

might ultimately mean higher assessment of their estates". All these combined to reduce the resistance of the peasants to natural calamities like floods and famines.

Jena has said "the landholders were receiving 27 per cent of the total production in 1822, 30 per cent in 1833, 35 per cent in 1840, and 48 per cent in 1897". One would have liked Jena to throw some light on what happened to this surplus. Why was it not invested in *zirat* farming or industries?

Jena has devoted one chapter to tributary chiefs and another to Khurda. Their relations with the British have been discussed at length. The British went all out to win over the support of the feudatory chiefs. For almost 150 years these chiefs remained autonomous rulers and the British laws did not apply to their subjects. The institution of permanent settlement fixed the tribute of the rulers to the British government. But the rulers' revenue demands on their subjects were not fixed. Consequently, these subjects had no protection whatsoever and they continued to live in social and economic darkness.

Chapter V deals with industry and trade of Orissa during the nineteenth century. The conclusion which is supported by factual evidence is that British policies and the attitude of indifference and neglect resulted in the decline of local industries like salt-making, mefal-work, filigree-work, leather-work, and weaving, rendering a large number of artisans jobless and forcing them to join the ranks of agricultural labourers.

In spite of a lot of factual material, the book suffers from a number of shortcomings. First, there is no rigour either in analysis or in the use of language. Proof-reading and editing have both been deficient. In the bibliography Karl Marx has become K K Marx and a publication by him entitled "On Customary Rights" has been listed, but neither the date nor the place of publication has been mentioned. The bibliography is thoroughly defective. Further, in the absence of a map of nineteenth century Orissa, it is difficult to follow the course of events described in the book. Lastly, though the title of the book includes the word "social", there is nothing substantial about the social structure, caste system, etc, at the time of the occupation of Orissa by the British and about the impact of the policies of the British on Oriya

society. There is nothing about the social status of the landlords and the peasants.

One would have liked Jena to deal with rural indebtedness, transfer of land, money lending, rural labour, etc, and also with the impact of permanent

settlement on the crop pattern. There are a number of references in passing to Paik Rebellion and so one would have liked the author to say a few words about it at least in a footnote to help the reader understand its genesis.

Rural Employment: Limits and Possibilities

Tom Timberg

Employment Expansion In Indian Agriculture; Asian Employment Programme — ARTEP, ILO, Bangkok, 1979.

THIS volume is the report of a seminar (held in February 1979 in Bangalore) sponsored by the Asian Employment Programme — Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion (ARTEP) of the ILO and co-sponsored by some appropriate units of the Government of India. The session was a continuation of their attempts to find ways and means of expanding employment in agriculture — or rather more broadly in the rural areas as a whole. Many of the most prominent Indian economists concerned with Indian rural development were there and much current empirical research was presented either as papers or background material for discussion. The latter drew heavily on the direction given by Shigeru Ishikawa in his "Labour Absorption in Asian Agriculture: An Issue Paper" (June 1978, ILO, Bangkok) and followed up in the publication "Labour Absorption in Indian Agriculture".

It all sounds correct and level-headed irrigated, especially multiple-cropped irrigated agriculture does provide more employment. H K Pande, in a piece, "Multiple Cropping Experience in India: Possibilities and Constraints with Particular Reference to Employment Expansion in Agriculture" (p 64-65) states, "...the additional labour required is mainly for growing the third crop... the additional irrigation facilities as expected to be developed in the Sixth Plan would irrigate 17 million hectares and would generate additional employment — 3 million man labour/years with the inclusion of the third crop..." Animal husbandry, particularly dairying, and small-scale industry can provide employment to those who own little or no land. Though there is less consideration of the constraints to full exploitation of the potential on either side than one would wish. Policy commitments and programmes to promote animal husbandry and rural small-scale

industry have been part of rural development efforts for at least as long as they have been made — and with the exception of the Amul type dairy efforts, the successes have been few and far between. In fact, the successes that have occurred, often seem to be in spite of rather than because of official promotional programmes. The successful development of a modern poultry industry seems to have mostly served very large-scale farmers, so easily noticeable in their large poultry houses along the Bombay-Poona road; it may be justified on production and nutrition grounds, but can hardly be so because of the employment it provides the poor. The potential market and skill reservoir for the very successful graft developments are limited — and some of the most successful like the diamond polishers of Gujarat are hardly the result of government effort. Small farms, very small farms, can be highly productive, especially if they have reasonable access to inputs — and they are more labour-intensive than large ones. Though A S Kahlon (p 33) says this is not true for tractorised farms. Tractors are condemned by a number of speakers as in a piece by S L Shah, though they seem to be defended in a piece by A S Kahlon. But the key to his defence is the presumption that the tractors reduce the timing barriers to multiple cropping, which is, as we saw, critical to employment creation. There is a consensus that a lot of productive labour-intensive work is possible in land improvement, permitting a more economical use of water — permitting greater irrigation, more double cropping, and more employment, to say nothing of the increased production. This is covered in an unusually readable manner by B G Verghese. In fact, his is such a readable piece that I hope someone is copying it to circulate it to a wider audience than this occasionally technical seminar is likely to reach.