

FRAMING AN AGENDA: AGRARIANISM, SURPLUS CAPACITY DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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Prologue

Agrarian justice is just a part, though a significant part of social justice agenda. An agenda of distributive agrarian justice is thus to be framed. The conception of agrarian justice is to be built upon the idea of equity-based redistribution of surplus-generating capacity of production and labour units in the countryside. It is in this perspective that there is a need to chalk out the idea of producer surplus. This equalisandum has not yet been taken up in the literature till date. Equalisation of this capacity via equality commensurate with the basic need for a reasonable minimum level of economic (disposable) surplus on the farms/disposable income of the households through the redistributive policy and scheme of a welfare state is what constitutes the agrarian justice. In instituting agrarian justice, a significant role is to be played by supplementing governmental attempt at equalisation of material capacity of farmers with additional endeavours to provide education, health, employment, insurance and social security and to ensure a sound delivery mechanism.

This article attempts to invoke the old tradition of American agrarianism of 18th century and clubs it with the surplus paradigm championed by the classical and Marxian political economy. A human being is a rational agency who is capable of practicing impartiality, fairness and equality. There are but possibilities of moral failures, principal among which is the Aristotelian 'weakness of will'. There is possibility of a gap between dispositions and actions in the realm of civil society. In such cases, a prescription is made for the government to institute agrarian social distributive justice through proactive and inclusive social policy under the aegis of welfare (justice) state: minimising agrarian injustices by determining a threshold level of

economic surplus producing capacity of a peasant household and by equalising it across all peasantry. A brief model is presented in this article, which is borrowed from the French philosopher-economist, Serge-Christophe Kolm.

Agrarianism

Thomas Paine—the American thinker and activist—was a pioneer in describing and analysing the normative and ethical question of rights of men as it was principally related with the question of the peasantry's land rights in late eighteenth century America. Right from the eighteenth century, agrarianism¹ emerged to be a normative social goal to be reckoned with. Agrarianism began with a demand for rights of agriculturists to ownership and control over land and compensation in the form of money transfers to landless and land-poor peasantry as old-age pensions. In America, agrarianism was a political movement that attempted to bring forth the concern for fairness, reasonableness and morality at the forefront. As a political ideology, it had stressed the right of peasantry to farms, and thereby, the duty of others, including the state and government, to protect and preserve the communities of farming households and peasantries. Thomas Paine (1797) did not advocate the confiscation and redistribution of land; rather, the advocacy was for creation of a national Fund from a single tax and its distribution as pensions and social security expenditure. On the other hand, Thomas Jefferson in early nineteenth century considered pastoralism and passion for agriculture as the virtue and advocated some sort of 'moral agrarianism'—a way of acting as an indispensable part for a good life wherever there was want of labourers and surfeit of land (and not ethical agrarianism). Jefferson was not judging agriculturism by its economic merits. Jefferson continued to advocate the small, family-sized farm. Jefferson's ideal continued to remain the pastoral and non-capitalistic, not anti-capitalistic, farms (Malone, 1963; Leo Marx, 2000:125-6). Jeffersonian agrarianism preached the self-sufficiency and autonomy of an agrarian life style so as to devote time and energy for local political participation (Holowchak, 2010).

Agrarianism as a normative project centered on the rights and claims of human agency in the countryside kept on evolving in America. There had been a clamor for the establishment of welfare states in late nineteenth and twentieth century. In early nineteenth century, the term agrarianism ceased to be associated with the old idea of distribution of public lands and public wealth from the rich

to the poor.² Agrarianism as a political ideology in the deontological tradition of agricultural social applied ethics has always stressed the right to farm and thereby the duty to protect and preserve the farming communities. Agrarianism as a normative project on the question of land and the agriculturist was not only confined to America. Agrarianism flourished in Russia as well. Russia was the theatre. There has been a lineage from nineteenth century Germany and twentieth century Russia as well. The Russian '*Narodnik*' was the first generation of theoreticians and ideologues, who wanted to reestablish the so-called peasant commune based on communal landholding, and throw away the economic bondage and new slavery of peasantry brought about by the Reform of 1861 in Russia. In Russia in the 1860s and onward, the debate surrounded the questions of transforming the rural society and bringing modernisation through triumph over the misery, squalor and illiteracy of the peasantry (Soloman, 1977; Thorner, 1965). Agrarianism of America of 18th century which took a slightly different shape and content in the populism in late 19th century³ and neo-populism in early 20th century in Russia has survived long and regained its momentum. In contrast to the populist emphasis on the utopia of smallholding, family-labor-based peasant household and enterprise, the Marxist tradition talked about the problematic of peasantry under budding agrarian capitalism, for example, in Russia and Germany (Lenin, 1899; Lenin, 1907; Kautsky, 1899).

Agrarianism has been revived with a vengeance again in recent times. A number of newly independent countries and ex-colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America began to intervene in agriculture for emancipation and provision of welfare to the poor, exploited and ruined peasantry and artisans in the countryside.⁴ It was in this sense that Douglas MacArthur, the supreme commander of allied forces, initiated the 'agrarian reforms' in the post-second World War era. Under the MacArthur programme, the World Bank implemented agricultural land reforms in Japan, Taiwan and Phillipines in south-east Asia. It was claimed that the land reform, an integral part of twentieth century agrarianism, brought more equal distribution of assets to the members of rural society. Income distribution in rural society was largely equalised by the reform (Dore, 1959; Warriner, 1957; Ladejinsky, 1964). In 1987, the Agriculture, Food and Human Values Society was established in the department of Philosophy, University of Florida, Gainesville, America, and this Society began to publish the journal entitled "Agriculture and Human Values" under the aegis of the Kluwer Academic Publishers

since 1997; the purpose, as announced by the editor-in-chief, was to promote a pro-attitude towards the ethical, social and biological understanding of agriculture.

Agronomy, Economics and Surplus

Agronomic thought has an ancient lineage. Systematically it originated in the Roman time. Roman agronomists were the first generation of serious thinkers to ponder about, analyse and prescribe practical solutions to the problems of choice of an appropriate size of agricultural enterprise in terms of utilisation of principal inputs in agriculture. They were preoccupied with the slave-labour based farm enterprise, the requirements to run it well and strategies of exploiting the slave-labour to its maximum. In the ancient world, it was the beginning of a serious study of running an agricultural enterprise based on slave labour. There had been a long gap since then. The subject of study on agriculture has to wait till the arrival of the second generation of agronomists—the English agronomists of thirteenth century. The works of thirteenth century British agronomists had been discovered only recently. In the very beginning of the feudal epoch in Europe, these British agronomists left a legacy of their intensive works for the next generation. In the opinion of a Marxist anthropologist, Maurice Godelier (1986), there was a failure on the part of economist-turned-anthropologist, Karl Polanyi (1944; 1957) in mentioning about the significant contributions of either Roman agronomist or the English agronomists.⁵

The substantive thoughts and ideas of the 13th century British agronomists were successfully theorised in a conceptual framework by the 18th century French physiocrats under the leadership of Dr. Francois Quesnay. Dr Francois Quesnay in France elaborated the idea through the terminology of '*produit net*' (or 'net product' equivalent to a disposable surplus over necessary cost) with illustration of the phenomenon of a single seed germinating to give more than twenty grains on land in agriculture. The Physiocrats deemed the social surplus as the "gift of nature" (Meek, 1962). Attempt was made to place the fact of generation of surpluses as a central category in maintenance of the inter-dependent nature of economic system. It was claimed that agriculture alone had surplus producing capacity. It was emphasised in the course of constructing the *Tableau Economique* that surplus is generated in the production sphere in agriculture⁶ (Dumont, 1980: 276).

Adam Smith—a Scottish philosopher—laid the foundation of

classical political economy in 1776. Adam Smith emphasised the generation of surplus and capital accumulation as crucial processes in the creation of wealth of nation, and it was the surplus from which the labourer was to be paid the wages (Smith, 1976). While the tradition of emphasising the notion of surplus was continued, such a fact was attributed to the aggregate economy and not solely to agriculture and nature. The classical economists worked with this idea of surplus, and separated the profit of enterprise and rent of land as parts of 'surplus' to be distributed among the contending economic classes. Surplus in the classical political economy referred to an excess of income in the form of gross value of goods and services sold in the market over cost involved in producing and supplying them in the market. While a part of surplus arose out of clever trading and commerce, the principal source of surplus arose out of new value addition in production. The classical political economists conceived the surplus as surplus quantum of output over and above the necessary conditions of social reproduction. Piero Sraffa (1960), while reviving classicism in economics discipline, also remained confined to conceiving surplus in physicalist terms, since the Sraffian social surplus approach was devoid of money, especially state money and the financial system.

Karl Marx later analysed this surplus product as the material expression of 'surplus value', which in turn, was explicitly conceived as unpaid labour time. One of the significant applications of the surplus concept has been the agricultural sector of economy. Agriculture involves a long 'period of production' over which a consuming household has to survive by consuming principally the accumulated stock from the previous cycle of production. This initial stock is created out of the surplus of goods and services generated in the last cycle of production. A family-labour farm in agriculture begins the farming operation with an essential threshold level of a minimum amount of stock of seeds, fertile land and accessible water. There is a further requirement of a minimum stock of manure and some basic simple tools of hoe, spade and sickle in a rain-fed agriculture characterised by ubiquitous application of a primitive technology. There is no money in this primitive system. A minimum stock of cash fund must also be available to farming household to carry out the agricultural operations till harvest in a modern artificial-irrigation-based-agriculture, however. Confining to a self-employed agricultural set up of a society, the definition of economic surplus is one of a residual after deducting the paid-out material cost for manures, fertilizers, fuels, and other materials used (including amortisation),

wage payments of hired labour and imputed value of family labour from the gross value of product output of goods and services. The Marxist idea was later lucidly elaborated in a concise manner by a JNU Marxist agrarian economist: every definition of ‘surplus’ is simultaneously a definition of ‘breaking even’, or of “deficit” of a peasant household and farm enterprise (Patnaik, 1979; Patnaik, 1987; also, Patnaik, 1994). The farm disposable surplus of goods and services is the economic surplus of goods and services produced net of all claims of property-income recipients in agriculture (Patnaik, 1999:231-44). Symbolically, these are represented as follows:

$$ES_{=} (X - M) - (W + W^{FL})$$

$$ES_{r=} (X - M) - (W + W^{FL}) - R$$

In the above formulation,

$ES_{=}$ stands for the value of economic surplus of goods and services,
 $ES_{r=}$ the value of retained economic surplus of goods and services
 (or farm disposable income),

X is the value of gross output of all crops, by-products and livestock products,

M the material paid-out cost including amortization,

W the wage payments of hired human labour,

W^{FL} the imputed value of family labour (a measure of necessary consumption of family labour), and

R the value of claims of property-income recipients in the form of rent, interest, etc

In case of property-income receiving rural households, the value of $ES_{r=}$ is always greater than the value of $ES_{=}$, whereas the value of $ES_{=}$ is lower than the value of $ES_{r=}$ for the property-income paying households among peasantry. While estimating the surplus of goods and services, it is the standard practice in empirical works to account for payments made by a household in both cash as well as in kind (and further disaggregate it both in grain and non-grain equivalent). Surplus is a part of output that is over and above the subsistence and other requirements of men. In Marxist economic analysis, it is the straightforward and logically complete concept of economic surplus, and it is invariably an estimation of and influenced by the capacity for ‘economic reproduction’ of a production unit. Economic surplus is a residual after deducting the paid-out material cost and labour cost of production from the gross value of product output of goods and services.

It is a tragedy that in the neoclassical economics that developed from the late 19th century and occupied the status of a mainstream modern economics, a prime agenda of theorisation, formation of principles and model-building exercises was the problem of allocation of resources and production and exchange of commodities of agriculture. The description and analysis of agriculture in terms of allocation of resources in different uses, technical coefficient of production and price mediation of exchange of agricultural 'commodities' became the exclusive concern. It was the positive analysis of resources and commodity – an analysis of balance and equilibrium among a plethora of agricultural commodities, but devoid of any analysis of 'surplus' product. What has been further tragic in modern economics has been the disappearance and fading away of the notion of surplus and its dethronement from the position of centrality as a category of description and analysis in agriculture.

The modern analysis of agricultural economy is not conducted by asking the question: how much is the surplus produced on an individual farm and in the aggregate? Moreover, there has been the phenomenon of sustained disregard to the demands of proponents of agrarianism with the argument that modern economics has been a value-free science. In the name of advancing a positive analysis⁷ of an agrarian economy, there has been furthermore a tendency towards pushing the agriculturist-producers and agriculturist-laborers as human agencies in the backyard—a shadowy figure of a morass of rational actors, devoid of all other attributes. A rational actor was postulated to be merely interested in the commodity and obtaining commodities through transactions in the market.

In short, a journey has been accomplished over centuries. The championing of the cause of rights and claims of agriculturist is an important endeavour in improving the life conditions of peasantry and labour. Both agrarianism and surplus paradigm of thinking ought to be revived. A focus on men/women—the human agency—however requires it to focus on the capacity of a rural folk to produce a surplus and his/her right to this surplus-producing capacity. The idea of surplus is a significant dimension of life of peasantry in the countryside. In the literature concerned with the social provisioning and services to people under a social policy of the welfare government, the category of surplus—social or economic—is quite significant. It is the surplus that is siphoned-off and redistributed in social provisioning and services.

Productive Capacity and Distribution

There is a new literature that is focussed on human beings rather than commodities (or for that matter, surplus commodity). In human capability literature of Amartya Sen (1992; 2009) and Martha Nussbaum (1992; 2006), there is a menu and catalogue of human capacities that have instrumental and intrinsic worth. All such human capacities and capability is in terms of “doing” and “being”. A human capacity is a set of human functioning; it is a set of attributes, features and characteristics of an individual being that is conducive, instrumental and helpful in doing or becoming something. It is a set of faculty to do something (ability to act on something) and also a set of competence to be something (become something).

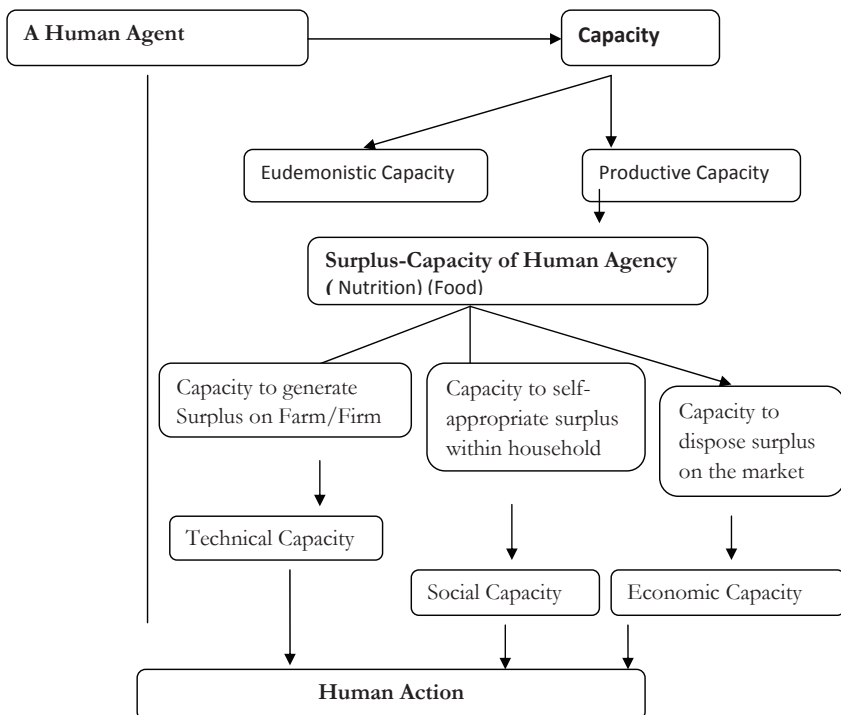
In agriculture, a peasant household is both a producer household as well as a consumer household—almost coterminous. A peasant-consumer has capacities and abilities, for example, eudemonistic capacity, capacity to be healthy and educated, capacity to be socially insured, secured and protected, and capacity to be a full-fledged citizen with civil and political rights. A peasant-producer has a productive capacity, for example, a number of physical and mental capacities such as various skills, strength, stamina, intelligence, memory, relational abilities are used in production activity. Productive capacity of a human individual is contrasted with eudemonistic capacity. A productive capacity permits transforming human labour into output of goods and services—say, into income or consumption one can buy with it—and equivalently, it also permits obtaining leisure for each amount of forgone earned income. The productive capacity and the quality of capacity is reflected in the labour productivity which in turn is a function of genetic luck, health-care, education and training, and disposition to work, ought not to be under full ownership of the individual peasant.

A capacity of a person is a set of characteristics of the person that has the nature of an ‘asset’. A productive capacity as an asset is held under a right to ownership. An ownership right confers four types of rights: destruction, use, benefit and rent. A bearer of a human capacity (holding self-bare-ownership-right) freely and legitimately uses it and is entitled to the resulting benefits under the aim-freedom and act-freedom, guaranteed by liberal philosophy and system of society. The ownership right over human capacity is however not ‘full ownership’; it is bare ownership. A productive capacity of a human individual is in the nature of bare ownership, and bare ownership does not confer full usufruct (usufruct denotes the right

to use, right to benefit or to receive the rent). The rent right is the right to the value of the availability of the services of capacity as an asset. The right to receive the rent, which depends on the quality of the capacity (such as its productivity for a productive capacity) of an individual, ought not to belong to the individual; rather, it ought to belong to society and the nation.

It is pertinent to point out at this juncture of classification that the notion of capability is but limited and narrow while the capacity and capability to produce a surplus is of wider significance in terms of determining the economic turnaround of the farm, livelihood of the family and reproduction of the process of production in agriculture. The material-productive capacity is a precondition of human survival and continuation of human race at the most basic and primary level of existence on this earth. It is the material-productive capacity of human agents rather than the command over and rights to the ownership and control over material goods and services (including money, income and property), which are of ultimate value to and which is the fundamental claim of the human actors in the society.

Arrow Diagrams



In matter of distribution, there are three issues:

- What is to be redistributed? - (income as proxy of the rent of productive capacity)
- How much of sum total to be distributed among the poor? (a fraction of income equivalent to the rent of productive capacity)
- What ought to be the coverage of the scheme of redistribution?
- (universal without means- and status-test)

The idea is built up on the argument that in the project of enhancing agrarian justice through equal distribution of the status of freedom of choice and decision of actors is possible to be attained only with equalisation of the 'surplus-producing capacity' across individual farms of peasantry. Distribution and redistribution of productive capacity, that is, the capacity to produce a surplus goes a long way in minimising the material injustices in the countryside. As a matter of deontological rights of human agents, everyone ought to be entitled for a surplus that helps human agency to improve the productive capacity rather than surviving in a vegetative state of subsistence. It can be pooled by a central authority and distributed equally.

All citizens must have entitlements based in justice to all the capabilities, up to an appropriate threshold level, according to Martha Nussbaum (2006). The threshold level is equal to the rent of the productive capacity to produce a surplus. On the principle of prioritarianism, this threshold level is to be guaranteed for a poor peasant at the bottom. On the principle of distributive equity, the equalisandum, that is the thing to be equalized, is the capacity to produce a material (commodity) surplus by a rural household whereby a rural household is to be treated as a small compact collectivity of individuals having a common shared value and being capable of jointly completing an action: material reproduction on the farm in the countryside. Equalisation of this capacity via the equality commensurate with the basic need for a reasonable minimum level of economic (disposable) surplus on the farms/disposable income of the households through the redistributive policy and scheme of a welfare state is what constitutes the agrarian justice. In a democratic setup, a welfare state has a role to play in redistributing the human capacity to generate, produce and possess the surplus – specifically, in the context of a countryside.

A Model

Following the liberal philosophy of The Lockean proviso on ownership of the resources of the world, it is postulated that human beings have part-ownership of their productive capacity/capability. The rent of the capacity ought to be pooled and distributed equally amongst all. Serge-Christophe Kolm (2005) in his huge monograph entitled *Macrojustice: The Political Economy of Fairness* compiles an extended exercise in application of liberal philosophy, logic and anthropology to advance a proposal of redistributing the ‘*average equalisation labour income*’ under the aegis of a welfare state to achieve the macro-justice. In this framework, it is cash transfers of income value or money value of income finally. It is based on the principle of universalism in redistribution. The global distributive justice in macro-justice is a matter of correction of inequalities in human productive capacities through redistribution of ‘*average equalisation labour income*’ (ELIE). The “equalisation income” is the actual individual wage rate multiplied by equalisation labour duration (for convenience, suppose two days per week). The “average equalisation income” is the average wage rate multiplied by two days per week. This principle of redistribution amounts to each individual yielding his/her “equalisation income” and receiving the “average equalisation income”. In such redistribution, the poor gains and the rich lose parts of income. It is egalitarian because an equal distribution of the sum of rents of society’s productive capacities to each according to the excess or deficiency of her productivity to average. It is to be practically realised and implemented on the principle of the distribution function of a public sector (government).

In the redistribution scheme, suppose the equalisation labour is assumed to be one-third ($1/3$ rd) of standard working time (i.e., k -th fraction as common coefficient of proportionality). In a week of six working days, this fraction would be equal to income earned in two days ($1/3$ rd of standard working time). Suppose the average income per month in a nation is rupees 10500; it is the per capita income. In the scheme of the model of Serge-Christophe Kolm (2005), the average equalisation income is then rupees 3500 ($1/3$ rd of PCI). The government of a welfare state implements a scheme of redistribution. The position of the poor, unemployed and the rich in the post-redistribution situation is then as follows:

Suppose a poor peasant X has monthly earnings equal to rupees 6000. The equalisation income of this poor peasant X, that is $1/3$ rd, is rupees 2000. The government takes it in the form of tax, and gives

back the equalisation income of rupees 3500 (1/3rd of PCI). The poor peasant X has disposable income, that is the sum of monthly earnings plus average equalisation income gained minus equalisation income paid in tax which amounts to rupees 7500 ($6000 + 3500 - 2000$). It is a case of net subsidy for the poor peasant.

An unemployed labour Y has a monthly earnings equal to rupees zero by virtue of being without work. The equalisation income of this unemployed labour Y, that is 1/3rd, is then rupees zero – a case of no payment of tax. The government gives back the average equalisation income of rupees 3500 (1/3rd of PCI). The unemployed labour Y has disposable income, that is the sum of monthly earnings plus average equalisation income gained minus equalisation income paid in tax which amounts to rupees 3500 ($0 + 3500 - 0$). It is a case of absolute support of the government to unemployed labour.

A rich peasant Z has a monthly income equal to rupees 15000. The equalisation income of this **rich** peasant Z, that is 1/3rd, is then rupees 5000. The government takes it in the form of tax, and gives back the equalisation income of rupees 3500 (1/3rd of PCI). The **rich** peasant Z has disposable income, that is the sum of monthly earnings plus average equalisation income gained minus equalisation income paid in tax which amounts to rupees 13500 ($15000 + 3500 - 5000$). This is a case of net taxation of the rich by the government.

This process of collecting the equalisation income and returning back the average equalisation income constitute an iterative process of equalisation in the production capacities whereby a fraction of the surplus produced is taken away by the government and transferred back to the poor and unemployed. Of course, inequality in surplus-producing capacity of peasantry is merely reduced but not eliminated. Alas! Elimination of inequality and reaching relative equality takes time (a decade or a few decades) in a social democratic regime of a welfare state!

Graphical Illustration

For a poor individual for whom the transfer is a subsidy, PT is the budget line, and the individual is at point F choosing between leisure and income as two goods. LLa is the amount of actual labour used, ON is the amount of earnings enjoyed [Wi.(li)] and OLa is the leisure amount enjoyed. LLb is the fraction of labour treated as equalisation labour, k, that is transferred to the central public finance authority as fraction of rent of productive capacity of the individual.

In the political philosophy of justice, the proposition holds: each person is entitled to equal concern and respect and the governments to treat each person with equal consideration (Kymlicka, 1990). Aristotle said that justice is equality is what everyone thinks it is; equality is required by normative categories of impartiality and rationality. So late as in 1971, equality played a central role in theory of justice proposed by John Rawls (1971), as did the notion of duty, including the duty to help those in need. Justice as equality of original positions, construed as equality of proportions, had been the most primitive and also the oldest notion. Justice as equality of original positions implying equality of opportunities has of late implied justice as equality of rights. Justice, whatever it is, is not merely the first virtue of a society but also it is one of the main normative standards of judgments regarding human actions in moral philosophy and the principal subject matter of political principles in political philosophy.

Whatever justice is, and of course, it is at least minimally a requirement of equal consideration of and treatment to individual human agency in its own right in the ethos of freedom—either negative or positive liberty. Justice requires for its attainment as and consequence of actions, the reasons, specifically the other-regarding reasons for action in an interactive social situation, that is considered after informed deliberations, valuable in human life and for the sake of human life, of a commonly agreed principle for fair and impartial deal in procedures of interactions among human agents of free will under situations of no enticement, no duress, no compulsion, and no coercion, leading directly to act in the interest of enhancing justice.

Political philosophy is concerned with the political principles regarding just, free and good society. Fundamental arguments of every political principle are “accept equality” as a value but each school of thought of each divergent political principle differs with regard to each other on “how to interpret equality”. Marxism propounds equality in income, wealth and opportunity. Nozickian principle asserts equal rights over one’s labour and property. Political philosophy is concerned with the public conduct and public responsibility of the government, in which instituting justice is the core concern of the government. Moral philosophy has set the background for political philosophy (and boundaries of political landscape in general), and such a background has had application in the field of agricultural and the rural in arguing and advocating the agenda of minimising agrarian injustices and advancing rural justices. Such a concern for public intervention in instituting a framework of

enhancement of justice and minimisation of justice under the aegis a welfare state is crucial in view of the fact that there are failures of private individual human agencies. The private individual reason is to be complemented with public practical reason of the government and the state. It is the welfare state that develops the ethos for the growth of citizenship and community.

Agricultural ethics (in combination with agricultural economics of surplus paradigm and political philosophy of egalitarianism) assigns a role to the government and thereby raise the issues which are directly relevant to public policy. It is a powerful argument that a government in a social democratic regime of welfare state framework ought to at the steering of instituting agrarian justice through public redistributive social policy. Agricultural applied ethical practice is principally concerned with the ethical issues regarding management of earth's resources for the production of food and prescribes ways of resolution of such issues that are prudent, fair and humane. The socio-economic strand of agricultural ethics deals with the issue of distributive justice rather directly, and therefore, it has been the basis of rise of agrarianism, in the deontological tradition of rights, duties and obligations. In addition to these, agrarian economic justice would require social protection and security in matter of health-care, education, employment guarantee, old-age pension, food security, insurance against natural hazards accidents, social unrest and market disorders and malfunctioning and social assistance to excluded and disabled, viz., women, children, handicapped, marginalised caste, class, race, and ethnic populations. Agrarian economic justice and social protection and security and insurance policy cannot be translated into a reality of tangible and intangible state of affairs outcomes and consequences unless the state also adopts political principles of remodeling the structures of institutions of government and other organs.

Let us hope for the revival of concern for agrarian justice at a juncture of history characterized by the proximity to the framing of a post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) under the aegis of the United Nations system! The phenomenon of multifaceted inequality (in addition to continuing poverty wretchedness of human life). Never before has the issue of instituting social agrarian justice been as relevant as it is today and is going to be the same in future.

Notes

1. Thomas Paine remarked in connection with advancing the thesis on "Agrarian Justice":

Cultivation is at least one of the greatest natural improvements ever made by human invention. It has given to created earth a tenfold value. But the landed monopoly that began with it has produced the greatest evil. It has dispossessed more than half the inhabitants of every nation of their natural inheritance, without providing for them, as ought to have been done, an indemnification for that loss, and has thereby created a species of poverty and wretchedness that did not exist before (Thomas Paine, 1797).

2. In his work "The Crime of Poverty", Henry George remarked:
In a rude state of society, there are seasons of want, seasons when people starve; but they are seasons when the earth has refused to yield her increase, when the rain has not fallen from the heavens, or when the land has been swept by some foe—not when there is plenty. And yet the peculiar characteristic of this modern poverty of ours is that it is deepest where wealth most abounds... In a rude state of society, as among the ancient Hebrews, giving each family its lot and making it inalienable we might secure something like equality. But in a complex civilization that will not suffice. It is not, however, necessary to divide-up the land. All that is necessary is to divide-up the income that comes from the land. In that way, we can secure the absolute equality. Nor could the adoption of this principle involve any rude shock or violent change. It can be brought about gradually and easily by abolishing taxes that now rest upon capital, labor and improvements, and raising all our public revenues by the taxation of land values; and the longer you think of it the clearer you will see that in every possible way will it be a benefit (Henry George, 1885).
3. The literature on peasantry developed with the battle cry of "Land and Freedom" and establishment of democratic republic. The leading figure of Narodnik was S.M. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky; followers were Chernyshevsky, Dobrotyubov and Herzen. The leading theoreticians of liberal variant of populism were N.F. Danielson, V. Vorontsov and N.K. Mikhailovsky. The populist tradition was made to 'found upon the preservation, not the decomposition of the peasantry' (Harrison, 1979). Throughout 1880s and 1890s, such clamors of the Narodnik organisations were heard. Opposed to Narodniks, the group of Legal-Marxists came forward and opened the platform of debate. The idea centered on showing the efficiency and stability of petty peasant farming over the large-scale capitalist farming; it was targeted against the social-democratic ideas of Karl Kautsky of Germany. The prominent figures of Legal-Marxism variant were P. Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky, Bulgakov and Berdyayev. In the later part of 1890s, two movements arose within the camp of Legal-Marxism. Chernov and Veroshilov in Russia handled the anti-Marxist platform, and Edward Bernstein was the leader of revisionism followed by Vollmar, David, Pudor and Hertz. The liberal Narodniks and Legal Marxists welcome them (Trapeznikov, 1981:60-81).
4. To quote:
Most of those who are today seeking to understand the economic behavior of the peasantry seem to be unaware that they are treading much the same ground treed from the 1860's onward by several generations of Russian economists... One of the first methods which young Russian idealists tried for dealing with these problems was direct action... Establishing themselves in villages, they tried to be of use to the peasantry...deemed it wise, before undertaking further adventures in rural philanthropy, to obtain a more precise knowledge of village realities... A vast programme of economics

and statistical investigations into peasant economic problems... Alexander Vassilevich Chayanov, from 1919 to 1930, the leading Russian authority on the economics of agriculture, synthesized the theoretical ideas of his predecessors and contemporaries, and developed them along original lines... First, a theory of peasant behavior at the level of individual family farm...second...peasant economy...as an economic system in its own right, as a non-capitalistic system of national economy (Thorner, 1965: 227- 29).

5. Maurice Godelier (1986) elucidates the history as part of a critique to the works of Karl Polanyi (1957) in the following manner. To quote:

Polanyi never stopped at abstract analysis but to the end of his life sought to confront concrete, empirical materials...Polanyi is clearly unaware of the works by Roman agronomists, from Varo to the treatise of the 'Sassema', and from Cato to Clitella and Posidonius, which are very much concerned with defining the appropriate size for an agricultural slave-based enterprise (an average - sized property or a latifundium), the number of slaves to employ, their ethnic origin and its effects upon their docility as workers, their capacity to learn and perform well without engaging in sabotage or taking flight, and the choice of kinds of cultivation to be adopted in this framework. Similarly, one could mention works by thirteenth-century English agronomists. In each case, concern to run things well is present, together with concern to exploit the labor of others effectively. Polanyi never wrenched a word about these texts or about the social contradictions, which these imply (Godelier, 1986:197).

6. Such an emphasis on agriculture in economic analysis had rewarded in two ways:

First, I have stressed in the example of Quesnay the fact that economist's search at this stage is for a substance responsible for the creation of wealth or value - I mean a single, self-sufficient factor that enshrines the essence of the economic process. As a creative factor, it must be actually a living agent; nature in Quesnay...The second observation bears on the transition from the traditional to the modern ideological set-up. The incompatibility between land and capital, rent and profit, agriculture and industry clearly mirrors the historical change in the conception of wealth; better called the emergence of wealth: as a major category or the emancipation of movable wealth (Dumont, 1980: 280).

7. Stephen Ziliak (2008) in an entry in the International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 2nd Edition, remarked:

In the context of French social thought, the words positive science were first uttered, it seems, by Madame de Staël (1766–1817), the eccentric thinker, writer, socialite, and associate of Romantic and scientific utopians of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Gordon 1991, p. 271)... Historians of ideas typically end their trace of positive social science with the originators of modern sociology, that is, with Henri Saint Simon (1760–1825) and his disciple, Auguste Comte (1798–1857). Thus the linguistic turn from positive science to positive social science...One way to define it is to name what its diverse advocates claim it is not: positive social science is not old school metaphysics, and it is not a normative branch of science, such as welfare economics or applied ethics. Against the speculative metaphysics of Plato (427–347 BCE) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), for example, and against the value judgments of moralists such as Jean-Jacques

Rousseau (1712–1778) and Comte and the contemporary philosopher John Rawls (1921–2002), positive social scientists are united in their attempt to understand and explain the sensory world in objective, logical, factual, and value-neutral observational terms...Logical positivists took Hume’s fork to be the whole scientific meal, a belief that rapidly entered the mainstream of social scientific thought. Only scientific statements were to be accepted as “cognitively meaningful.” And only axiomatic and value-neutral statements about the facts of the world would count as science. Value judgments—especially judgments of an ethical kind—were said to be the province of preachers and poets, objectively speaking, “meaningless,” no guide to social or economic policy.

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