

Published by
SAMAR BOSE
GANAVANI PUBLISHING HOUSE,
P. 31A, Chittraranjan Avenue, Calcutta.

First Edition—1937
Second Edition—1946

Printer:
J. N. DEY,
EXPRESS PRINTERS,
20-A, Gour Laha Street.
Calcutta.

To

L.A.C.S.

(Without Permission)

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Ressurrection of Indian Agriculturists A Ten Point Programme.

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PREFACE
TO
The Agrarian Charter.

My dear Tagore,

The following pages contain the revised and enlarged edition of the *Agrarian Charter*, which was first published in 1937-38.

Many radical changes have occurred in the last 8 years, which necessitate a wholesale revision of the original text. At the time the Charter was first published, there was no attempt at framing a comprehensive Plan for an all-round development of the country, its material resources, and all available man-power. Nor was there any sign of effective power and sovereign authority being vested in the people of India, and exercised by a Government responsible to them. There was, finally, no hint of dismembering the country, which is now being demanded as their right by a certain section of the people.

These are great and radical changes, as compared to the situation in 1938. Planning has become, in the meantime, if not an accepted ideal, with a definite programme for its realisation, at least fashionable. Even those who used to scoff at the very idea of planning, as of fantastic Russian origin, now profess enthusiasm for the term, even though their conception of the task, its ways and means, is of the vaguest. No one, however,

now ventures to dismiss the notion of National Planning as a figment of superheated imagination. I have, therefore, correlated the operative sections of the Charter, and redrafted them as part of a comprehensive National Plan.

Independent national sovereignty for India has not yet been achieved. The people's representatives, and their responsible Ministers, have not yet the power and authority to give effect to any radical programme of a silent revolution, designed to make *Swaraj* both real and beneficial to the masses. But, in this field also, the prospect seems to be a little better than 8 years ago. A fuller consciousness has developed of the possibilities of material development, which can be accomplished if full power and real authority were in the people's hands. This consciousness concerns not only the indispensable prerequisites and invariable concomitants of Social Justice, as between man and man, of human equality and international co-operation, without which there will be neither peace, security, nor progress.

The demand for a dismemberment of this country into Pakistan and Baquistan has been officially adopted by the All-India Muslim League, put forward since 1940, and ever since insisted upon as the *sine qua non* of the Muslim consent to India attaining independent sovereign Statehood. The demand is based on the so-called Two Nations theory; and implies, if it is conceded, a way of life in Pakistan areas, which would in all probability reinforce vested interests of privileged classes and parasitic re-actionaries. The masses affected are not, unfortunately, educated enough to appreciate the consequences

of such moves. Even so, it is necessary that a warning note be sounded, not only as regards the rocks and shoals ahead, if the haven of Pakistan is sought; but also the prospect for the man in the street all over the country, if India remains integral and marches on according to a planned programme of Social Reconstruction and economic regeneration. The Charter, as revised, aims also at this aspect of the changed situation.

These pages have been written to-day, as on the earlier occasion, on the assumption that we should effect a bloodless revolution, and transform the Social System from the anarchic jungle of universal competition, that it is to-day, into a decent home for co-operative humanity, mutually helpful to attain the maximum of common benefit. It may be that these hopes are not well founded,—in past experience, or present prospects. It may be that a radical and abiding change will be impossible, without a violent shock to the existing order of vested interests. But, even so, progress of an abiding character will be staved off indefinitely,—if the clock is not actually put back,—if violence is resorted to as the only way to effect change and reconstruction.

In every violent revolution, there is, inevitably, a period of confusion and dislocation, which deeply affects the process of settling down. There is almost inevitably a certain reversion to the fountain head of ideals and origin of institutions, which do not die so easily. In the absence, at any rate, of definite plans to meet and guide a revolution when it comes, even if it is violent, the chances of perversion and distortion seem to be much greater than when there is a clear cut programme for

meeting the changing situation, and attaining our objectives even in the midst of volcanic eruption.

The guiding principle, in the pages that follow, seeks, I need hardly tell you, to abolish the Profit Motive, and eliminate private property, at least in all the primary sources of producing new wealth. This change may be gradual; but a definite period, within which and the stages by which it must be accomplished, must be indicated, so that the gradualness will not be a mask for doing nothing.

The Charter, in its specific provisions, is not much more than outlines of a programme to achieve the objectives mentioned above. It is drawn up so as to be applicable to all Provinces and States, on the assumption that they are likely to form the federating units of a United States of India. The basic Constitution, again, is assumed to be that of a United India, federally organised, and governed with as much co-operative endeavour, with the utmost permissible local autonomy, as is consistent with the efficient execution of the National Plan, and effective discharge of common obligations by a Central National Authority.

The programme outlined in these pages may be considered in two parts: In the first are laid down certain general maxims or principles, which are capable of immediate legislative enactment if those principles are accepted. They provide the foundation as well as the frame-work for a wholesale Agrarian Reconstruction, which will not only affect more than three-fourths of the total population of India; it will also react inevitably upon the Industries, Commerce, Services, Utilities, and

Amenities, that, in their aggregate make up the total life of the Country.

The second part consists of operative provisions, which may either be enacted by the appropriate Legislature, or be made of rules under the main, basic, common National Legislation. These two parts are not given into two separate divisions. In every section they are combined and inter-dependent so that their mutual co-ordination becomes inescapable.

It may be that constitutional pundits may find objection on grounds of practicability as regards some of these suggestions. A moment's scrutiny will show, however, that almost every suggestion is designed to be put into effect,—if only there is the will to do justice to one's fellow-citizens. Even granting that not all of these are immediately or unconditionally practicable, it is only a question of time when they could all be realised. Once such elemental forces are set into motion, their reaction is accelerating in geometric progression, so that the waves set up,—as by a pebble dropped in a lake,—by their very operation, imperceptibly but effectively transform the environment under which they have to operate; and so render everyday more and more feasible that which, before these forces were set into motion, could be argued to be impracticable.

The practical side is in fact specifically stressed. Wherever necessary, ways and means have been sketched out to make the solution of the main problems of Agrarian Economy operative, and so affect the most urgent reforms, with the least dislocation of the existing system. At the same time it would pave the way for a

rapid and unavoidable vesting of ultimate ownership of all sources of production of natural wealth, of social services and public utilities, in the community collectively with a view to constituting a comprehensive, coordinated plan of national advancement.

If these general ideas are found acceptable, the task of giving effect, in concrete form, to them, may be divided between the Central, the Provincial and Municipal or Local Governments. Under the Constitution, as envisaged now, of a United and Federal India, there will be certain common ground for legislative as well as administrative action, primarily within the spheres of authority of the National, Provincial or Local Governments. This may seem to overlap; but such overlapping is a matter for proper coordination and collaboration, rather than an impediment or obstruction, a cause of difference or a source of conflict. However this problem is finally solved, the governing principles followed in working out this Charter may be summed up as follows:—

The basic principle of policy in all these matters of National or common concern or collaboration must be left to the Central National Government. A necessary margin of power or discretion must be left to vary or modify the Central Legislation wherever local circumstances, or the conditions of the moment, may render such a course imperative.

On the other hand, the actual administration, conduct or management of any Organisation, Enterprise, Council or Corporation, must be left to the Local or

Provincial Authority, which, being on the spot, will alone be competent to deal with such matters satisfactorily.

Between these two, there is a considerable field for common action, which may be taken in consultation; or under such arrangements for delegation of authority as may be found advisable or necessary in each case.

Because the Central National Authority may have to aid in financing, in providing experts, in conducting Foreign Trade, and, above all, in keeping all activities under the National Plan in line, certain powers of control, supervision, regulation and coordination must be left to the Central Government, or the National Planning Authority under it.

Whether the Agrarian Charter is legislatively enacted, or is carried out by administrative arrangement, room is left in the sketch given hereafter for ample exercise of Provincial autonomy, without the least prejudice to National intergrity, collaboration and coordination.

The actual procedure by which legislative or administrative action could be finally decided upon, whether by the Central National Government or by the Provincial Governments, is a matter of comparative indifference. One may proceed by a resolution in the National Legislature, indicating the general lines of reconstruction. On these every State and Provincial Ministry is called upon to bring forward concrete proposals, embodied in a Bill, for achieving these reforms. Or a Bill, what they call normative legislation, may straight-away be presented to the National Legislature, as a result of conferences and consultations between the Ministers

and the Departmental heads under them immediately concerned in these particular problems. The basis for such Bill or Resolution will be found in the resolutions or decisions of such conferences or consultations.

In the event of there being no doubt as regards the ultimate authority, the programme may even be presented in the form of a Referandum of the adult population of the country as a whole for adoption in principle. Perhaps the 10 Chapters and 100 articles in which the Charter has been divided may not collectively admit of a uniform vote, for or against, when, referred to the people as a whole. In that case, the substance of the Charter may be presented in the form of a single resolution, or a series of separate resolutions, containing the essence of the Charter. The latter course is likely to be clumsy, and liable to lead to great confusion rather than advance the programme. I would, therefore, suggest the former as the best way to secure a real, popular sanction for the programme which the several Ministries should implement.

In any case, here is an attempt to define objectives, and suggest ways for their attainment, which seem to me to be generally accepted in all liberal circles. Without these, I despair of any real, abiding, social reconstruction being achieved, and distributive justice being meted out.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. SHAH.

Bombay, May Day 1946.

AN AGRARIAN CHARTER.

Resurrection of Indian Agriculturists.

A Ten-Point Programme.

I

Ownership of Natural Wealth.

The National Constitution should provide :—

(1) The ownership in all forms of Natural Wealth belongs to and vests absolutely in the people of India collectively.

This includes fields, farms, or fallow lands, mines, quarries, rivers; natural springs, water-falls, mountains; sources of mechanical energy or, power; all forms of natural advantage which can be used to produce new wealth; forests, whether actually being cultivated, exploited, and worked, or not.

A reasonable period of transition, not exceeding 50 years, must be allowed for the gradual abolition of proprietary or semi-proprietary rights in land, and other primary sources of producing new wealth.

(2) By a fundamental National Land Law, all produce, fruit, or increment in value, of all lands, mines, forests, etc. must also belong to the people collectively.

By their sovereign authority, the people may make laws to regulate from time to time the distribution of such produce, fruit, or other increment among the citizens of the country, so as to ensure a decent standard of living for all, and a reasonable degree of equality of

possession, or access to the primary sources of new wealth, working them in conformity with a National Plan, so as to obtain the utmost these sources may be capable of yielding.

Such a Basic Law should be administered through such agencies, and controlled or supervised in such a manner, as the law itself may provide.

(3) Any form of Natural Wealth or advantage may, subject to the collective ownership of the people of India, be distributed or assigned for cultivation, exploitation, operation, and management among such co-operative associations or organisations of the people in each unit as may be formed for this purpose.

These organisations should be compulsory on all and for every kind of activity in the area.

They must be inter-connected amongst themselves by a federal chain, beginning with the primary unit in a village, and stretching to the National Council of Agriculture, which should collectively supervise, control or regulate the operations of all the descending organisations in the federal chain, in accordance with the provisions of the National Plan.

(4) After the introduction of the National Plan, no rights of property or inheritance in any form of Natural Wealth described above, should be allowed. Such rights, as may be in existence at the time of the introduction of the Plan, and the Basic Land Law in conformity therewith, should be progressively eliminated, with or without such compensation to the property-holder as may be deemed just and proper in the interests of the community as a whole.

Within not more than two generations (50 years) from the commencement of the Plan, all these rights must be finally abolished and done away with.

No transfer, sale, mortgage, lease, or any agreement of subinfeudation, or usufructuary management, should be permitted with respect to any such form of natural Wealth.

(5) For the purpose of providing adequately for the requirements of a comfortable standard of civilised life amongst the people directly engaged in working these sources of Natural Wealth, a progressive scale of providing for such needs and requirements must be considered and given effect to in accordance with the National Plan.

This scale may be varied from time to time by such agency in the country, or any Province, District, Taluka or Village, as may be prescribed under the Basic Land Law.

In sharing or distributing the produce, fruit, etc. of such Natural Wealth, due regard must be paid to the collective needs of the community in each locality in respect of social services and civilised amenities. Side by side with the material wealth of the people, the cultural side of their life must be advanced in such ways as may be deemed proper and necessary.

As far as possible, a guaranteed National Minimum scale of reasonable standard of living should be laid down and should be uniform throughout the country.

Variations from this National Minimum may, however, be permitted by the Basic Land Law in accordance

with the different circumstances and conditions of the various units, or communities. These variations must be authorised by the Basic Land Law, and permitted by the Local Council as and when required.

(6) The first charge on all produce raised from these primary forms of the country's Natural Wealth must be for the maintenance, in the prescribed standard of living, of the population engaged in such production.

This should be assured up to at least the guaranteed minimum standard of consumption; and must be open to revision from time to time with a view to progressive improvement.

After duly providing for the needs and requirements up to the prescribed standard of civilised living for the people engaged in working any form of National Wealth, the balance of the produce, fruit or increment must be taken by the Village, Taluka, District, or Provincial Co-operative Association, and in such proportion each as may be prescribed under the Basic Land Law. These shares must be open to revision from time to time.

The residue, after these categories have taken their share, must be taken by the representative national organisation of the people collectively to be devoted to the prosecution of the National Plan.

(7) After the prescribed transition period, no parasites, whether ultimate or intermediary, e.g. Zamindars, Talukdars, Malguzars, Concessionaires, Mortgagees, Lease-holders, or farming contractors, of any sort, should be recognised.

All rights, title, interest, or privileges, granted,

assigned to, or acquired by any of these classes must be progressively abrogated and cancelled, subject to such period of transition as may be allowed under the Basic Land Law.

If the collective will of the people so ordains, such compensation may be paid to these classes as may be prescribed under the Constitution or the Basic Land Law, so that no class or individual may be unexpectedly thrown out of employment, or be deprived of any source of living, so as to acquire some claim to continue to be a mere parasite.

(8) All forms, methods, and instruments of alienating any forms of Natural Wealth, or giving any rights of working or enjoying the produce of any such form of Natural Wealth, to any private individual, must be prohibited.

Even during the Transition period, no profiteering by any private individual, corporation or association, must be allowed in respect of any such form of Natural Wealth. Profit-taking by any individual from the working or exploitation of Natural Wealth must be declared an offence under the Basic Land Law.

All profit, or surplus value, from these sources of primary production must belong to the community collectively, in order to enable it to adjust properly and maintain efficiently all parts of the collective National Economy.

(9) No sub-division of any agricultural land or other forms of natural wealth by any incidence of inheritance or any device of share-holding corporation, must be

Every Cultivator Family must be guaranteed an irreducible minimum of human comfort, provided out of the produce of land in the charge of the co-operative group of which it is a member, or its exchange in the usual internal or foreign commerce.

No agricultural land should be assessed to any tax, rent or revenue, except after deducting and exempting this irreducible National Minimum, considered necessary for maintaining human beings in decent comfort.

(3) Any demand for rent, land tax, or land revenue, made against any cultivator having a produce from land above the irreducible Minimum necessary for the prescribed standard of living, must be paid in kind.

Facilities must be permitted, at the discretion of the Provincial or Local Authorities, and on application to the co-operative association wherever it exists, to commute such dues into cash at any given time.

Assessment thus made must be fixed for a given number of years, not exceeding 10.

No payment in kind must, however, be allowed in respect of any income tax charged upon Zamindars, Taluqdars, Mortgagees or Malguzars, and other parasitic elements claiming proprietary rights or interest in connection with such land, nor in regard to Succession Duties or Registration Fees payable on the transfer of land, or any other form of alienation to private individuals or profit-making companies. All such Fees, Duties, or Taxes should be payable in the ordinary currency or legal tender money of the Country only.

(4) Pending the complete socialisation of all forms of Natural Wealth,—or, alternatively, pending the universalization of the Co-operative System for all aspects and activities of life, lands, mines, forests, etc., held by proprietors, Zamindars, Taluqudars, Mortgagees, long-term Lease-holders, or other similar parasitic exploiters, must be taxed on the produce at a sharply progressive rate.

No agreement, Charter, Regulation, or Legislation, assuring perpetual proprietary or zamindari rights to any individual, must be recognised as valid for all time against the community.

The rate of taxation on such unearned income from this primary source of new Wealth, should rise in such a manner that, on the excess of any *individual* income from this source, of Rs. 25,000/-, or more per annum, or of any family income from the same source of Rs. 50,000/- or more per annum, 100% may be charged; and all the surplus over the stated limit be confiscated for public use.

The rate on such agricultural and unearned incomes, below this limit should correspond to the similar rates on non-agricultural incomes.

On incomes earned by personal labour of direction, management, co-ordination, supervision or exchange, the rate of the tax must be three-fourths of the rate chargeable on the same amount of unearned income from the same source, with the prescribed exemption from taxation of a minimum needed for subsistence.

(5) Any succession during the Transition Period to

double the standard minimum declared free from taxation, every consideration must be shown to such cultivator in the process of recovery.

(9) In any period of well marked agricultural distress due to famine, earthquake, local pests, epidemic, or a general decline in prices of agricultural commodities more than 25% below the level prevailing at the date of the land revenue, settlement, suspension of the revenue demand or rent charges or Income Tax, must be granted on easy terms. Complete and final remission of any such demand must also be granted if the distress due to any of these causes continues for two years in succession or more.

(10) No claim for interest etc. should be allowed against any cultivator holding land, the produce of which is no greater than the standard minimum declared free from taxation.

III

Agriculturists' Debts.

(1) All debts of agriculturists are immoral, unproductive and burdensome. They must, accordingly, be progressively eliminated, with the help of the Reserve Bank, within a period of not more than 20 years.

The Bank may, for this purpose, be permitted to create the necessary additional currency, on the security of such land freed from the burden of debt; the volume of such additional currency being a proportion of the value of the produce of such debt-free land as assessed.

(2) All debts of more than 10 years' standing at the time the necessary legislation is passed, and on which interest has been regularly paid, should be declared to have been fully discharged, and be deemed to become null and void for the future.

(3) Debt Registration Councils must be established under each appropriate Local, Taluqua, District or Provincial Co-operative Agricultural Association, as may be deemed proper.

The primary function of these Councils will be to register all debts at present owing by the agriculturists, together with full particulars of the amount, the rate of interest, the date since incurred, and payments of interest or principal, if any, as well as the purpose of the transaction, and the security, if any, given to secure the debt.

No debt against an agriculturist cultivator should be allowed to be enforced by law, unless it is registered

which may, nevertheless, be settled under some arrangement with the creditor, so as to involve as little injustice or increase of burden as possible to the parties concerned.

(5) From and after the last day appointed for Debt Registration, no agriculturist cultivator should be allowed to incur for himself or his family any new debt. All existing Agricultural Debts should be treated as being debts on the land, and not on the holder thereof for the time being.

Loans taken or given by the Debt Registration Council for purposes of land improvement, or for providing capital equipment calculated to enhance production from the land, shall be on the collective security of the Co-operative Association of the unit concerned, subject to a maximum as regards the rate of Interest to be charged at any time, the amount to be repaid, as well as the period for which the debt may be outstanding.

(6) All existing debts of agriculturists, whether personal or secured on land, shall be regarded as liquidated by the death of the cultivator responsible for the debt in question at the time of Registration in the first instance.

No such debt shall be allowed to pass to the heir or successor to the land of the indebted agriculturist.

(7) Debt Registration Councils must be authorised to keep a close watch over the activities of private money-lenders in rural areas.

No one shall be allowed to do money-lending business after the Debt Registration Legislation comes

into operation, unless he is so registered before the debt Registration Council

All books of accounts and records of every registered money-lender shall be open to inspection at any time by public inspectors, duly appointed by the Debt Registration Council, or by the Reserve Bank acting through its local agent or representative.

Any attempt, discovered from such records, or proved on other satisfactory evidence, at evasion of the legislation and the system of registration by a registered (or unregistered) money-lender, shall be made a criminal offence punishable by fine, imprisonment for two years, or both.

(8) All incomes of agriculturist money-lenders in respect of loans to agriculturist cultivators should be liable to a special income tax, without benefit of exemption from taxation on account of a minimum required for subsistence, at a rate double that of the normal rate of corresponding income derived from other occupation. This income from interest on agriculturist debts shall be regarded as unearned income.

All debts thus registered and taken over by the people shall be managed through a National Banking Organisation, functioning as part of the National Banking System, or as embodied in the Reserve Bank of India today.

The Bank shall be responsible to the creditors for the regular payment of interest at a rate not exceeding 6% simple interest, per annum with instalments for repayment of capital so calculated as to extinguish the

entire debt, and the interest charged thereon, within a period not exceeding 20 years in each case.

The wherewithal for such discharge of obligation shall be obtained by the Bank from the Agriculturist Cooperative Association, at a rate not exceeding 9% simple interest per annum, together with such instalment on account of capital repayment as would suffice to liquidate the entire obligation within a period of not more than 15 years.

The difference between the amount obtained from the Agriculturist Cooperative Association and the amount paid to the cultivator shall be utilised by the Bank :—

1. to meet the expenses of management ;
2. to provide a reserve against possible defaults ;
3. and the balance to be made over to the Central or Provincial Government for use in the prosecution of such Services, as Health, Education, Roads, Water Supply, etc. as may be of direct benefit to the agriculturists.

(9) The reorganisation of the Agricultural Debt Service shall be so arranged and operated as not to reproduce in any respect or degree the present system of money lending and agricultural indebtedness. Neither in respect of the rate of interest, capital re-payment, mode and time of repayment, nor in regard to the security or the form of agreement, shall the existing system or practices of money lenders be copied.

The reorganised machinery for the relief of agriculturist debtors must direct all its activities so as to

bring about progressive reduction of agricultural indebtedness throughout the country, in order to liquidate the total indebtedness within a term not exceeding 20 years, in any case.

(10) The land, its produce, equipment and development, must be freed, within a definitely appointed period, from all such unproductive, wasteful, or burdensome obligations as are today represented by these heavy interest-bearing debts, with very onerous terms and condition of repayment, etc.

Note.—It is difficult to calculate the relief Indian Agriculture would obtain, if this programme is carried into effect, in the spirit as well as the letter outlined above. The rate of interest is reported in all official or semi-official enquiries, since Cooperative Credit first came into being, to vary upwards from 25% per annum to as much as 1200% per annum, or more. Even if the average rate of interest on agricultural debt, is taken at 15% simple interest; and if the total volume of debt is taken to be not more than one year's produce from land, obviously a very great under-estimate; and, further, if the aggregate value of the produce of land is estimated, at present prices, to be Rs. 3,000 crores per annum, that amount may be taken to represent the active Debt charged upon agricultural land. At 15% per annum, this debt would carry a burden of interest approximating Rs. 450 crores.

If the interest is reduced to 9%, the total burden would be about Rs. 270 crores. The amount paid by the cultivator on the authorised basis on the lines indicated above, would thus save him Rs. 180 crores worth of produce per year. If the Bank pays the creditor at 3%, of which $\frac{3}{4}$ % is towards capital repayment, the total charge would be Rs. 190 crores. Even so the Bank would make a surplus of over Rs. 100 crores, which it can utilise to build up a reserve (Rs. 10 crores per annum); re-invest new capital in land (Rs. 100 crores at 3% per annum), and give over the rest to the Central or Provincial Government for use to improve and extend the guaranteed National Minimum.

This will be a great relief for the agriculturist, which will help to increase the productivity of land, as new capital could be easily found for fresh investment on the land thus relieved in productive channels. Side by side with the increase in the produce of land, which would increase the ability of the agriculturists to bear new burdens, the burden itself will be substantially reduced. Instead of being the unending charge it is to-day, it would be definitely and finally liquidated within a relatively limited period not exceeding 20 years.

Needless to add that the figures given above are illustrative only. There are no reliable statistics available on this subject; though all enquiries in the matter go to show that the burden is very great. It is possible, also, that some of this burden may have been reduced thanks to the high prices during the war years. But the benefit of high prices went in very small proportion to the agriculturist on whom control operated injuriously; while the increase in the cost of living must have left him a very small surplus.

IV

Cultivation & Exploitation of Land.

(1) Agricultural planning for India collectively, as well as for each component unit, must aim at National self-sufficiency in regard to :—

- (a) Food.
- (b) Raw materials for industries.
- (c) Fodder for cattle, and pasture ground for cattle, sheep, etc.

This self-sufficiency must be attained within a definite period, not later than five years from the date the Plan is adopted, and put into operation.

So long as the Co-operative Organisation, described earlier, is not universalised all over the country, agricultural land must be allotted or distributed amongst individual cultivators for cultivation, in each primary unit which is to be the basis for a Co-operative Association, with due regard in all cases to soil, crops to be raised and their rotation, equipment necessary in regard to cattle, tools, implements, water supply, manure, and other such requisities of efficient cultivation.

The distribution of agricultural work must also take full account of the knowledge and general ability of the cultivators collectively, as well as of individuals allotted particular bits, within the unit.

This allotment or distribution amongst individual cultivators may be revised from time to time, if and so

long as the Co-operative Association, mentioned above, is not organised and universalised. So also the crops to be raised from any particular unit may be varied and altered in response to the principles of rotation of crops, and with due regard to the proper maintenance of the chemical and physical properties of the soil.

All such variation must be under the orders of the Co-operative Association, as and when that Organisation comes into being.

(2) No cultivation of agricultural land should be permitted except in accordance with the Planned Programme of Cultivation, worked out for each Province or State, and assigned to each District, Taluka or Village within the Unit.

A Planned Programme for agricultural advance must be prepared by the National Agricultural Council co-ordinating the proposals received from each unit. This programme must be co-ordinated and integrated with other sections of the National Plan comprising Agriculture as well as Industry, Forestry and Mining, Commerce, Utilities and Services.

(3) The cultivation plan for each unit must pay special attention to a proper adjustment between food and crops and supply of necessary agricultural raw materials for manufacturing industry.

Due provision must also be made in each unit, or combination of units, for grazing and pasture lands for raising fodder crops.

Fruit, fibres, flowers and vegetables for market gardening must likewise be attended to as an integral part of

the Cultivation Plan, which should give effect to every aspect of the National Policy for the rapid industrialisation of the country, as well as to the fullest possible agricultural development.

(4) For the proper scientific, co-ordinated cultivation of land, as well as for effective control and supervision, a carefully constructed network, based on the Federal principles of linking up National, Provincial, District, Taluka and Village Agricultural Councils, must be established.

Each such Council must be under the primary Co-operative Association for each unit, or combination of units, when that organisation is formed and developed. It must correspond to the co-ordinated organisation.

The Councils must be closely inter-connected and worked in constant collaboration, interchange of ideas and plans, to promote the individual efficiency of each such Council, and collective benefit of them all.

(5) Each Council must prepare for its own unit a long-term comprehensive, carefully co-ordinated programme of land cultivation and improvement, in advance for a given term of years. These unit plans must then be co-ordinated with the collaboration of the larger Council of the next higher link in the Federal Chain. The next stage would be to include and co-ordinate these unit Plans in the Provincial Plan, and ultimately in the National Plan mentioned already.

The National Plan, thus formed, and including therein every single unit in the country, must be worked out by each unit in so far as it relates to it.

The Plan must be open to revision from time to time, as conditions or circumstances render it necessary, in order to meet any sudden calamity such as flood or famine, epidemic or pest. Within limits, the Plan must be elastic and adaptable to changing conditions or circumstances, whether immediately in this country, or in the world at large.

The Agricultural Council must be empowered to conduct, supervise, and regulate all functions in connection with cultivation, such as irrigation, manure, harvesting, grading, transport and marketing, in accordance with the basic principles of the National Plan.

The Councils, being part of the National Co-operative Organisation, must be conducted on democratic lines, each primary unit having its own representatives in the next higher link in the Federal Chain. Similarly, each larger link must be represented in each ascending stage of the hierarchy, so that the National Council of Agriculture at the top is a really representative body of experienced agriculturists, with proper foresight, vision and knowledge,—theoretical as well as practical—of a Planned National Programme.

(6) All aids to intensive cultivation calculated to increase the yield per unit for each kind of crop, must be supplied by the Agricultural Council concerned and responsible for the given area. Where necessary, the Reserve Bank or the National Land Bank or any Banking Organisation specifically set up to deal with these matters, should be entrusted to achieve the objective of each unit.

Cultivation of land, with improved tools, implements, and power-driven machinery,—or mechanisation of Agriculture,—with suitable scientific aids to cultivation, such as natural or artificial manure to enrich the chemical and physical properties of soil, scientific rotation of crops, with a view to return to the soil what has been taken away from it by each preceding crop, and so increase the quality as well as the quantity of the total yield; adequate preservation and re-inforcement of the capacity of the land must be considered to be the principal function and objectives of agricultural planning in this country.

(7) All agricultural produce raised during any given period, whether a year or a season, must be marketed through the Province, District, Taluka, or Village, Co-operative Association of Agriculturists responsible for all functions and activities relating to agriculture.

Out of the sale proceeds, all expenses of cultivation must first be met, and advances taken on account of such expenses be repaid. These expenses include:—

The wages of labour given by individual cultivators, by themselves or by members of their families, so as to ensure to each individual or each such family, a reasonable standard of living;

Cost of water supply or irrigation dues, manure, etc. The maintenance of cattle needed for agriculture and cultivation, and such supplementary service as haulage, milk supply, etc.

Return, according to promotions or scale fixed in advance to compensate owners of land for having brought

their land into the common fold, and such other capital equipment in the shape of tools, implements, machinery, transport or other facilities, as may have been provided by any owner thereof;

The services of such officers, servants, and watchmen, as well as craftsmen, whose functions are necessary for the proper conduct of the reorganised village economy and promote the interests of agricultural life.

The balance of the sale proceeds must be distributed amongst the cultivators by the same Authority, after meeting the above named expenses of production including a reasonable standard of living for the cultivator and his family, in the following order :—

- (a) An additional charge or deduction considered necessary to provide against famine, or failure of crops due to unforeseen circumstances beyond the control of the agriculturist.
- (b) To meet such levies or charges upon agriculture as may be made by the Province, District, Taluka or Village for the common benefit of the people in the Village, District, Province or the country as a whole, the common services, amenities and utilities.
- (c) To meet such other objectives as may be resolved upon by each Council in the federal chain for the improvement of the standard of living amongst the people primarily concerned.

The balance, after all these charges have been paid or deductions made, may be distributed amongst the individual members of the Association in such proportion as may be determined upon.

(8) Every adult citizen in a primary unit must be expected to cultivate land within or belonging to the unit (village) unless he is provided with alternative employment on equal conditions.

The right of every adult member of the Association to join in agricultural operations, and share in the proceeds, in accordance with the predetermined scale of distribution, or, as an alternative, to be given equivalent work, must be laid down and guaranteed by the basic Constitution of the country, and incorporated in the Rules and Regulations of the Cooperative Association. This Right of the citizen is an Obligation of the State.

(9) In the event of the land belonging to a (village) Unit being insufficient to offer full employment for every adult and able-bodied worker within the unit, the Agricultural Council concerned must develop local industries, handicrafts or services, incidental to or necessary for the progressive improvement of village economy; so as to provide equivalent employment for that portion of the population unable to find employment directly in the cultivation of land or exploitation of the primary sources of wealth.

For this purpose, primary as well as higher units Councils must collaborate, and plan together for full employment of the human material on the standard scale of produce expected, and of the return prescribed for each unit.

The absolutely unemployable portion of the rural population, the aged and infirm, the children and disabled, must be transferred to local or National Industries, in

accordance with the Plans prepared for the purpose by the Joint sessions of the National Agricultural and the National Industries Councils from time to time.

(10) The Services, Utilities and Amenities, incidental to the fullness and richness of civilised human life in each primary unit, should be simultaneously developed by the Councils up to the standard considered indispensable by National Planning Authority, and prescribed under the National Constitution for the all-round improvement as well as agricultural prosperity of each unit.

Under the Co-operative System, and, pending its full establishment, under any system accepted or approved by the National Planning Authority, all cultivation of land must be in accordance with the general National Plan affecting and concerning each unit.

Exception, however, may be made by the Agricultural Council concerned, for valid reasons, not favourable to particular individuals, families, or groups, in consideration of their special aptitude for given types of agricultural work.

V

Famine Relief & Irrigation.

(1) Agriculturists all over the country must be fully insured and guaranteed against unemployment and starvation due to the vagaries of rainfall in any year.

This Insurance and Guarantee must be constituted on a National Basis. It must include and comprise crops, pests, flood or failure of rains, cattle, tools, implements and machinery, as well as the maintenance of the agriculturist families in conformity with the National Minimum Standard, providing all the necessaries, amenities, and comforts of civilised life.

As this Insurance is a National responsibility, provision must be made in the National Budget on that account as for a recurring Liability.

The Fund may be used to meet any contingency or emergency of this kind in any part of the country through the Local Government of that part, on such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon.

(2) Agricultural Insurance should be provided, in normal times as well as in years of actual scarcity, brought about by famine, flood or other calamity to crops or cattle, or other accessories or pre requisites of successful agriculture, on the same basic lines on which Insurance against Industrial Risk and Social Security is provided in modern enterprises.

The Fund's beneficiaries, whether individuals or Associations, must contribute so far as is possible such'

premiums as are deemed reasonable after careful scrutiny of the nature and frequency of the risks. The National Government, as well as the Government of each Unit, must also contribute to this Fund such quota as may be prescribed in the Basic Constitution of the Fund.

Contributions can also be made collectively by the Cooperative Association of each unit; several unit Associations may combine for this purpose.

(3) Receipt of benefits from this National Agricultural Insurance Fund, whether for personal maintenance, replacement of cattle, seed, tools, or to compensate for any other loss or damage suffered during a given calamity, must be regarded as one of the fundamental rights of the citizens. It must in no case be treated as charity. The right is secured in return for the contribution made, and is as much the just due of the recipient, when the contingency occurs, as is, for instance, a pension under Public Services.

(4) All contributions received from primary units, districts, or provinces, as well as from the Central Government, on account of the National Agricultural Insurance Fund, should be combined and kept as a separate National Reserve; and be entrusted for custody and general management to some special Statutory Authority, like, for instance, the Railway Authority under the new Constitution.

This Fund must be kept beyond any possibility of raid by any Finance Minister, in any ordinary emergency. An organic law, part of the Law for National Planning, should carefully define the contributions as well as the

objective, the purpose and ways and means of utilisation of the Fund.

The actual distribution of the Fund should be through the Local Agricultural Council of each province under the general direction, supervision and control of the Statutory authority mentioned above.

(5) Protective measures against the recurrence of famine or fight against pests, such as Irrigation Works, Transport facilities, scientific research, must be provided for, in the first instance, by the Local Agricultural Council for each Province, wherever they may be needed, out of the monies placed at their disposal by the Statutory Authority, on such terms and conditions as may have been generally prescribed by the Organic Law on this subject.

(6) Irrigation Works, based upon large river systems, affecting one or more Provinces, must be constructed by the National Authority. Larger tanks, reservoirs and wells must, similarly, be constructed by the Province, District, Taluka, or Village Organisation, according to the size of the work the ability of the constructing authority, and magnitude of the service estimated to be rendered by such projects.

(7) Irrigation dues,—whether Provincial, District, Taluka or Village,—should be fixed with due regard to the aid such facilities render in increasing the quality or quantity of the crops, or to the general well-being of the areas concerned.

These dues may be revised from time to time with a view to progressive reduction in their burdensomeness

and their total elimination on all lands which are cultivated by individual agriculturists below a standard minimum of agricultural holding. (This provision should apply only during the Transition period when the Co-operative Organisation is yet in the process of formation). These dues must also be so assessed as to liquidate the total capital cost of constructing the work in a fixed period not exceeding 20 years.

All Irrigation Works, on which the capital outlay has been paid off, should be made to serve the community free of cost, or at such rates as would just suffice to meet their maintenance cost, including repairs, general management or supervision, with such additions, extension or improvement as may be found necessary.

(8) In times of actual Famine on a wide scale, the National Agriculturists' Insurance Fund must be utilised to provide work for the unemployed agriculturists at standard wages in building roads, markets, hospitals, or other works of public service which are necessary for the general welfare of the community, and sufficient to assume to the workers their customary standard of life in normal times during the emergency.

Any additional aid,—such as the supply of cattle, seed, tools, machinery or other equipment, needed after the famine has passed, by any agriculturist or Co-operative Association, should also be provided out of the National Agricultural Insurance Fund, to enable operations to be resumed in the next season with as little handicap as possible.

(9) Provision by way of Famine Relief should also

include protection for cattle, during the calamity, and provision of machinery or implements, seeds, manure, water-supply, and other such indispensable aids or service required by agriculturists.

Provision for the safety and protection of cattle and crops must, in ordinary times, form the first charge on the profits of agriculture, or surplus remaining after all the dues and charges mentioned above have been provided, including a standard scale of living for the agriculturists and his family actively employed in agriculture.

An adequate reserve of grain, fodder, and seed must also be built up, and regularly maintained, for at least one year, out of this Fund, so that failure of crops during any single season may not prove a calamity beyond readily available means to offset it, or cause undue strain upon the agriculturist. For this purpose Public Granaries must be established and maintained in all parts of the country in selected centres with suitable arrangements for grain preservation.

10. This comprehensive system of National Agricultural Insurance for the most important National Industry in India cannot be accomplished without the aid of the National Banking Organisation, the Reserve Bank of India. That institution must be nationalised and conducted as a Public Utility concern. While it still remains a private proprietary concern, it must be required, by law specially passed for that purpose, to grant its aid in every permissible form of famine relief operations and services in times of distress.

If and when necessary, additional currency may also be authorised to be put into circulation, on such occasions, under such terms and conditions and with such safeguards, as may be deemed necessary and proper. The Reserve Bank of India must also be charged with advising the authority entrusted with the management of the National Famine Insurance Fund, including the investment of the surplus from time to time and the realisation of any investment as and when necessary.

VI

Village Industries.

(1) This is an age of power-driven machinery, and large scale production en masse of standardised material in all forms of producing new wealth, utilities, or services. All industries are possible to mechanise, and work on a large scale, including the home, the services of tailor, carpenter, sweeper, cleaner, washer etc.

The traditional distinction between town and country is now obsolete and without foundation. Under present conditions, it has no bearing, for modern industry can be planted in rural areas just as much as agriculture can be mechanised and industrialised, with power-driven machinery and mass production technique applicable to Agriculture as much as to Industry.

The saving in time and labour possible to effect by means of power-driven machinery in all forms of production, is necessary, not only for meeting the increased needs of an increasing population, and improving standards of living, but also to secure, in a larger and greater measure, a chance for self-realisation, self-expression and self-fulfilment for every human being.

It is, therefore, uneconomic and wasteful to seek to keep rural areas on a basis of local or village self-sufficiency, with handicrafts or human labour everywhere doing the work which may well be done by machinery.

All agricultural occupations, principal or subsidiary, associated, inter-dependent or processing, must be

progressively mechanised, to facilitate increasing and extensive production on as large a scale as possible.

(2) Industrialisation of Agriculture, or conduct of agricultural operations with the aid of power-driven machinery, and production carried out on a mass-scale would be economically possible only if all industries and operations connected with, dependent upon, or subsidiary to agriculture are run on a Collectivist, or at least a co-operative, basis. This may be coterminous with the standard unit of the region within which the best results are estimated to be obtained.

(3) Under this conception of reorganised agriculture, Cottage Industries would have a very limited, though well defined, place. They would consist principally of artistic production or repair work, and such operations as do not admit of mechanisation and large-scale production, under the existing habits of Indian society.

In any case, these must be progressively replaced by mechanised, large-scale, mass producing industries. Each such industry must be located in a suitable area, employing all the surplus population of that area, which cannot be absorbed in agriculture proper, or in any of the connected, subsidiary or processing occupations or industries.

(4) Industries familiar to agriculturists or connected with agriculture, e.g., building, tool-making, dairying, poultry-farming, bee-keeping, flour-milling, baking, leather tanning, articles made out of leather, fruit canning etc., not to mention industries connected with the slaughter house, easily admit of mechanisation and mass production.

A careful survey must be made of all such available industries, and a co-ordinated plan prepared applicable to one or more units in a given region, or to the whole region, for their location, equipment, finance, labour and market.

Each appropriate Local Co-operative Council should be entrusted with the establishment, conduct and control of suitable industries within its jurisdiction; and where such a body is found unsuitable to conduct or control these industrial operations, a Statutory Body or Trust, must be established as an autonomous Organisation, and part of the National Plan, to conduct such industries. This Trust must also be based on the co-operative principle, with the workers and the community represented by the Government of the Unit or Units concerned as sharers.

The consequential re-distribution of population, from Agriculture to Industry and its incidental services must be effected without needless interference with the habits of the people concerned. A fair re-distribution of the Population would leave agriculture with 50%, Industry of all kinds and sizes 20%, commerce and the associated service of Banking, Insurance and Transport of all kinds 10%, Services, Utilities and Amenities 10%, and general administration including defence 10% = 100%.

(5) Industries which, at the time of such mechanisation, do not admit of mass production, like artistic work, repair shops, etc., must remain in the stage of Cottage Industry, employing either the worker himself, full time or part time, or at most, the members of his immediate family.

No industry should be classed as a Cottage Industry, which employs hired labour of outsiders, or which employs power-driven machinery to produce standardised wares in quantity for an unknown market.

(6) Cottage industries may receive such aid, protection or encouragement from the Local or Central Government as is consistent with the general National Plan, and accepted by the Government of the day as necessary and desirable.

In considering proposals for the aid, encouragement or protection of rural industries, preference must be given to those products which have an immediate sale in the local market.

(7) No industry should be encouraged, aided or protected in any way, as a Cottage Industry, which is open to competition from mechanised production, whether from the country itself or from outside.

(8) In all rural industries, whether those truly regarded as handicrafts or skilled work, or those which are mechanised and worked on a large scale, all element of private profit must be progressively eliminated, and, after the Transition period, rigorously excluded. These industries must be organised and operated on a collective, or at least a co-operative basis.

(9) Cottage Industry co-operatives (or Collectives) must be established in such Village, Taluka, District or Province as are deemed suitable for the purpose under some organic law specially passed in that behalf.

These Associations should be coordinated and inter-linked to facilitate and expedite all their activities and

should help to finance, equip work and manage these establishments, market their produce, obtain the necessary raw materials, and secure the necessary labour, skilled or otherwise, for working such industries.

All labour employed in any such industries must be in accordance with the National Labour Code, and receive the nationally guaranteed minimum of wages and other conditions of work.

(10) All finance needed for starting as well as operating such industries must be obtained from or through the Reserve Bank, or the Central National Banking Organisation. The Bank must utilise its currency and credit Control Departments for all such purposes of organised reconstruction in National Economy to the utmost necessary.

VII

Labour Supply In Agriculture.

(1) For the proper framing and execution of a National Plan for all-round, simultaneous development, there must be a universal system of Social Conscription.

Every productive occupation, every Service, Utility and Amenity, must be assured of its required complement of workers in order to maintain at full pitch the working efficiency of the Country.

Every able-bodied citizen, over the age of—and under 16, must be available for work under the National Plan, production and distribution, in Service, Amenity or Utility, as may be required.

To work or be employed usefully is among the guaranteed and fundamental rights of citizenship; while to provide productive work or useful service is among the leading obligations of the State under planned economy.

A complete Census of the adult population must be compiled in every village, taluka, district and province. This census must be repeated every five years and should be kept up-to-date as much as possible.

No distinction should be made, in conscripting manpower for social service or the National Plan, on the basis of sex; nor should any work be reserved exclusively for, or denied to, either sex. Reservations may, however, be made, on given conditions and in the long-range National interest, in regard to certain types of exacting

work, from which women at certain periods may be exempted, excused or excluded.

(2) There is at present no lack of labour upon the land. In fact it is in super-abundance, so that neither the full time nor all the energy of every worker is employed. Nor is the return to every worker sufficient to ensure him and his family a reasonable standard of civilised existence.

This anomaly, however, must be corrected by re-adjustment of the available labour force, or the total manpower, of the country to the amount of aggregate work, planned out in advance, to be done in the Country.

A complete programme of all Agricultural work in every aspect must be prepared, side by side with the Census, and by the same Authority. Available workers (or peasants) should be adjusted according to their aptitude, domicile, training and desire, to the total work, whether on the farm or in the factory. No one must be allowed to remain a parasite, without work, except the under-aged, the over-aged; those permanently disabled or temporarily incapacitated from work by illness, or other valid reasons; and so excused or exempted from work without any prejudice to all their other rights and duties, privileges and obligations, as members of a planned national economy.

Subject to the comprehensive National Plan of India being not jeopardised, and provided the country's development does not become lop-sided, workers should be free to choose the task most congenial, and in which an individual is able to give the best results. Work should

generally be assigned to every citizen in accordance with the qualifications, attainments, and physical and mental ability or aptitude of each individual.

(3) Anyone who, without some recognised and accepted reason of bodily or mental infirmity or incapacity, refuses to work in any operation assigned to him, must be disqualified from sharing in the aggregate benefits of National Production, Material Wealth, Social Services, civic amenities and public utilities. Such persons must be dealt with as anti-social elements, who must be assigned compulsory work in any sector of the National Economy where there is a shortage of labour.

(4) Adequate provision must be made for the maintenance in a decent standard of living of all those incapacitated by age, illness, or infirmity from working, out of the National Insurance Fund.

Temporary disability, due to illness, accident, maternity, or other similar reason, including the necessary period for recuperating after an illness, should be similarly provided for from the same source.

Workers on leave during their statutory periodical vacation will not come under this Fund. They must be paid their regular wages as on active duty, at the same rate and in the same manner as when they are at work.

All benefits for workers, including old age pensions, hospital treatment, medical attendance and nursing during illness or convalescence must be available equally to all categories of workers whether industrial or agricultural.

(5) An employment Direction Bureau must be established, under the National Planning Authority, for each convenient unit, to coordinate the work in every department of the life of that unit. This Bureau must so distribute the work among the able-bodied citizens or residents as would fit in with the aptitude, training, domicile or desire of each such person.

The Bureau must primarily assign or distribute work within its jurisdiction, in accordance with the mental or physical capacity, training and aptitude of the citizen or resident concerned. Provided always that such assignment shall in the aggregate conform to the detailed requirements of the National Plan.

(6) With proper scientific adjustment of the available Labour supply, classified in the various categories, or express desire for allocation between Industry (large-scale or small), Agriculture (including subsidiary, connected or processing occupation) Forestry, Mining and the incidental Services of Transport, direction and management, as also the supply of essential Services, Public Utilities or Civic Amenities, the chances of an unemployable surplus population will diminish progressively till they disappear altogether.

In case, after proper assignment of every available person, any surplus of unemployable labour persists, after all available directions have been tried and exhausted, that surplus must be treated in the same manner as the aged and the infirm.

Persons unwilling to labour and so deemed anti-social, like criminals and parasites, will have to be specially treated and dealt with as pathological cases.

(7) A reasonable proportion of able-bodied population should also be assigned, in due accord with the required qualifications, experience, attainment and aptitude, to the National Services of Education, Public Health, Entertainment and Amusement, Defence, and distribution or Commerce, management or direction of all enterprises, occupations, Services and Utilities.

There must be regular and systematic exchange of Public Servants from the National Service Department to the National Productive Work.

Any unavoidable surplus of labour in any unit must be absorbed in working out suitable interprovincial schemes of migration, or in interchange of work between Industry, Agriculture, Forestry, Mining, Commerce, and other Service, Utilities and Amenities.

(8) Hours and seasons of work, rate of wages and other conditions of employment, including holidays, over-time, tools and implements, air and light and sanitary facilities in the place of work, should also be adjusted, so as to leave the least chance possible for any undesirable reaction on the physical health of the worker, or his mental contentment and peace, and so also that no one should remain willingly unemployed and a parasite.

(9) In the event of there still remaining an unemployable surplus of population, which cannot possibly be absorbed without affecting the standard of living of the community collectively, negotiations for **international migration** must be opened with countries which have a deficiency of man-power, as measured by the same

standard of their available local resources, so as to affect transfer of the surplus population from one region or country to another, as amicably, expeditiously and economically as possible, with a view to the fuller development of these undeveloped resources, and so to achieve a progressively improving standard of life for every one all over the world.

On this international problem of great complexity and delicacy in the immediate future, a consideration for agreement must be found in the specially advantageous trade terms which the country providing emigration may be in a position to offer to the country accepting emigration of such surplus labour. The latter, being sparsely populated and having yet unexploited natural resources of their own for increasing production, should have no objection to consent to absorb a proportion of our surplus population for productive employment in their own territory, on an assured basis of a reasonable standard of life, without any discrimination as between its original citizens, emigrants, or new settlers.

Citizenship should be a common international privilege of all, irrespective of the accident of birth or domicile.

(10) Measures like birth-control to guard against excessive population, in so far as they concern the country collectively, have aspects besides that of just providing satisfactory employment for a given number of persons. The two, however, are closely interconnected, and must, therefore, be considered simultaneously, as part solution of India's aggregate Economic Problem.

VIII

Animal Wealth of the Country.

(1) The animal wealth of India, specially that portion of it which is directly accessory to Agriculture, or which helps to provide a substantial proportion of nutritive food in the shape of milk products or meat, must belong to the community collectively.

(2) Subject to the rights of the cultivators or their Association in the cattle wealth now in their possession, property rights in all new births amongst cattle must vest in the community collectively.

All cattle wealth, thus coming under the ownership of the community, must be managed, on behalf of the community collectively, by the Village, Taluka, District or Provincial Agricultural Councils with respect to the portion of that wealth within their respective jurisdiction, for collective service and common benefit.

(3) A systematic and complete Cattle Census must be prepared from time to time and maintained up-to-date, say every five years, by each Local Agricultural Council for the area within its jurisdiction.

A standard number of cattle needed for transport or food purposes—with due regard to the number used for cultivation as defined in the Plan, as also to the introduction of mechanisation with power-driven machinery, must be drawn up for each unit, and, therethrough, for the country as a whole.

The available cattle supply of the community thus ascertained, must be distributed among the cultivators in each unit, or amongst the local Co-operative Associations in accordance with such standards for the food or transport requirements as may be prescribed by the Local Councils in Joint or Federal Sessions.

(4) Stock raising, including proper and scientific breeding of cattle, sheep, goats, poultry, pigs, horses, donkeys, and other pack animals, must be nationalised. It must be managed by the Local Agricultural Councils mentioned above.

Game and other wild animals, beasts of prey and birds must be similarly dealt with wherever feasible. There must be a National Sanctuary for Wild Life of every kind.

For the benefit and service of this animal wealth of the community, a National Veterinary Service must be instituted and organised under each Agricultural Council in proportion to the cattle or animal wealth under that Council, and for direct use by the cultivators or their Associations under that Council.

(5) Exploitation of cattle and animal wealth of the country, especially in all forms of dairy industry and milk products, must be a National Industry, owned and managed in each Province (or District as the case may be), by the Local Union of Co-operative Associations.

The Industry must be worked as a large-scale enterprise, with all modern machinery, technical aids and scientific appliances that may be necessary for the most efficient development and utilisation of this Industry.

(6) Indiscriminate slaughter and destruction of cattle, except under regulations prepared in that behalf by the Local Agricultural Council in each case, must be prohibited.

Utilisation of the meat, hides, bones, hair and other by-products of dead or slaughtered cattle and other animals, must also be a Public Enterprise, or National Industry, owned and worked by the Regional Federation of Co-operative Associations in accordance with the provisions of the National Plan in that behalf.

(7) All Pinjarapoles, or Associations concerned with the protection and maintenance of aged, deceased, or otherwise useless cattle, whether serviceable or not, must be National Property.

The funds and services of these Associations, their establishment and appurtenances of grazing land, etc. must also vest in the community collectively, to be managed by the appropriate Agricultural Council in each unit.

(8) Export overseas of live cattle, poultry, sheep, goats, horses, and donkeys, pigs, etc. must be prohibited, except under special license; or by a statutory Public Corporation dealing with the given sector of the foreign trade of the country. Such licenses must be given under such terms and conditions as the National Agricultural Council may prescribe.

These licenses, and regulations in connection therewith, must in no way penalise or impede the free migration of cattle or animals as between the several Provinces and States in this country.

The National Agricultural Insurance Fund must make adequate provision for replacing cattle lost in a calamity, as also for the protection and maintenance of superannated or disabled cattle or during a famine, on the same lines as other sections of the National Agricultural Insurance System outlined above.

(9) All land, used for pasture or grazing, must be treated as common property; and managed by the appropriate Co-operative Association for each Unit or combination of Units. It must be available for use freely and equally to all members of a given Association, or Associations combined, subject to such conditions or regulations as may be prescribed by the appropriate Agricultural Council, or the National Council of Co-operative Associations in that behalf.

IX

Forest & Mineral Wealth.

(1) All Forest and Mineral Wealth of the Country must belong to the people collectively. All leases, concessions, contracts, etc., in respect of such wealth, its development or exploitation, given to or held by private individuals, should be terminated forthwith.

The ownership, control and management of all such Enterprises should be vested in a special body called "The National Council of Mines and Forests". It must be a Federal Organisation with an office in each unit and with Local Councils federally interlinked and terminating in the National Council in the same subject.

(2) All forest produce—such as fuel, grass, timber, pasture and other material, on which large-scale industries may be founded, should be held in joint or mutual ownership by each District or Province. It should be available for use and enjoyment to all the citizens in the area of each Forest Authority.

(3) All Industries—founded upon Forest Produce as raw material must be worked as collective Public Enterprise, under the National Council of Mines and Forests for each Province, or District, as may be found suitable.

These Industries must be distributed over the area within the jurisdiction of each such local Council, in accordance with the main National Plan for the development of the Forest and Mineral Wealth of the Country,

with due regard to labour supply, transport facilities, power and the like.

(4) All wild animals,—whether considered game or pests or otherwise, must be the property of the State.

Hunting Licences for wild animals, or big game, should be made available on reasonable terms to every citizen as well as foreigner, subject to such regulations as the National Council for Mines and Forests may lay down in that behalf. Care must be taken that no species is made extinct by indiscriminate hunting. All avoidable cruelty in trapping or hunting wild animals must be made a criminal offence. Large-scale organised hunting expeditions, merely as a form of entertainment, must likewise be prohibited.

A National Sanctuary for the preservation of wild life in the country must be established in some convenient centre, with due regard to the habits and needs of the animals thus sought to be preserved.

(5) Mountain slopes, or hill sides, suitable for tea or coffee plantations, and forest regions suitable for cultivation of drugs or medicinal products, must vest as property of the community collectively.

Industries founded upon this produce must likewise be owned, controlled and operated as National enterprises in all areas where private enterprise in these industries does not yet exist.

Where private enterprise owns and operates any industry mentioned in this paragraph, it must be brought under the control of the National Council, and made to work in conformity with such rules and regulations as

may be prescribed in that behalf by or under the National Plan.

(6) All underground wealth or mineral resources of the country, whether already discovered or exploited, or to be still discovered and prospected for, must vest in the people collectively.

No license for operating Mines or working Mineral resources, and any other underground wealth of the country, should be given to any Non-Indian, except under the special recommendation and authority of the National Planning Authority, with such conditions and safeguards as the National Plan may provide.

(7) All mines of metal in any Province or State should be operated as a collectivised enterprise by the Provincial or State Government concerned.

All mineral concessions or prospecting licenses to private profit-making individuals or Corporations should be abolished for the future.

Concessions to private profit-making individuals or Corporations, now actually in existence, should be terminated within a given period of not more than 10 years of the adoption of this Charter.

(8) All metal and metallurgical industries should, subject to the requirements and provision of the National Plan in that behalf, be owned and worked as collective National Enterprises, and delegated for actual working to such Provincial Authority as may be immediately concerned.

(9) All cultivable waste, other than grass land or

forest, should be the property of the community collectively.

It should be distributed or allocated for tilling and development to the Agricultural Association for cultivation and development, in accordance with the provisions of the National Plan in that behalf; and under the general supervision, direction and control of the Local Agricultural Council concerned.

(10) Mines, Forests, and Cultivable Waste should be maintained, and their productive capacity kept up, in accordance with the National Plan, out of such reserves as may be formed in each case by the economic operation and management of these sources of new wealth.

Reafforestation in areas which have been denuded of forests by the action of man or nature, must be regarded as an urgent problem of National Economy. The same must be said with regard to the wastage due to erosion, floods, and other such calamities against which all practical safeguards must be immediately adopted.

X

Cultural Development of the Agrarian Population.

(1) No system of Agrarian Reconstruction, however well designed, will endure, if the intellectual and cultural uplift of the agrarian masses is neglected.

The Agrarian Charter must, accordingly, strive for the cultural amelioration of the masses, side by side with the ways and means of adding to their material wealth.

(2) Foremost amongst these needs of cultural growth and development is the abolition of Illiteracy amongst the rural masses.

At present nine out of every ten inhabitants in the rural areas, are absolutely illiterate. No programme of mass education, which concerns only the child population of given school-going age, but takes no account of the adult illiteracy, would suffice to meet the requirements of a proper National Plan in this regard.

Illiteracy amongst both the adult and child population must be liquidated within a definite period of not more than 10 years from the date this Charter is adopted.

(3) Children between 6 and 14 years of age must be compulsorily instructed under a well planned system of Basic Education in the elements of modern life. This instruction must be universal for boys and girls alike, and without any cost to the recipient, its parent, or guardian.

Every village, with a population of 500 or over, must be provided with a school for the children of that village.

Arrangements should also be made at the same time to make literate the adult population in that area.

In case it is found impracticable to establish a proper school in every such village, arrangements must be made, by a combination of villages, for at least one school for every 100 children in an area not exceeding four square miles in rural regions.

Every child of school-going age, between 6 and 14 years, unless naturally disabled or handicapped, must receive a predetermined education and training which is deemed necessary and indispensable for the requirements of modern life, and in conformity with a comprehensive National Plan.

Besides direct instruction by human teachers, all such aids to education and training, as are provided to-day by the radio and cinema, must be utilised to help in the speediest possible liquidation of illiteracy from amongst the children as well as the adult masses of the country.

(4) The Illiterate Adult Population must be tackled in their off-duty hours, or during seasons when their normal employment is lax, or when the immediate demands of their principal occupation, agriculture, are not so exacting. An average of 10 hours a week must be at least devoted by every adult citizen, man or woman, to the removal of his or her illiteracy, and so help in the task of such abolition amongst his or her neighbours.

(5) If judged necessary by the appropriate National Association or Council, there should be a system of Instructional Conscription, as part of the scheme of Social Conscription mentioned above.

Under this scheme, every adult reaching a given minimum standard,—the end of the secondary stage, for example,—must be required to devote one year of his or her life of not less than 30 hours a week, to the task of abolishing illiteracy from the land.

Every mechanical aid suited for the spread of Literacy and general knowledge amongst the masses should be utilised, in order to make literate the adult population.

Such aids should be even more intensively adopted in the case of the adults than in that of children.

(6) Besides ordinary instruction in the elements of modern civilised life, which must be universal and compulsory for the entire population, there must be available, in every village, taluka or district, as found convenient and economical, a suitable number of Technical Schools or Vocational Training Centres, for imparting training or practical knowledge in such industries or occupations as are most suited and are in demand amongst the local population. Village labour must become skilled as well as well-informed about the elements of modern economic life and the social system.

(7) Each appropriate Agricultural Association must organise a regular system of village lectures on subjects of local interest to the agriculturist population and its daily work, including elements of new economic, social and political progress, and such matters of scientific advance and development as are calculated to be of direct interest to the local population.

The agriculturist must be taken out of his traditional rut, and must be made conscious of his real worth in

modern economic life so as deliberately to support all associations working for his advantage.

(8) Health and Sanitation amongst the rural masses must be provided by the appropriate Agricultural Associations, in accordance with the predetermined Plan, including the supply of good, clean drinking water, adequate sanitary service, and such information relating to the ordinary ailments of life as is necessary and desirable in that system.

(9) Agriculturist masses must be taught the value of inoculation against epidemics, wherever available, and simple remedies against the everybody ailments of rural life.

All sera and vaccines for this purpose must be provided as abundantly and cheaply, if not free, as possible, as also the skilled aid necessary to apply such treatment.

(10) Means of entertainment, recreation or amusement, which would infuse contentment and provide instruction, should be made available on a systematic basis by the appropriate Agricultural Association as part of a National Plan, by means of travelling museums and exhibitions, or lectures, circus and cinema shows, theatres, and the like.

Local conference should be called from time to time to consider problems of daily life and lines of further development. Experts in given subjects should be invited to advise and assist the efforts made by each Association for its own development.

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