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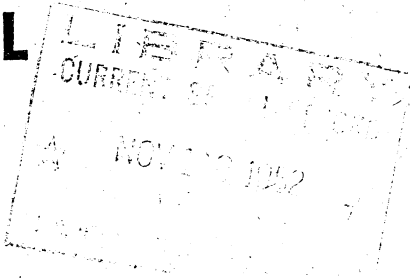
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(Organ of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics)

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THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
BOMBAY

AIMS AND OBJECTS

To promote the investigation, study and improvement of the Economic and Social conditions of agriculture and rural life through:—

- (a) periodical conferences for the discussion of problems;
- (b) the publication of papers, separately or collectively; or in a periodical which may be issued under the auspices of the Society;
- (c) co-operation with other institutions having similar objects, such as the International Conference of Agricultural Economists and the Indian Economic Association, etc.

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REFORM OF LAND TENURE AND AGRARIAN STRUCTURE

[Of late, the problem of land reforms has received much attention at international level. We publish below two documents indicating this. They reveal the trend of thought on this important problem both in regard to its appraisal and the remedies. The first is the report of the Steering Committee of the Conference on World Land Tenure Problems held in Madison under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin. This six-week Conference—October 8, 1951 to November 17, 1951—was attended by 75 delegates from 38 countries. As the report clearly reveals, the accent is on problems of under-developed economies.

The second is the Report and Resolution on Agrarian Structures by the 6th Session of the F.A.O. Conference held in Rome in December 1951. Of particular interest is the outline of the New Programme of Work proposed for the implementation of the Resolution.—Editor]

WORLD LAND TENURE CONFERENCE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

GENERAL

The major contribution of this Conference is the realization that land tenure is a world problem and an extremely urgent one at that. If social justice is to be the foundation of democracy, land tenure needs the attention of the free world.

The excellent work of agencies of the United Nations in the field of land tenure and land reform is not unfamiliar to the Conference. The report of the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. on land reform, dated September 21, 1951, for example, sets forth recommendations which most of the delegates have read and with which they are in general agreement. But we believe that the kind of Conference we have had can prepare the way for the actual carrying out of such recommendations and has prepared the soil for greater international co-operation on land tenure problems. Here at the University of Wisconsin we have had an opportunity freely and openly to discuss our mutual problems, unhampered by national responsibilities, speaking always for ourselves alone, not for our governments. Further, this Conference brought together a happy blend of administrative and academic people. The administrators brought hard, immediate practical problems: the university people research results and broad perspectives. In short, the conception of the conference was sound and its pattern must not be abandoned.

The committee used the dual criteria of economic efficiency and social justice and discovered that there was hardly any part of the world where the prevailing tenurial pattern satisfied these in a full measure. It also became convinced that there could not be efficiency without justice and there could be no justice without efficiency.

We found that unhealthy features in land tenure are due either to basic backwardness of an economy or to institutional mal-adjustments, social, economic and political. We realized that the land tenure problems had roots spread through the entire economy and the remedies had, therefore, to be sought both within and without agricul-

ture. The problems of pressure and control of population, industrialization, distribution of wealth and income, tax, inheritance laws were as germane to our discussion as those of land reclamation, land consolidation and landlord-tenant relations. We realized that the land tenure specialist may go wrong if he ignores the integral relation between agriculture, the rest of the economy and, indeed, the social order. We also realized the prime importance of education and communication in a land tenure programme. Creating an ideal economic farming unit and putting it in the hands of an illiterate farmer bound to the old ways of agriculture by superstition and custom does little to solve the basic problem.

COMMENT ON SOME OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS DISCUSSED AT
THE CONFERENCE

Maldistribution of Land Ownership

One feature of the land tenure problem which appears to be fairly ubiquitous is the concentration of ownership of land in a few hands. Whether the land is scarce or abundant, somehow it gets concentrated in the hands of a comparatively small class of large landholders, many of whom take little interest in cultivation. We have thus a queer phenomenon of a few large—and often badly managed—farms existing side by side with a very large number of small and uneconomic farms in many countries of the world. Purchase and redistribution of land either by sale, lease or otherwise has been a major plank of agrarian reform throughout its history. After the World War II this programme has received a fresh impetus. Land Reform in Japan is an outstanding example of this. Similar measures are contemplated in India, Pakistan, and Formosa.

For a proper appreciation of these reform measures, it is necessary to emphasize that ownership rights in many countries, especially in the Orient, are of a dubious origin and legally and morally not well established. This, along with the exigencies of economic and political situations, determines the manner and extent of compensation given to the possessed owners. What distinguishes the democratic from the totalitarian approach to the question is whether or not the reform is sought to be accomplished by due process of law and is subject to judicial review. If the legislation authorizing purchase has been passed by a democratically constituted legislature and respects the person and individuality of the divested parties, the extent of compensation, though of course vital, becomes less crucial.

For the country which wishes to embark on a land purchase and redistribution programme, there is much experience in various parts of the world on which to draw. There is experience in bond flotation and the financing arrangements, both in countries with security markets and without. There is also important experience in flexibility defining economic farming units under varying conditions of soil, climate and market. Laws fixing limits on maximum size of holdings exist in several countries. Progressive taxation as a means of forcing neglected land or land owned by absentee landlords into the market exists as do arrangements to prevent excessive fragmentation of the redistributed

land. There are also possible alternatives to land purchase and resale schemes which may, under some circumstances, free capital to be used for other important purposes.

Small and fragmented holdings constitute a major obstacle to efficient farming. And yet it is a universal phenomenon in all over-populated countries. Strangely, however, it is also found in countries with a favourable man-land ratio. Whereas in the former, it is a symbol of over-population and under-development, in the latter it is an offshoot of faulty social and political arrangement and institutions.

A satisfactory solution of the problem has to contend with established law as well as custom and tradition such as those affecting inheritance laws, property rights, distribution of wealth and income. On the technical side, there is enough experience with land consolidation efforts and achievements in various parts of the world so that, if properly assimilated and articulated, it could be used to advantage with situational modifications. Once consolidation has been achieved active training programmes for the farmers as well as arrangements to prevent refragmentation through the operation of inheritance laws are required. Also required is a speeding up of consolidation work through the use of aerial photographs, stream-lined procedures, speedier surveying and the like.

The problem, however, assumes altogether different dimensions where even after consolidation, the size of the individual unit remains too small and uneconomic. If there are limitations on the removal of surplus farm population to non-farm occupations, solutions will have to be found within agriculture, at any rate for the short period. Co-operative farming, as subsequently defined, with a varying degree of integration with such local conditions is suggested as a remedy. It may be admitted that though this does not "solve" the problem of full and efficient use of resources, it does mitigate it to some extent.

Credit

If an enterprise has an efficient and an economic unit of operation, the problem of credit is not particularly difficult. It is only when the borrower is considered "uncreditworthy" by the normal financing agencies that a question of special and alternative arrangements springs up. Unfortunately, in many parts of the world, a large number of farmers are outside the pale of organized credit. This is especially true when substantial credit is needed to purchase land or capital equipment. Mere transfer of ownership rights from one class to another might not result in improved use of land, unless means are available to the new owners to increase their productive efficiency. The very process of agrarian reforms, such as the acquisition of new rights, etc., will set up pressure for additional funds, while their supply, on the other hand, is likely to contract to some extent by the enforcement of measures like restrictions on transfer and sub-letting of land, etc., the provision of suitable credit, therefore, assumes great importance in a plan for achieving any improved pattern of tenurial and land-use relationship. There are two major types of institutional agencies which could be organized to meet the situation — co-operative and/or state-sponsored corporations. In some countries, the risks of financing the

severely dis-advantaged class of cultivators is so great that, without the active support of the state, co-operatives might find it difficult to finance them. In a democratic state, the objectives of government policy and of the co-operatives run parallel to a great extent. To the extent they do, there is no reason why each should not draw upon the other to achieve the common end.

Government-to-government loans from developed countries to under-developed countries are needed to start the flow of credit from state agencies to co-operatives (and other local lending institutions) and thence to the farmer. A state-sponsored corporation may thus, in certain circumstances, act as a central reservoir of loanable funds on which the co-operatives could draw in times of need.

There should, however, be proper safeguards for insuring that the credit supplied is used for the purpose for which it is given, viz.—the land improvement. The provision of loans, therefore, internal as well as international, should be conditioned on the development of a well-organized mechanism for supervision and check at every stage of the application of funds, so that the credit given may be at once both safe as well as productive. The organization of a full-fledged extension service side by side with the provision of credit under the authority of a Farm and Home Administration would be a step in the right direction.

It may be not only futile but a total waste to give credit to the uncreditworthy farmer without providing him with technical supervisors and assistance until he becomes qualified to carry on his home making and farming operations in a sound and rational manner. This will involve attention to tenure, technology and provision of social services like health and education.

Equitable Landlord-Tenant Relations

As already indicated, one of the most serious issues raised at the Conference is the concentration of landlordship in many under-developed countries. This has invariably given rise to systems of tenancy that have proved ruinous to farm workers and have brought about depressed conditions in agriculture. It has been emphasized that the ultimate goal in land tenures improvement is to secure the ownership of land for the tiller of the soil. While this has been accepted on broad principles as the ideal tenure system in free societies, farm tenancy has always a justifiable place in any system of progressive agriculture. A rational programme of improving landlord-tenant relations is therefore necessary to raise the efficiency of farming, afford security and to secure fair contractual arrangements to safeguard interests of tenants and the land owners. Especially is this important and the need very great where tenants are in the category of share croppers such as those found in many countries of Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and the U.S.A. As a group they are generally ignorant, without much capital, hopelessly bound to the land because of debt and as a consequence, exploited, oppressed and in dire poverty. Tenancy legislation is only one of the lines of improvement indicated. Education, health protection, social security and provision of cheap and easy credit are other lines.

Experience in many countries in finding equitable landlord-tenant relations may be profitably utilized in undertaking programmes of improvement of the tenant's status.

Possibilities of Co-operation in Land Tenure Improvement

Co-operation is one of the issues raised in the search for improvement of tenure conditions in many countries. It would seem that where peasant farming has degenerated through fragmentation into small uneconomic farm units on account of high pressure of population on land leading to conditions like extortionate rents, low education and literacy, high birth and death rates, poverty, disease and debt, co-operative farming appears, prima facie, an attractive solution: but as experience has proved its limited success, in the absence of high character personnel and leadership it may, in countries under those conditions, be tried out on a pilot basis, and gradually extended if success warrants such extension.

Land Reclamation and Settlement

In many countries strong efforts have been made since World War II to alleviate maladjustments in agriculture by reclaiming land and settling farmers on it. Programmes in Venezuela, Chile, Egypt, Syria, Holland, Italy and other countries are in point. Perhaps most dramatic and inspiring of all has been the programme in Finland. Such projects not only permit experimentation with technological innovations like mapping up, aerial photography and mechanized land clearance methods to make land more speedily available for settlement, but also with land tenure and credit arrangements to prevent fragmentation, induce good husbandry and permit land ownership without unduly burdensome debt.

Continuity for the Work Started at this Conference

There are needs in the world that are great and urgent but which by the very nature cannot be effectively met by political organizations, whether they be of diplomats connected with individual governments, or international agencies like the United Nations—Land Tenure is one of these, but there are many others. Universities and their technical staffs have an opportunity to render enormous service to world welfare and world peace, in undertaking in those fields those types of services which the University of Wisconsin has done in Land Tenure.

We believe this pattern has much to commend itself and deserves widespread adaptation throughout the world.

Those of us who have attended the World Land Tenure Conference at the University of Wisconsin have received much stimulation and have acquired many new ideas which we will take back with us to the problems which will face us at home. It would be tragic to permit this stimulation and inspiration to die with the termination of this Conference. To prevent this and to provide for the continuity of the work started at the Conference the steering committee makes the following recommendations:

1. There should be established at the University of Wisconsin a permanent central committee with both resident and corresponding members. The resident members shall be three professors on the staff of the University; the corresponding members shall be selected from among the delegates and there shall be one corresponding member for each country represented at the Conference. The resident members, in the orderly discharge of the duties listed below, may from time to time constitute such executive sub-committees as may be necessary to accomplish the objectives in view. This central committee shall be charged with the following duties: (i) to provide for a regular exchange of information between the countries represented at this Conference and such other countries as may care to join in this activity, and in this connection to periodically publish a review of progress in land reform all over the world; (ii) to create regional sub-committees with a view toward holding regional conferences to work with land tenure problems in the same objective manner that has characterized this Conference; (iii) to give continuing attention and encouragement to the trainee programme recommended later in this report; (iv) to encourage and support the building up and maintenance of an international land tenure lending library of the type later described; (v) to sponsor the exchange between countries of personnel expert in the handling of land tenure problems; (vi) to recommend schemes for international assistance and research in the land tenure field; (vii) to encourage in every way research in the land tenure field; (viii) to collaborate to the greatest possible extent with the appropriate agencies of the United Nations and supplement the work already being done by these agencies in the land tenure field; and (ix) to do anything else necessary to give continuity to the crucially important work started at this Conference.

2. As just suggested, the central committee should sponsor and encourage the holding of regional meetings on land tenure problems, each country to be consulted as to regional meeting in which it desires to participate. These regional sessions should be attended by representatives of countries where similar conditions and needs exist such as the regions of the near-East, southeast Asia, Latin America, etc. It may be possible to arrange for annual regional meetings to be held in rotation in different countries.

3. The trainee programme started in connection with this Conference should be continued for the indefinite future. This programme should involve not only the training of non-Americans in American universities; it should also involve the training of Americans in other countries of the world. It is felt that the trainees who are now at the University of Wisconsin and those who come to the University in the future will provide the necessary continuing stimulus which will make it possible to continue the work of this Conference through the central and regional committees above suggested. For example, the trainees now at the University might during the course of the present academic year prepare a detailed analysis of some of the major problems discussed at this Conference, elaborating extensively upon the necessarily summary comments in the first part of this report. In subsequent years trainees going to and from America could provide the living nexus which would hold the world-wide interests of this Confer-

ence together. The chief burden of providing most current information about land tenure and land reform programmes in various parts of the world would fall upon these trainees who could also, perhaps, aid in the preparation of periodic reports with respect to such programme. The central committee should ensure that this trainee programme is tied up closely with the research of the type mentioned in the next paragraph.

4. It is strongly urged that in its new library building about to become a reality, the University of Wisconsin maintain an up-to-date and world-wide land tenure library with facilities for the lending of land tenure materials to interested and reliable persons anywhere in the free world. If such a library is established, the steering committee feels confident that it can without qualification promise for each delegate that he will keep this library supplied with the latest land tenure materials from his own country, or if cost considerations require it, to at least provide the library with a list of such materials.

5. A prime necessity is accelerated and broadened research in the land tenure field. We must have the facts if we are to act intelligently. This Conference has disclosed clearly the existence of many problems common to two or more countries. Comparative land tenure research criss-crossing national boundaries is called for. This can best be accomplished by collaborative arrangements between universities within the same or in two or more countries. The central committee should offer its services in helping plan such research and in actually administering it and should also act as a stimulator of research, particularly comparative research. It should offer its services as a screening agent for international and other agencies in the field of international land tenure research.

It is suggested that priority may be given to the following fields of research:

(I) The process of industrial development in under-developed territories as exemplified, for instance, in the Tennessee Valley, taking into consideration the economic and sociological aspects and paying particular attention to the integration of industry and agriculture;

(II) Conditions influencing population trends in under-developed territories and ways and means for keeping population growth in check;

(III) (a) The development of supervised credit techniques as a means of improving the management efficiency of small holdings and raising the level of production;

(b) Co-operative farming and other forms of joint organization, e.g. the proportional profit farm of Puerto Rico and the group farming techniques used in the Sudan and the Fiji Islands, as alternative measures for making the fullest use of resources and raising the level of production under conditions of heavy pressure of population on the land, and appropriate types of farming pending the creation of conditions which would enable family farms to be successfully established;

(c) Economic and social implications of mechanized farming in backward agriculture economies.

4. Comparative analysis of land reform legislation and the effect of such legislation on agricultural production in the different countries;

5. Land tenure problems should be given consideration on the programmes of international conferences dealing with natural resources lest the work done at this conference and by the central committee might remain confined to the purely academic sphere, it is recommended lest the work done at this Conference and by the central committee may suggest should be examined with a view to translating them into practice, by international conferences at the official and governmental level convened from time to time under the auspices of the F.A.O. of the U.N.

6. If called upon by any government or international agency for advice, the central committee should feel free to comment on proposed schemes for international research or assistance, financial, or otherwise, in the land tenure field.

REPORT AND RESOLUTION ON AGRARIAN STRUCTURES

by the Sixth Session of the FAO Conference

Rome, December 1951

REFORM OF AGRARIAN STRUCTURES

The subject of agrarian reform, debated for the first time by the FAO Conference, aroused a large number of interested comments by the delegates. There was general agreement that the reform of the agrarian structure was a proper topic for FAO to consider in endeavouring to fulfill the general aims of the organization: to increase agricultural production and to promote better rural living. There was also general acceptance of the theme of the joint FAO|UN study presented to the 12th Session of the Council, which highlighted the various ways in which certain defects in the agrarian structure, such as small and fragmented holdings, insecurity of tenure, lack of registration of titles to land and water, scarcity of credit, unfair rentals or inequitable taxes against the interest of sound economic and social use of land, seriously impede economic development. There was explicit and implicit concurrence among the delegates that concerted action to remedy these defects was necessary in order to raise food production in line with the exposition of Director-General in which he outlined the serious world food situation.

The Conference noted the resolution of land reform in the Economic and Social Council which called upon FAO to assume a major responsibility in dealing with this problem of agrarian structures, and it agreed that the Organisation should accept this challenge.

The Conference considered the elimination of defective features from existing agrarian structures is not only essential to economic progress but that such measures would materially contribute to human freedom and dignity and consequently would secure social stability and further peaceful democratic development. The Conference emphasised the importance of country-wide enthusiasm for the rational utilisation of natural resources developed through scientific knowledge to

their maximum potential, in order to assure to the farmer a decent standard of living.

The Conference calls upon Member Governments to examine their own agrarian structure in the light of ECOSOC resolution and promote to the fullest, the exchange of information and the spread of education to further popular understanding of rural betterment.

It is clear that agrarian reform is a manifold and complex operation, involving not only such measures as listed above, but closely tied in with most other aspects of economic and social life. In line with the main conclusions of the joint FAO|UN study, the Conference concurred in the view that the reform of the agrarian structure must be part and parcel of the general programme of economic development. Consequently, many delegates felt that FAO should not treat agrarian reform in isolation, but integrate it with other projects in its programme related to economic development in the broadest sense. For instance, it is recognized that the resource characteristics of different agricultural regions have a decisive effect on such features of rural institutions as the optimum size of holdings and the pattern of land utilisation.

The Conference recognizes that in final analysis the basic measures in this field must be taken by the governments themselves, as part of their national programmes. However, FAO charged with the responsibility of promoting world agricultural production and rural living, should be able to assist member nations in carrying out rural reform programmes.

If FAO is to carry out such a programme of assistance, the Secretariat must have available extensive and continuous information on land tenure and all related matters. The Conference, therefore, requests the Director-General to make appropriate arrangements for the collection and analysis of this information with the view to maximum benefit to member countries. The Conference calls upon Member Governments to give full and detailed information and documentation on these subjects to the Secretariat.

As emphasized in the discussion, several countries have already valuable experience in many fields of agrarian reform, which they are willing to put at the disposal of other Member Governments. Other delegations have, on the other hand, expressed great interest in measures put into effect in other countries, as they themselves are now planning, or are actually in the process of executing certain rural reforms. The Conference, therefore, requests the Director-General to make the experience of individual countries in the field of specific reform measures available to all interested governments. To this end FAO should initiate analytical studies in co-operation with Member Governments, and also assist selected member nations in the appraisal of the effectiveness of current measures of land reform in the field.

For the purpose of periodical exchange of information and experience among experts in this field, the Conference recommends the organization of regional meetings in problems of agrarian structure. A number of Member Governments have already expressed their willingness to be hosts to such meetings.

It is evident that the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme can serve as an appropriate framework for carrying out some of FAO's work on rural reform. Delegates have commented on the desirability of giving high priority within ETAP to projects dealing with agrarian reform. The Conference calls on Member Governments engaged in planning economic development projects which involve changes in the agrarian structure, to request FAO for help under the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, either in dealing with particular aspects of their rural institutional structure, such as credit, fragmentation, etc., or in planning a general attack on all phases of the problem. It was pointed out that in countries where large programmes of technical assistance are now under way, changes in agrarian structures should be considered as essential supplementary activity, because the effectiveness of so many of the technological measures depend on the improvements of the existing institutional structure. In this connection, it has been suggested that instead of one working in isolation, there ought to be "Land Tenure Teams" tackling simultaneously various aspects of agrarian reform in a problem area. Governments might want to give this matter consideration, when they submit requests for assistance.

In accordance with suggestions made during the debate, the Conference recommends the establishment of training centres in the field of agrarian structures, particularly land tenure, as similar centres have already been successfully organized on a number of technical subjects. Such centres are to broaden the training and experience of men who would work on problems connected with agrarian reform in their own countries. These prospective centres might concentrate on the question of methodology (i.e., how to attack land tenure problems), because instruction in the fundamentals of research and analysis seems to be most badly needed. It is recommended that such training centres be associated with practical demonstrations in which projects featuring sound agrarian structure is stressed. It is hoped that in the operation of such centres full advantage would be taken of possible co-operation between FAO, other international agencies, and the technical assistance organizations of member nations.

Since agrarian reform cannot be accomplished without adequate capital inputs and consequently considerable costs, the problem of the internal and external financing of agrarian reform programmes is a very essential one. The Conference having heard a statement by the Representative of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, agreed that FAO, in co-operation with the United Nations and its appropriate specialized agencies, should explore the possibility of the provision of more effective methods of financing, both through mobilization of the internal resources of the countries concerned and through international institutions, already existing or organised for this purpose, which would provide loans or grants as referred to in the appropriate resolution of the ECOSOC (F.2107).

In conclusion, the Conference feels that this matter of the reform of agrarian structure is so important in carrying out the broad objectives of FAO and those which specifically confront this Conference, as presented in the Director-General's opening statement for Commission I, that the subject of agrarian reform should be an important part of the Programme of Work of the Organization for the next years to come.

RESOLUTION No. 7

Reform of Agrarian Structures

The Conference

Having Examined:

The Report on "Defects in Agrarian Structure as obstacles to Economic Development", the resolution of the ECOSOC thereon, and the Director-General's "Statement on Reform of Agrarian Structures" C 51|I-3.

Considers:

(a) That in many countries the agrarian structure has most serious defects, in particular to uneconomic size of farms, the fragmentation of holdings, the maldistribution of landed property, excessive rents, inequitable system of taxation, insecurity of tenure, perpetual indebtedness or the lack of clear titles to land and water, (b) that these defects prevent a rise in the standard of living of small farmers and agricultural labourers and impede agricultural development, (c) that reform of agrarian structure in such countries is essential to human dignity of freedom and to the achievement of the aims of FAO.

Endorses:

The resolution of the ECOSOC of September 7 insofar as it applies to FAO, and

Urges:

Member Governments (a) to take immediate steps to implement that resolution and to co-operate with FAO in supplying information and participate in such investigations as FAO may undertake, (b) to request the assistance of FAO to carry out reform of their agrarian structure.

Requests:

The Director-General to:

1. Assemble in co-operation with other appropriate organizations on a continuing basis at FAO Headquarters information on land tenure, land reform and allied subjects, with a view to analyzing and making it available to interested Member Governments and institutions.
2. Co-operate with member nations in the appraisal of the effectiveness of past and current measures of reform of agrarian structure.
3. Take the leadership in organizing with other entities of the United Nations such inter-agency arrangements as may be useful and appropriate to enable each UN agency to make its fullest contribution to implement the ECOSOC resolution, to provide assistance to governments on all aspects of reform of agrarian structure, and to arrange for the preparation of reports on progress achieved as called for in the ECOSOC resolution.

4. Review the programme of work of FAO with a view to insuring a high priority and an integrated approach to those projects in the various divisions which are related to the problems of reform of agrarian structure in the broadest sense in order to keep member nations informed of all aspects of the problem under review and to be fully prepared to give assistance to governments in the development of their programme.

5. Be prepared to assist governments by provision of technical assistance on programme designed to promote desirable reforms including land tenure, agricultural credit, agricultural co-operatives and agricultural extension services and rural industries.

6. Seek the co-operation of other international organizations, Member Governments and private bodies on investigations of problems of reform of agrarian structure including the analysis and promotion of methods of external and internal financing of agrarian reform programme.

7. Promote the organization of regional conferences or training centres combined with demonstration projects on reform of agrarian structures in co-operation with other national.

8. Report to the Council as soon as practicable on initial progress made in implementing those recommendations, on obstacles encountered and on further possibilities uncovered, and subsequently to report fully to the next regular Conference on progress achieved.

NEW PROGRAM OF WORK ON LAND TENURE AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations at its 6th Session examined the United Nations Report on "Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development" and the Resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations thereon (No. 6 of the 7th September 1951) and passed a comprehensive Resolution on agrarian reform. The object of the present paper is to outline the new program of work proposed in order to give full implementation to this Resolution. In the earlier discussions on this subject the term "agrarian structure" was used. This term has a very wide, and somewhat vague, content, since it includes the whole legal, customary and institutional framework within which agriculture is carried out. Prompt and effective action clearly demands some initial limitation of the field of work, and it is doubtless for this reason that the FAO Conference described its Resolution as one on "agrarian reform", and that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations confined its principal recommendation to the Specialized Agencies (in par. 5 of its Resolution) to "land reform" and to measures directly necessary to the success of such reform. With the same object the present paper deals primarily with land tenure and those aspects of agrarian reform that are closely and directly related to land tenure. This does not, of course, mean that other aspects of the problems of agrarian reform will be neglected, nor does it imply the omission of any part of the FAO Program of Work for 1952-53 presented to the Conference, which includes important projects on co-operatives, credit, extension and some aspects of land use. It merely

means that in the new work, planned in implementation of the Conference's Resolution and made possible by the additional funds allotted for the purpose, emphasis will first be placed on land tenure and subjects directly related thereto.

2. Considerable work has already been done on land tenure and related subjects. Papers have been published by the FAO on the consolidation of fragmented agricultural holdings, on essential steps in national agricultural development and on agricultural credit, especially supervised agricultural credit, in various Latin American countries and in Libya. The Food and Agriculture Organization also collaborated with the United Nations in the preparation of the Report on Land Reform cited above. Technical meetings have been held on co-operatives in the Caribbean area and in Southern Asia and the Far East, and a regional meeting on land utilization has been held in Ceylon. Under the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, fieldwork on agricultural credit is in progress in Libya, Iran, Honduras and Jamaica, on agricultural co-operatives in Mexico (Fundamental Education Centre) and Thailand. A regional training centre on co-operatives for the Near East and a seminar on agricultural credit for Latin America are in preparation. An enquiry has also begun, in collaboration with the Fiscal Division of the United Nations, into the effect on agricultural development of duties and regulations imposed on the rural population through taxation and other fiscal measures.

3. It is intended that the new program in the field of land tenure and agrarian reform should include general studies, functional monographs, field studies of particular situations, regional seminars and demonstration projects. These various items are to be regarded as complementary to one another, and as far as possible work in the field and at headquarters will be carried out simultaneously with the object of gradually accumulating a body of general and local information which will facilitate the preparation of reports to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and to the Council and Conference of the FAO, and will provide a proper basis for advice and assistance to Member Governments under the Expanded Technical Assistance Program. The success of the program will depend largely on close and effective co-operation between the FAO staff and the governments and technicians of Member Countries. Indeed, work done in the field can only be carried out with the approval and assistance of the Member Governments concerned. The items enumerated below indicate the general scope of the work proposed and are not to be regarded as constituting a rigid program, the development of which, at this stage, is neither practicable nor desirable, since the precise matters dealt with and the order of priority must inevitably depend largely on external factors, including the wishes and needs of Member Governments.

A. General Studies:

- a) Definition of terms;
- b) Bibliography;
- c) Criteria for evaluating systems of land tenure,
- d) Methods of conducting field enquiries into local agrarian situations;

- e) The relation of land tenure and agrarian reform to agricultural development;
- f) The influence of land tenure systems on the manner in which the capital, management and labour required for farming are provided and applied;
- g) The effect of land tenure systems on the standard of life of the agricultural producer and his family, the amenities of rural life and the social conditions of agricultural communities.

B. Functional Monographs on Specific Aspects of Land Tenure Systems in General:

- a) Description of the main features of different systems of land tenure and analysis of their advantages and disadvantages to agriculture;
 - 1) Tenancy;
 - 2) Cultivation by the land owner;
 - 3) Large, centrally operated estates including "plantations";
 - 4) Communal tenure;
 - 5) Co-operative tenure and collectives;
 - 6) Mixed tenures;
 - 7) Public lands.
- b) Studies on;
 - 1) Methods of financing land reform measures;
 - 2) Water rights in relation to land tenure;
 - 3) Public control and limitation of private rights in land;
 - 4) Cadastral surveys and registration of rights in land;
 - 5) Management of forests in relation to types of ownership.

C. Country Studies:

These will be studies of actual tenure situations as revealed by local enquiry. Such studies will naturally cover a much wider field than land tenure alone, since any satisfactory appreciation of a particular tenure situation must necessarily be based on a view of the agrarian situation as a whole. Three types of study are contemplated and will include, where possible, discussion of the effects of any changes that may have been introduced;

- a) Studies based on actual requests by Member Governments for an examination for a system believed to be unsatisfactory but on which little or no remedial action has been attempted;

- b) Studies in countries where measures of land reform have already been introduced; and
- c) Studies in countries where changes in the agrarian system are actually taking place.

D. Regional Seminars:

Of the type contemplated in paragraph 7 of the 7th Resolution of the Sixth Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, these seminars will be organized for the exchange of knowledge and ideas on problems of land utilization and land tenure and related subjects within the region concerned and not for the study of particular projects. If the regions are carefully selected, it is thought that the problems of the various countries will be found to have many common features. The seminars will assist the solution of regional problems not only by clarifying the issues, but also by providing convenient means for the dissemination of information on remedial measures proposed or undertaken, the application of such measures, the difficulties encountered and the results obtained from them.

E. Demonstration Projects:

A "demonstration project" is an actual experiment in agrarian reform conducted in a limited area with the object (a) of gaining practical knowledge and experience of the effects of a measure of land reform before applying it generally or (b) of demonstrating the advantages of a measure to the people. The scope for such experiments varies greatly with local political and social conditions: in some countries the expenditure of public money on what is *prima facie* to the advantage of a particular group of the population may not be tolerated; in others experiments of this kind have in fact been carried out without serious opposition. If such projects are to succeed, they must provide not only for the satisfactory administration of the measure or reform to which the experiment is directed but also for such improvements in the public services provided as may be necessary to the success of the scheme. Adequate advisory and technical services, credit, improvements in communications, water supplies and marketing facilities, the registration of rights in land and reformed taxation systems designed to facilitate rather than impede agricultural development are examples of activities which must often be associated with land reforms if success is to be achieved.

4. Work in connection with country studies, regional seminars and demonstration projects has to be carried out within the territories of Member Countries. The success of such projects—and indeed their very possibility—depends, therefore, primarily on requests and invitations received from Member Governments, and on the facilities and co-operation provided by these governments and by universities and other institutions within their territories. Much can, however, be done by officers of the Organization working in the field to stimulate such requests and invitations. As an example, the response to a suggestion for holding a regional seminar on land utilization and land tenure in Latin America has been very encouraging, and it seems that several Member Countries would be willing to act as hosts to such a

seminar. A further obvious limitation is placed on the FAO program by the amount of funds from time to time available to the Organization or allotted by Member Governments. Subject to these limitations, it is the intention of the FAO to make every effort to provide advice and assistance to Member Governments on all aspects of agrarian reform falling within the field of the Organization's activities, and to this end, to collaborate closely with Member Governments and universities, charitable foundations and other national institutions, with the United Nations Organisation and with other specialized agencies concerned. An obvious immediate field for such collaboration is the preparation of the questionnaires and reports on the reform of agrarian structures and on agricultural co-operatives called for by the Economic and Social Council's Resolution on Land Reform.

5. The success of collaborative work, whether the collaboration is with Member Countries or with other international bodies, depends on careful preparation on close co-ordination of effort from the earliest stages of the work, and on clear agreements as to the division of work and responsibility between the collaborating bodies. The need to make the best use of limited and separately controlled funds also points in the same direction. The practical problems of satisfactory collaboration are perhaps greatest in regard to work in which several international agencies are jointly interested. The Food and Agriculture Organization therefore intends, in the spring or early summer of 1952, to invite the United Nations Organization and the specialized agencies concerned in this matter to send representatives to participate in a meeting to discuss the best method of achieving effective collaboration and the most profitable employment of the staff and funds available. It is expected that such *ad hoc* meetings will be necessary from time to time as the program develops in order to maintain effective co-ordination.
