

leased in or leased out. However, the information we do have is sufficient to apply the labor-exploitation criterion in a more or less schematic manner. Before this application, a reproduction of Patnaik's categorization of the different strata of the peasantry is in order.

(1) The first category contains both big landowners of the federal type and capitalist, distinguished from the peasants by the fact that family members do not perform manual labour [sic] in any major farm operations. They rely entirely on the labour of others, where through direct labour hiring or indirectly with a predominance of rent-extraction, defining the still "feudal" type of landlord. This category constitutes the large-scale appropriators of surplus (whether in the form of labour, product or value) in agriculture.

(2) The second category is the top stratum of the peasantry, the rich peasants. They perform some manual work in major farm operations. By their resource position per capita is so favorable that appropriation of others' labour, whether directly or indirectly, is at least as important as family labour in cultivation. Depending on whether labour-hiring or rent predominates we may distinguish between a proto-bourgeois and proto-landlord stratum, respectively, within the rich peasantry. The rich peasantry is thus also an exploiting, surplus appropriating class.

(3) The middle peasantry is primarily self-employed, since *on average* its resource position per capita is such as to just employ family labour adequately and provide a livelihood at a customary subsistence level. However, the middle peasantry has a dual character. A middle peasant holding may be a net exploiter of others' labour, or it may be exploited itself. In both cases, of course, self-employment is more important. It is necessary to make a subclassification within this large category. (a) We designate as "upper-middle peasants" those who are net exploiters of others' labour. These holdings have just crossed the subsistence barrier and can generate small retainable surpluses through such small-scale exploitation. (b) The "lower-middle peasants" are those who either do not exploit any labour at all or they are themselves exploited to some extent. The lower-middle peasants, typically are still constrained by the struggle to reach a subsistence; they either just manage to break even through self-employment or, more commonly, must supplement inadequate income from own resources by working to a small degree for others.