultural growth, and for that the state has devised its green revolution strategy again with the egalitarian claims. This involved dissemination of a package of modern agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, high yielding seeds, pesticides etc. in irrigated areas at a subsidised rate. Hence, it can be said that the post-colonial Indian state attempted to resolve the agrarian question through a qualitative transformation of the agrarian society.

Therefore, the nature of agrarian transformation provides us a broad context and wide perspective to analyse the complexities of many socio-political as well as economic issues confronted by the country. In the specific context of Assam also, the enigma of economic backwardness and
development planning, the set of questions involved in socio-economic transformation with its concomitant political imbroglios, are all intrinsically attached to the pattern of agrarian change. Therefore, the primary aim of our present attempt would be to analyse the existing agrarian structure in the state in its historicity. Such an approach would allow us to understand the forces and factors responsible for shaping Assam's agrarian structure.

Being one of the most backward economies of India, the present agrarian structure of Assam unfolds a host of fundamental issues. One of the most striking features of agrarian structure in Assam is the legacies of her colonial and pre-colonial social formations. This includes at the very outset, dependence of the overwhelming majority of the total population of Assam primarily upon the agricultural sector to earn their livelihood. The prevailing occupational structure in the state testifies the fact. (see Appendix-1) But, contribution of agriculture to the aggregate State Domestic Product (SDP) of Assam witnesses a sharp decline during the last couple of decades without any appreciable reduction in the number of persons dependent on the agricultural sector.

Another crucial aspect of the present imbroglio of the agrarian set-up in the state is the pattern of distribution of land. The high growth of population in Assam is definitely an important factor which has influenced the
pattern of land resource distribution in the state. Yet, it demands a deeper probe into the historical factors as well as the role played by the institutional power structure in bringing about a certain pattern of change in the agricultural sector.

Needless to explain that in an agrarian society like Assam, due to relative absence of other factors of production like substantial amount of capital, modern technology and favourable infrastructural facilities, land holds the predominant position. (see Appendix-2). It must also be mentioned in this context that the pre-colonial Assam witnessed a social formation which could be broadly characterised as semi-tribal and semi-feudal in nature. And, such a social formation was marked by more or less, a self-sufficient rural economy, and it allowed only a marginal accumulation of cultivated land by a few royal families and religious institutions. However, the colonial rule introduced the concept of private property for the entire society of Assam for the first time. Consequently, the agrarian structure of Assam has gradually been experiencing the concentration of cultivated land in the hands of few as a relatively new phenomenon which has not been ceased by the institutional power structure during the post-colonial era.

The pattern of uneven distribution of land resource coupled with other factors of pauperisation has resulted in a phenomenal growth of a section of agricultural labourer,
and marginalisation of holdings in the state particularly since independence. The rural Assam now projects a picture of numerical predominance of the poor peasants and the economic predominance of the small land owning section. But an uneven development, beyond any doubt, has some deep rooted repercussions on the socio-political milieu of the regional society.

Any perceptive observer may find a vast difference between the stated objectives of the reform measures initiated in Assam and the outcome of their implementation. Infact, it seems that, the state as an active agent has encouraged a pattern of change in the agrarian structure of post-colonial Assam which has aggravated the socio-economic differences within the agrarian society. Thus, the reasons for which the stated objectives of the agrarian reform measures remained almost incommensurate to the empirical realities must be located in the political arena of the state since independence. And, it demands an empirical research with a clearly defined perspective.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

The plethora of reform measures initiated by the state in post-colonial India evoked the scholars from different disciplines, particularly the economists, to analyse the nature of the programmes initiated and their impacts upon the agrarian society. Owing to the myriad themes of analysis and vastness of research works done by
the scholars, it is now almost impossible to provide an exhaustive review of literature on the agrarian question in India. We would therefore, restrict ourselves to few specific attempts made by the scholars to address the nature of agrarian transformation in India, which may provide us some meaningful insights and a background for our study.

The host of institutional reform measures initiated by the Indian state as a part of its post-colonial reconstruction of the agrarian structure are perceived by many as purely legal and administrative affairs of a welfare state. With their theoretical sophistication, these scholars try to establish that the post-colonial Indian state is committed to realize the stated egalitarian objectives of the agrarian reform programmes in practice. The basic thrust of their analysis is to highlight the quantum of success achieved on implementation of the programmes. But, often they ignore the impacts of such "achievements" on the agrarian society as a whole. For the part of failure of the programmes, the apologists of Indian state quite often make the politico-bureaucratic set-up responsible at the micro level. Being guided by the ideology of a welfare state, these scholars generally avoid any serious analysis of the process of change in its totality.

In the specific context of Assam, we hardly come across any serious attempt to analyse the process of agrarian transformation in its totality. Most of the studies related to our theme of analysis are preoccupied with an
evaluation of the land reform programmes in Assam. The common parameter, however, is the officially stated objectives of the programmes. Yet, few small seminar papers deserve our attention.

After critically analysing the major land reform programmes implemented in Assam, Rabindra Kumar Choudhury pointed out that the objectives behind the philosophy of land reform measures could not be realised in practice. Productivity of the main crops has fallen on the one hand and landlessness has increased on the other. The major reasons for this, as he finds are (a) uneconomic land holdings of the petty farmers; and (b) in absence of adequate financial assistance from the Government, the poor peasants have failed to adopt the scientific method of cultivation. Under the given circumstances, he argues that the petty land owners have no other alternative but to lease out their land to the rich cultivators. He further argues that the sudden rise in Adhiars' (share-cropper) share from one-half of the produce to four-fifth, as resulted from the land reform measures, has an adverse effect on the poor peasantry instead of helping them. As this provision utterly discouraged the Adhi system, big landowners or the richer sections have found it highly profitable to resume cultivation or to bring land under capitalistic mode of production. The result, however, is the ejection of tenants in favour of resumption of cultivation by the big land owners.
Apurba Kumar Barua argues that land reform measures are not merely economic measures, because their effective implementation has wide social and political implications. Therefore he tried to analyse the failure of the Government of Assam to carry out land reform measures in the state in terms of interests of the ruling class, the class which owns the bulk of the landed property. He argues that the class character of the ruling Congress Party in Assam is obviously not different from the class character of the all India Congress Party which represents the interests of Indian big business and feudal elements. Thus, he comes to the conclusion that unless and until a political party representing the class interests of the poor and landless peasants comes to power in the state and also in the centre, no effective implementation of the land reform programme can be expected.

The speculations made by these scholars are, however, not based upon any empirical research. Yet, they have raised certain issues to be investigated empirically and to analyse more objectively. For instance, Rabindra Kumar Choudhury has pointed out the probable impacts of tenancy reform in Assam and possibility of development of capitalist relations in the agricultural sector of Assam. Similarly, Apurba Kumar Barua has raised the issue of class character of the ruling class and its relationship with the process of agrarian reforms in India in general and Assam in particular. For a better understanding of the process of agrarian reforms, now
let us have a look at a couple of recent empirical studies conducted by different scholars in different parts of the country.

In the context of institutional reforms in India, Ritu Dewan finds that the stated objectives of various tenancy laws are to regulate rent, grant security of tenure and ownership rights to tenants. These very objectives are, to a large extent, undermined by loopholes built into the provision of the Acts. The important loopholes cited are resumption of land by landlords, definition of "self-cultivation", non-establishment of tenancy relationships, and the large number of exceptions. She shows that both landlords and large tenants benefit more from tenancy reforms than smaller tenants. On the basis of data collected from various surveys and studies carried out during the sixties and seventies, Ritu Dewan argues that large number of evictions and manipulations, has strengthened the process of land concentration. She also shows that the changes which took place in the decade of the eighties such as modernisation, commercialization, were exploited by the dominant classes, i.e. rich cultivators.

In the context of land reforms in Karnataka, Narendra Pani argues that the so called land reform measures were designed to farther the interests of the dominant agrarian classes, a fact which in practice was even more aggravated as a result of the measures being implemented through a
poli
tico-bureaucratic structure controlled by the ruling elite. He finds that the attempts made by the Karnataka government to reform the agrarian structure by enacting several legislations was more an exercise in effecting a "transformation to capitalism from above" rather than an re-ordering of the agrarian structure in favour of the socially and economically poor classes.

In the context of tenancy reforms in Andra Pradesh, P. Eashvariah observes that the primary objective of the government was to obstruct the process of revolutionary land reforms by enacting legal and bureaucratic measures conforming to the constitutional limits after the armed struggle was suppressed by the Indian Army in the Telangana region. He finds that various legislative enactments to bring about comprehensive land reforms failed, because, at the stage of implementation they were left to the governmental agencies and participation of peasants was never envisaged. The only alternative to a revolutionary means provided by laws was the legal battle between the landless and the landed gentry which was resolved in favour of the latter. Therefore, land reforms have bought neither "land to the tiller" nor high productivity.

In another study, Jagpal Singh tries to point out the changes in the agrarian sector of Meerat district of Uttar Pradesh brought about in the process of agrarian reforms and state intervention. He identifies the changes in terms of growing differentiation of
classes within the sector of agriculture, and his main tools of analysis are distribution of the means of production, cropping pattern, and market relation of the classes. With empirical evidence, he has sought to establish that the agrarian classes provide the social base for various political parties to mobilise the classes on their respective issues. Citing various examples, he tries to prove that in the given democratic framework of Indian polity, the classes belonging to the rural rich can well articulate their interest, and manipulate the political process if necessary even by applying undemocratic means. Pointing out the class biasness of agrarian reform policies, Jagpal Singh argues that the rural poor always remain suppressed and repressed in spite of the existence of many democratic institutions.

There are a large number of empirical studies conducted in different parts of the country. Most of the empirical analysis suggest us to perceive that the policies for institutional change initiated by different state governments usually posit egalitarian aims as part of the ruling ideology, but in practice these aims have seldom been approached. In fact, one of the major effects of such policies has been to hasten the process of class differentiation among the peasantry. Consequently, as these studies have shown, the rich peasants have been the major beneficiaries of the agrarian reform programmes. And, one of the most significant phenomena of the post-
independence developments in India has been the emergence of rich peasants as a distinct class capable of furthering their own class interests. With increasing political power, this class is playing a decisive role in Indian polity. For a better understanding of such issues, it is imperative to look at the theoretical formulations of the Marxist school of thought.

Notwithstanding their commitment to Marxism, there exist serious differences among the Marxist scholars over the pattern of agrarian transformation in India. Yet, there is a broad consensus that, since independence land reforms have not smashed feudal and semi-feudal land relations. Though some land had been acquired and distributed through ceiling legislations, the relations between the legal title holder and the actual tiller remained unchanged. The noticeable change in the technology of agriculture by way of increase in irrigation, rural electrification, introduction of pumpset and tractors and so on since independence, and investment in these assets as well as availability of modern inputs like improved seeds, fertilizers etc., have largely helped the rich peasants and landlords in the rural area. The major points of differences are, regarding identification of feudal and capitalist elements in agriculture, the nature and extent of feudal and semi-feudal relations persisting in agriculture, the nature and extent of capitalist development and its prospects etc. These fundamental questions related to agrarian transformation in
post-colonial India generated a prolonged debate among the Marxist scholars. A part of this debate, particularly among the Marxist economists, which is popularly known as "Mode of Production Debate" in India, continued from 1968 to 1978 through Economic and Political Weekly. A brief review of this debate may provide us some theoretical insights.

To be precise, we find emergence of two broad approaches in course of that debate. Of the scholars those who subscribed the first approach could not find any major qualitative difference between the colonial and post-colonial periods with respect to growth of capitalist relations of production, other than one varying speed of transition. For them, colonial exploitation involved the growing commercialization of agriculture and the growth of wage labour, which also inevitably implied that capitalist production relations were developing. Post-independence development, as they viewed, continued the same trends, however, only at a much faster pace.

The scholars who subscribed the second approach emphasised on a definite qualitative difference between the colonial and subsequent period with respect to growth of capitalist production in agriculture. They argued that colonial revenue-cum-rent exploitation promoted not the proletarisation of peasants so much as their pauperisation. A substantial share of economic surplus was transferred abroad to finance metropolitan industrialisation. Moreover, the forms of capital which found the colonial economic
environment particularly congenial were landlord, trader and userer capital. Consequently these forms mediated a process of "forced" commercialization of agriculture ("forced" because peasants had to sell to pay rent-cum-revenue), marked by a relative absence of transformation of the productive base and structural deformation of the economy. The post-colonial agrarian structure carried the legacy of this process in the form of endemic underemployment and unemployment. While the new economic environment of state investments and encouragement of capitalist production initiated a new phase of agrarian accumulation, it was constrained by inherited production relations and in particular by petty tenancy.

The debate however, could not resolve the basic issues. Yet, it may be envisaged that the capitalist relations of production have been superimposed by the post-colonial state on feudal and semi-feudal relations. Therefore, it is difficult to determine what portion of capitalist farming is based on feudal and semi-feudal land relations. Further, as various studies have revealed, there is a growing tendency towards mechanization of agricultural operation in varying degrees in different regions. Such development is, however, confined to the areas where irrigation is available.

The unresolved issues regarding transformation of Indian agriculture debated by the Marxist scholars since
independence can be summerised in form of three basic theoretical formulations made by the leadership of the three major communist parties of India, i.e. the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist); the Communist Party of India; and, the Communist Party of India (Marxist). These three formulations respectively are:

(a) The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people is the primary contradiction in the present phase. With this understanding, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been trying to mobilize the common people, and thousands of men and women had once plunged themselves in the vortex of a militant struggle.

(b) Though feudal exploitation in the form of rackrenting and money lending has remained, capitalist relations have strengthened in the agrarian set-up in a significant way. A powerful section of the rich peasants and capitalist farmers have come up, which is using modern methods of agriculture and employing wage labour. This section is now dominating the rural set-up alongwith the old feudal lords turned into capitalist landlords and industrialist.

(c) The Indian agrarian situation as it exists today under the bourgeois landlord rule is not classical feudalism nor developed capitalism but it is feudal and semi-feudal, meaning thereby that capitalist exploitation is superimposed on the old feudal system. And it is the programatic understanding of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).
These theoretical formulations made by the Marxists undoubtedly provide us a broad perspective to analyse the pattern of agrarian transformation in Assam also. However, the issues raised by them can be resolved only through objective analysis taking into account the historical factors specific to the regional society.

OBJECTIVES:

Our present study would make an attempt:

(a) To analyse historically the socio-political as well as economic determinants of the present agrarian structure of Assam;

(b) To examine the form of political agenda set by the agrarian relations before the institutional power structure;

(c) To find out congruity/incongruity between the claimed ideas of the land reform measures and the empirical reality.

(d) To examine the present pattern of agrarian relations which is marked by the socio-economic lines of cleavages.

(e) To generate fresh data on the agrarian question in Assam based on extensive field work.

METHOD OF STUDY:

Our study has been undertaken at both micro and macro levels to understand the operation of the macro level processes and their direct or indirect impacts on the micro
level and vice versa. Historicity of present agrarian structure has been studied in terms of the macro socio-economic as well as political impacts of colonialism upon the pre-colonial social formation of Assam. We have primarily emphasised on the measures taken during the colonial era to remodel the agrarian structure of Assam in order to make it conducive for colonial exploitation. For this, we have depended largely on the secondary sources of data. Similarly, with the help of various Acts and other steps taken for their implementation we have analysed the initiative taken by the government in the direction of agrarian transformation after independence.

At tempted has also been made to comprehend the impacts of various agrarian reform programmes initiated by the government with the help of the data gathered from the secondary sources. However, it has been found that the secondary sources can not provide us adequate information to understand and explain the pattern of agrarian transformation in its totality. Therefore, we have formed certain quantitative ideas of the present pattern of agrarian relations and their socio-political implications, quantum of success and failure of the measures taken by the government for agrarian change at the micro level on the basis of survey based on random sampling. For a cross-sectional analysis of the micro units, four villages of average size are selected purposively. From each village, 25 percent of the total households are selected at random to
obtain a representative sample for our analysis. A comprehensive questionnaire has been framed with a few major indicators for quantitative analysis such as, operational holding, application of modern and relatively modern technology of production, possession of agricultural and other assets, family size and occupational pattern, use of hired labour etc. (see Appendix-3). In addition to the canvassing of questionnaire, substantial reliance was placed on discussions, interviews and partially participant observation to study the political dimension at micro level.

PROFILE OF THE SELECTED VILLAGES:

Society in Assam is a complex web of various socio-cultural, religious as well as ethnic/national identities standing at different levels of development, and associated with different types of agricultural practices. To draw an overall picture, we have selected at random four villages of the district of Kamrup inhabited by four different communities which are traditionally associated with agriculture. These four villages are, Bamun Gaon, Deulguri, Sil Bharal and Tupamari. The geographical location of these four villages in the district has been shown in Map - 1. Sex and age group wise distribution, and their educational background for each village separately are shown in Appendix - 4 and 5. Here we have pointed out some of the distinct features of the four villages.
Bamun Gaon: This village is exclusively inhabited by the people belonging to the Caste Hindu Asamiya community. The total number of households in the village is 270, and we have surveyed total 67 (25 percent) households selected at random. The neighbouring urban centre of this village is Rangia, which is about 8 Kms. from the village and well communicated with bus. The Post Office of the village is Puthimari. The nearest railway station is Kendukana, which is connected with the village by a Kutccha road. There is one primary school inside the village. It must also be mentioned that this village is not yet electrified.

We have found a sex ratio of 870 female per 1000 male in the village. The average size of family in Bamun Gaon has been found to be of 7 members. More than 84 percent of the male and 64 percent of the female population in this village are literate.

The net cultivated area for the total surveyed households is 497 bighas. The major crops cultivated are Sali and Ahu paddy.

Deulguri:

This village is exclusively dominated by the people belonging to the scheduled tribes. The total number of households in the village is 192 (excluding 3/4 other households), and we have selected at random 48 (25 percent) scheduled tribe households for our survey. The nearby semi-
urban centre of this village is Khetri, where we find one post office, one branch of commercial bank, one primary and one high school and one college. The village is approximately 2 kms. away from the Khetri railway station.

We have found a sex ratio of 951 female per 1000 male in Deulguri, and on an average each family is constituted of 7 members. Further, approximately, 66 percent of the male and 46 percent of the female population in the village are literate. The well-to-do households have electric connection.

The net cultivated area for the total surveyed households in the village is 392 bighas. The major crops cultivated are Sali and Ahu paddy.

Sil Bharal:

Infact it is a hamlet of the main revenue village called Dhopatari, but the resident of this hamlet usually identify it as a separate village. Therefore, we shall also consider it as a separate village. The village Sil Bharal is inhabited exclusively by the people belonging to the scheduled castes, and the total number of households in the village is about 110. We have selected 27 (25 percent) of the total households at random for our survey. The nearby semi-urban centre of this village is Changsari, where we find one post office, one branch of a rural bank, one higher secondary school and a newly established college. There is
one primary school inside the village with only one teacher, without even a black board. The village is about 1.5 km. away from the Changsari railway Station and the semi-urban centre, and connected by a Kutchcha road. We have observed that only a few well-to-do households in the village have electricity connection.

We have found a sex ratio of 1027 female per 1000 male in the village. About 81 percent of the male, and 43 percent of the female population in Sil Bharal are literate. Each family in the village is consisted of on an average 7 members.

The net cultivated area of the total surveyed households is only 81 bighas. The major crops cultivated are Sali and Ahu paddy.

Tupamari:

This village is inhabited by 252 households belonging to the Bengali speaking Muslim community, and surrounded by similar villages from all sides. This community can be considered as Na-Asamiya Muslim. The people belonging to these villages send their children to the Asamiya medium schools and colleges, and are trying hard to assimilate into the larger Asamiya nationality. Particularly the educated section can not be distinguished from the Asamiyas. This community is in the process of Asamiyaization, which is yet to be completed fully. We have selected 63 (25 percent) households at random for our survey. The nearest urban
centre is Nagarbera, which is about 6 Kms. away from the village. The village is located just on the bank of river Brahmaputra and is connected with Nagarbera by a narrow road cum embankment which is now in a pathetic condition. The village has one Post Office, one primary and one high school. And, Tupamari is not yet electrified.

The sex ratio in the village is 864 female per 1000 male, and each family on an average is constituted of 7 members. Only about 32 percent of the male, and 20 percent of the female population in the village are literate.

The net cultivated area of the total surveyed households in the village is 378 bighas. But, cultivation of the main food crops in the summer is often disturbed by floods, and therefore, the households generally give more importance to the Rabi crops.

Finally, it must be noted that none of our selected villages has an access to irrigation facility provided by the government. Two major villages are not even electrified. 

SCHEME OF CHAPTERS :

We have divided our study into 7 mutually related chapters to analyse the agrarian structure of Assam in three different phases, that is, the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. In the first introductory chapter, we have raised the fundamental issues related to agrarian transformation in Assam in the overall context of the Indian
federal structure. We have also briefly reviewed some of the existing literature related to our study. We have stated the broad objectives and the methodological framework for our study along with a brief profile of the 4 villages selected for our survey.

The present agrarian structure of Assam essentially is the outcome of the unresolved agrarian question in the country in general and Assam in particular. We have explicitly stated in the first chapter that the perspective of this study is the class perspective. The state being an active agent of agrarian transformation is not a neutral entity but tries to fulfil the aspirations of the rich peasantry.

To understand the historical factors responsible for shaping the present agrarian structure, in the second chapter, we have tried to analyse the pre-colonial social formation of Assam. We have tried to identify the dominant mode of production in pre-colonial Assam, and in that context we have analysed the role played by the Ahom state to consolidate feudalism which had finally resulted in a prolonged Civil War. And, this paved the way for colonial intervention.

In the third chapter we have analysed the changes brought about by the colonial rule in the agrarian structure of Assam. We have analysed briefly the political character of the newly born landed aristocracy in Assam which was patronized by colonial rulers.
Before we enter into the present phase, we have analysed in the fourth chapter the basic characters of the Indian ruling classes drawing inferences from the role they played during the course of Indian National Movement for freedom. We have shown that the Indian capitalist class allied itself with the landed aristocracy to fight against British colonialism, and to capture the political power after independence. The perspective of agrarian reforms thus framed after independence is only to help the landowning class. The stated objectives of the reform measures are perceived by us as an integral part of the ruling class ideology.

The landed aristocracy in Assam was patronized by the colonial rulers, and they provided political leadership during the subsequent period of freedom movement. This group had come to the power after independence as a junior partner of the Indian ruling classes as we have pointed out it in the fifth chapter. In the same chapter we have examined the nature of agrarian reform measures initiated by the ruling class in Assam. With adequate empirical evidences, we have shown that state government has favoured only the big landholders and retained all the semi-feudal relations of production.

In the sixth chapter we have identified the agrarian classes in Assam adopting the "Labour exploitation criterion" developed by Utsa Patnaik. We have shown that
the implementation of land reform programmes has helped in emergence of capitalist relations in Assam as a relatively recent phenomenon. However, the social base of agricultural capitalism in Assam is extremely narrow and coexists with feudal and semi-feudal relations of production.

In the last chapter we have come to the conclusion that the post-colonial agrarian scenario in Assam definitely reveals a qualitative change from its past for the development of capitalism. But, due to the narrow economic base of developing capitalism, it has failed to result in any significant level of agricultural growth and proletarisation of the peasantry. Since the post-colonial ruling class in Assam has compromised with the feudal and semi-feudal interests, the poor peasants are exploited both by the feudal and proto-feudal landlords as well as the capitalist and proto-bourgeois rich farmers. Thus, we have arrived at the conclusion that the unresolved agrarian question is the major cause for increasing poverty on one hand and growth of discontent of the people on the other hand.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The most alarming aspects of Assam’s economy is that, though during the early 1950s the per capita net SDP in Assam had been higher than that of India, since 1960s we find a reversal position due to the sluggish growth of net SDP. It is obvious in a predominantly agrarian society like Assam when contribution of agriculture to the aggregate SDP has sharply been declining — for instance, from 57.6% in 1971 to 46.4% in 1983-84, and further to 42.5% in 1984-85. See, Government of Assam, Economic Survey, 1985-86, Guwahati, 1986.


4. Here the author considers the size of 2 hectares as the economic holding for Assam, and he shows that more than 82 percent holdings in 1980-81 are uneconomic holdings.


10. Now it is available in the form of a single volume, see, Utsa Patnaik (ed.), *Agrarian Relations and Accumulation: The Mode of Production Debate in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990.

11. For this summarisation, see, ibid pp. 2-3.


