

The Rising Manipur

(Including other North-Eastern States)

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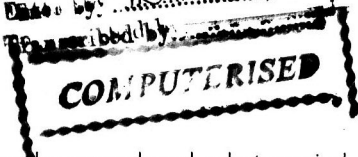
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Preface

This book attempts to convey something of the social values, economic condition and feelings of the hill (tribal) people of the state of Manipur, of their aspirations, intense love for traditional values and their longings and frustrations. Fifty years have passed since India's Independence and while the world becomes more and more fast-paced, hardly any tangible economic developmental work has been achieved in the hills. The tribal people have often expressed their thoughts and desires but far too often such expressions have become meaningless cries in the wilderness. This book is an attempt to convey their age-old wants and needs.

Article 371(c) of the Indian Constitution has special provisions with respect to the state of Manipur - "to look after the interests of the hill areas in the state". Ironically, however, the ground reality is that the special provisions under Article 371(c) have been reduced to the status of other committees of the state assembly. This, I suspect, was deliberately done by certain self-interested person(s) who twisted the meaning of the Article in order to suppress and exploit the interests of the tribal people. The Manipur tribals, like any other tribal people around the world, are basically gullible and cannot fathom the ulterior motives of the ruling classes.

The Hill Areas Committee came into existence in 1972 by the then Indian president's order. I was elected Chairman of the committee by the tribal elected legislative members and took charge in 1995. When I wanted to know what the duties and functions of the chairman were, to my surprise, there were only two dilapidated files left by my predecessors. It was sad and shocking, to say the least. This, however, was not their fault but

that of the system - the position of the chairman has been reduced to that of a glorified clerk.

Prompted by this ignoble situation, an attempt has been made to bring out a book that highlights the problems of the hill people. In whatever measure this book succeeds it is thanks to those who, through their writing, have taught me the qualities of development, justice and truth. As different contributors have written on topics of their own interest, overlapping is at times unavoidable; but this is only indicative of the topicality and urgency of the problems that the tribal people face today.

I must thank Professor Lal Dena of the Manipur University who has taken the trouble to go through the articles and make the work more meaningful with his careful and scientific impartiality.

My office personnel, especially the typists who painstakingly typed and re-typed every page, should be thanked profusely for their efforts and teamwork. I must also acknowledge a debt to the former chief minister, Sri Rishang Keishing who assisted and encouraged me at every step. I have great regard for his noble help and suggestions. I would also like to extend my appreciation to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly for his support extended towards the publishing of this book.

We are extremely fortunate to have the knowledge and expertise of the Governor, Shri O.N. Srivastava who is imbued with an in-depth knowledge of the North Eastern States' problems, on merit of his long association with the region. I appreciate his humane understanding of the problems of the state and owe the greatest debt to him for his tireless involvement in solving the problems of the state at every stage.

Prof. M. Horam

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PART - I

GENERAL ISSUES ON DEVELOPMENT

Social Factors of Development in Manipur

- Prof B.K. Roy Burman

1. **There are two ways to Define the Social Factors of Development.**

In a narrow sense, social factors mean the institutional framework and organisational measures that support the various programmes laid down in the developmental plan for the country. A broader definition encompasses not only the instrumental aspects of the successful implementation of programmes but also the social values and objectives that determine the structure of the plan as a whole and its components, as well as the planning process in all its phases. While determining the scope of the workshop, it would be worthwhile to keep in view some of the guiding principles enunciated by the Planning Commission in the draft of the Ninth Five-Year Plan on the mechanism and process of planning.

- A). Planning has to be viewed not only as a periodical activity concerned with the drawing up of plan documents but a continuous process constantly engaged in (i) locating new resources, potential and technology and their translation into projects and programmes and (ii) identifying and diagnosing contingent problems.
 - B). Involvement of the people and their elected representatives has to be recognised as a prerequisite for effective planning.
2. In the light of the foregoing statement of the perspective of the draft of the Five-Year plan, it is felt that the

workshop on the social factors of development in Manipur, jointly sponsored by the Manipur University (former centre of JNU) at Imphal and the state government of Manipur, should aim at a synthesis of two tasks. First, it will try to make an analytical appraisal of the information available with respect to the different parts of the state "pertaining to levels of development, population and area, productivity and coverage of various social services and infrastructure". It will also take into account the aspirations and preferences of the people. At the same time, it will critically examine, in the light of the Fifth Plan, the objectives and policies, detailed decisions taken with regard to the choice or innovation of specific programmes and determination of locations, capacities, norms and techniques in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation and power, education, water supply, etc. at the regional, district and local levels.

For the successful performance of the two tasks, the following innovations have been envisaged.

- A. (i) There will be a series of pre-workshop discussions on the objective facts of resources, land, population, infrastructure and social services, developmental programmes and projects. Attempts would also be made to identify the socio-political factors determining the choice of alternative patterns of institutional support, norms and procedures.
- (ii) In each district, at least one pre-workshop symposium will be organised in cooperation with various official as well as non-official forums, where an attempt will be made to gather information with regard to emergent socio-economic trends and monitor plan implementation. One such symposium was held at Komlathabi in the Chandel district.
- B. For a number of aspects of development, critical appraisal will be made from the theoretical point of view. For this purpose, a number of scholars will be commissioned to prepare papers of a high academic quality. These papers will also be presented by the scholars at the workshop.

The foregoing strategy of the intertwining of informed popular mobilisation and monitoring on the one hand and academic appraisal and analysis on the other is an experimental one. It is in line with the extremely perceptive statement in the approach to the Fifth Five-Year Plan: "The Fifth Plan is much more than an internally consistent mathematical exercise. It is conceived as the rally point for a supreme effort in a decisive phase of our struggle for a self-reliant economy and for social justice. In order to ensure that these are forthcoming in the required measure, there is need for active involvement of the people in the formulation and implementation of the plan. The involvement of the youth on a massive scale can bring about a qualitative improvement in its implementation. A necessary condition for such involvement is understanding and appreciation of plan objectives, strategies and programmes. In this task, plan formulation and education play an important role. High priority would be accorded towards working out and putting into practice the various modalities of peoples' involvement."

Obviously the task set before the workshop (along with the ancillary programme) is rather ambitious. It is a challenge, to say the least. But it is out of tremendous confidence in the dedication and social consciousness of the youth in Manipur and an awareness of the growing quest among the Indian intelligence is for the meaning of their knowledge in the life of the 'last man' among the people that this challenge has been taken up.

The basic concepts, facts and figures that will inform the deliberations in the workshop are briefly discussed here. It goes without saying that a number of other relevant issues are likely to be raised by the participants in the seminar or are likely to come up through the ancillary programmes at various stages.

Concept of Development

As a follow up to the United Nation's resolution, a review of the integration of social aspects in development planning in the ECAFE region has brought out that in the past per capita national income and GNP were used as indicators of

development because they functioned as aggregate indexes which were identifiable, measurable and manageable and could also serve the purpose of international comparison. These indicators, however, ignored the social component and at best were only an indirect measure of the level of living possibilities and not the actual pattern of living. Therefore, though they were undoubtedly the measure of the strength of an economy, they could be considered necessary but not sufficient indicators of development.

Social development should not, however, be equated with social services; rather it relates to the "social objectives of economic growth such as redistribution of income, institutional changes, equalisation of distribution of development benefits, etc." The social and economic objectives, policies and indicators should be built into overall development strategies from the very beginning. Priorities, standards and goals should be determined after taking into consideration the social as well as economic costs and benefits within the framework of social, economic and political values."

The UN review, however, points out that while most of the developing countries have specified in great detail their developmental objectives, difficulties arise in the translation of the same into policies and programmes.

For instance, though growth with justice is accepted as the ideal for developmental planning in India, it is to be examined if in the short-term perspective there is a conflict between growth and justice; what weightage is actually given to social justice in concrete situations. In this manner, socio-economic realities and the political culture of an area would be the determining factors. Besides studying a large number of cases, bringing out the incongruous relationships, if any, can create a new political culture and help to approach the socio-economic realities from a different perspective.

It would be useful if the workshop discusses one or two concrete situations. For instance, the programme of encouraging local entrepreneurs in backward areas may, from a short-range point of view, appear to put in abeyance the overall goal of

building up the institutional base of socialism in the area. At the same time, one may argue that such a strategy is indispensable for quickly correcting the regional imbalance of growth, ending traditional forms of exploitation and counteracting the danger of over-bureaucratisation.

The long-range social and political implications of the recent trend of differentiating the weaker sections among the weak as being eligible for developmental assistance may also be reviewed. It may particularly be considered whether it will not perpetuate the subservience of the weaker section as a whole to the hegemonic interests at the national and regional level.

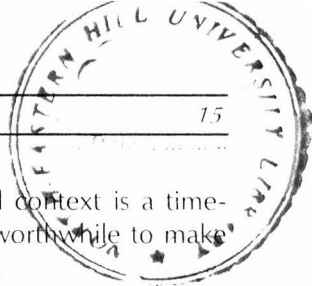
Development Indicator

In view of the limitations of conventional economic indicators like GNP, a search for more comprehensive and integrative indicators has ensued at the international, national and local levels. These indicators are to be developed by each community depending upon its social, economic and political goals. Broadly, they should indicate the pattern of rural and urban development, resource mobilisation, quality of life, social integration, social stratification and mobility and participation of different categories of the population in the developmental process. These should also include the distribution of development benefits in space and time and also among the diverse social strata and groups and communities.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) has chosen a set of 42 indicators for international comparison.

In India, the Indian Council for Social Science Research has taken steps to build up nationally valid indicators of development.

Within the framework accepted at the international and national levels, local adaptations are required to be made. For instance, whereas in those parts of the country where the *purdah* system prevails the conduct of trade in domestic products by females would have one social meaning, in Manipur it will have an entirely different meaning.



Adaptation of the indicators to the local context is a time-consuming exercise. Even then it would be worthwhile to make a start through discussions in the workshop.

Goals and strategies of the Five-Year Plan of the country which inform the development plan in Manipur:

The Five-Year Plan has set two major tasks before the nation: (a) removal of poverty and (b) attainment of economic self-reliance. The social platform on which the edifice of the plan is built up envisages: (a) democratic political order, (b) prevention of concentration of political power, (c) reduction of disparities in income and wealth, (d) attainment of a balanced regional development and (e) the spread of institutions, values and attitudes of a free and just society.

Under-development and inequality are considered to be the crucial factors of poverty. It is therefore envisaged that a growth-oriented strategy must have woven into it a series of redistribution measures. Besides, what is important is not just a high growth rate but also a particular composition of growth that will favour the weaker sections of society. There is also to be a policy of massive employment generation which will sustain and will be sustained by a much greater availability of goods and services of mass consumption and investment with a view to maximising efficiency and production of vast numbers as well as for improving the quality of life through the implementation of a minimum needs programme.

It has been assumed in the approach to the Five-Year Plan that there is a positive correlation between reduced equality and self-reliance, as the consumption pattern of the lower income group has a much lower import content compared to that of the middle and higher-income group. The technological characteristics of the economy as reflected in industry relationships involving input-output matrix on current account and an elaborate system of material balance are also important determining factors of the pattern of growth. The logic of redistribution of the growth process demands substantial narrowing down of consumption differentials between different strata. This involved action both at the stage of accuracy of income as well as the terms of disposition of

income. In other words, the strategy should be that of maximisation of production while curtailing incremental consumption. Inducements should be given to invest savings in socially productive assets where possibilities of direct investment exist, as in case of agriculture and incorporated enterprises. There is also to be mobilisation of savings through appropriate financial intermediation into desirable areas of economic activity.

In terms of this overall strategy, the Five-Year Plan has assigned different orders of priorities to the different sectors of growth at the national level.

The workshop should address itself to the following questions concerning the strategies of development planning with particular reference to Manipur:

- ❑ In the light of the experience of the implementation of the draft plan during the past two years, whether the overall perspective, strategies and assumptions at the national level require any modification.
- ❑ To what extent are the various assumptions of the plan valid for Manipur?
- ❑ Manipur as a whole is not a backward region but is also located in an outlying area of the country. There are not only problems of disparity but also of diversity. To what extent do the overall strategies of the plan require to be modified to meet these conditions?
- ❑ How will the actual pattern of the Five-Year Plan of Manipur harmonise with the (i) spirit, (ii) scientific goals and objectives, (iii) long-range strategy and (iv) short-range process of the national plan?
- ❑ To what extent do the land reform and other measures of structural change as well as the fiscal policies of the states help in examination of production and mobilisation of the resources for socially productive purposes?
- ❑ While considering the problem of resource mobilisation, the role of the following agencies in the specific context of Manipur should be separately considered :

- (i) central and state government; state non-financial departments, autonomous,
- (ii) private corporate non-financial institutions,
- (iii) cooperative non-credit institutions,
- (iv) household (including unincorporated) enterprises,
- (v) Reserve Bank of India,
- (vi) commercial banks,
- (vii) the Reserve Bank Corporation,
- (viii) term-financing institutions,
- (ix) private corporate financial institutions
- (x) small savings scheme,
- (xi) state provident fund,
- (xii) the employees' and other provident funds and
- (xiii) cooperative credit institutions.

One of the policy planks of the Five-Year Plan is to provide for the direct transfer from financial institutions to the private sector rather than through the control of state budgets. To what extent this policy has been successfully implemented requires to be examined. It is also to be examined what sections of the people have mainly benefited through the implementation of this policy.

The pattern of resource mobilisation determines and is determined by the sectional composition of domestic products. The Fifth Plan envisages the progressive reduction of the contribution of agriculture and a concomitant rise in the contributions of mining and manufacturing, electricity, construction, transport and services.

The workshop will examine the extent to which the overall national pattern is valid for Manipur and what modifications are required to suit local conditions. It will also try to identify the roles of natural endowment factors, social structural factors and adequacies or inadequacies of the planning process with respect to sectional programmes in determining the composition of gross domestic products.

Sectional Programmes

It has been reported in the draft of the Five-Year Plan that there was a tendency to formulate programmes for individual sectors at the state and national levels in an uncoordinated fashion without taking into consideration potential and properties of different areas; coverage, dimensions and thrusts of other programmes taken up in the area; overall orientation and capabilities of existing administrative and institutional structures. This led to the enforcement of exogenous priorities and impeded proper coordination and synchronized implementation of inter-related programmes.

The draft also makes a mention of a tendency to define needed efforts merely in terms of financial magnitudes.

While the workshop will consider in a general way to what extent the foregoing tendencies and lacunae still prevail in Manipur, it will concentrate more on the corrective measures that have been taken and the impact of the same. It will also try to identify the additional corrective measures that should be taken. For this purpose, it will be necessary to examine the various sectional programmes in some detail.

Agriculture: Facts and Figures with Respect to Agriculture in Manipur.

- Only about 1/10th of the area of the state is valley, the rest is forest. Out of the total area of 1,81,300 hectares in the valley 88,960 hectares were under forests/lakes/cultivable and uncultivable waste or under non-agricultural use. In 1970, about 92,000 hectares were brought under cultivation. In the hills, about 50,000 to 60,000 hectares are brought under jhum or "slash and burn" cultivation every year.
- As observed in the agricultural census of Manipur 1970-71, agriculture contributes 48.9/- to 59.8/- in the state domestic products (S.D.P.). But the yield rate is very poor. As against the all-India yield rate of 1,280 kgs it is only 1,207 kgs per hectare in Manipur.

- ❑ Paddy is the main crop (98.17% of the gross cropped area) followed by maize. Potatoes, chilly, kharif pulse, rabbi pulse, mustard seed, sugarcane and fruits are grown to a normal extent.
- ❑ The practice of double or triple cropping was not in vogue till recently. The emergency agricultural production programme launched in 1972 has succeeded in inducing some farmers to take to cultivation as an additional crop.
- ❑ Out of 15.5% of the cultivated area with irrigation facilities, 11.1% was served by channel and 4.4% was served by other sources. During the Fifth Plan, 60,000 hectares of land were proposed to be brought under irrigation, out of which lift irrigation was to account for 24,800 hectares and the remaining area by other sources.
- ❑ Marginal farmers (upto 1 hectare of land) who constitute 40.91% of the holding own 18.9% of the land; the small farmers (1-3 hectares of land) who constitute 55.1% of the holding own 68.0% of the land. The remaining 13.1% of the land is owned by medium and large farmers and constitutes 4.08% of the total holdings.
- ❑ Whereas agricultural productivity remained almost stagnant till the beginning of the present decade, the percentage of workers engaged in agriculture has gone up from 66% in 1961 to 70% in 1971.
- ❑ In 1961, agricultural labourers constituted 0.61% of the total work force; in 1971, their percentage has gone up to 3.39%.
- ❑ Although in a halting manner, mechanisation has already started in the agricultural sector. In 1970, 16 tractors were procured for distribution. The programme has been continued since then. Besides, starting from 1972-73, power-tillers are being distributed at 50% subsidy. Selling of other devices like paddy weeding machines has also been taken up.

Issues to be considered regarding Agriculture in the workshop:

- It is noted that the area under cultivation in the valley has not increased steadily. In fact, in 1971-72 there was a considerable decline. What could be the cause? Is there reason to believe that some cultivators keep the land fallow in the valley or in the hill? In that case, who are these cultivators? Do they belong to the same category of small and marginal farmers? Do they leave the land fallow because of inadequate profits or because of the inability to mobilise adequate input?
- In this connection, it is to be noted that observation in a village in the valley shows that while most of the inhabitants of the village are cultivators they hold land under the jurisdiction of different villages. The land is held by people residing in far-flung areas. The narrow width of the valley, diverse quality of the land and more homogenous soil type on elongated strips coupled with the presence of roads along the length of the valley with few lateral feeder roads seem to have contributed to the high incidence of absentee land ownership. These rapid observations are to be first checked and verified in the various parts of the valley. If found to be generally correct, the following issues will have to be settled:
 - (i) In the absence of a common focus of interest about their major productivity resource, to what extent do the villagers in the valleys function as integrated political communities?
 - (ii) As the owners of different plots in the same field live in different villages, to what extent are they capable to rally together to serve as pressure groups in order to secure infrastructural facilities and other productive assistance for cultivation of their fields?
 - (iii) To what extent has the dispersed nature of the ownership of land been a factor for neglect of cultivation of at least some plots by owners with a large number of plots?

- (iv) To what extent has the dispersed pattern of ownership been a factor for open or concealed tenancy that has at least partly served as a depressant with regard to productivity and wage rate of the agricultural labourers?
- In the Chandel district, it has been observed that the owners of terrace land wet rice cultivation lands frequently depend on seasonal labourers from the valley for tilling, transplanting and harvesting. It has further been found that acceptance of high-yielding varieties of seeds sometimes created a condition when optimum periods of the different agricultural operations in the plains and the hills clashed with one another. It is to be examined what is the actual magnitude of the problem in the different parts of the state and also as to what extent the same is responsible for the stagnation in production.
- Coming to shifting cultivation, the following questions are to be examined:
- (i) Are there traditional systems of regulation of shifting cultivation among the different tribal communities?
 - (ii) Which sections of the shifting cultivators take to terrace or wet rice cultivation and/or horticulture?
 - (iii) Is the government subsidy adequate to meet the cost of switching over from jhum cultivation to permanent cultivation of horticulture? If not, would it be correct to assume that only a small number of affluent persons among the shifting cultivators take to permanent cultivation?
 - (iv) If the bulk of the shifting cultivators continue the traditional mode of cultivation and if on the other hand, good portions of land normally under shifting cultivation pass under the control of a small number of permanent cultivators, what happens to the overall land-use pattern?

- (v) Is it possible that the shifting cultivators tend to move to more marginal areas, which they otherwise would have avoided for the purpose of jhum cultivation?

Further, it is to be examined whether there are some positive aspects in shifting cultivation that can provide the basis for its transformation and introducing more advanced technology. For instance, in some areas the shifting cultivators put logs along the contour lines, thus constructing rudimentary contour bunds. This reduces soil erosion and augments productivity. If this practice is intensified, it will strengthen the economy of the shifting cultivators and with appropriate incentive, the surplus can be invested for switching over to permanent cultivation. It is necessary to go into some detail as to why the practice is not more widespread. Is it related to the nature of the terrain? Is it a function of cost benefit calculation of the labour input and the use of the log for the purpose indicated? The role of the customary differences in the land ownership system among the different tribal communities is also to be studied. One is also to examine why the developmental agencies have neglected this line of action. Is it the legacy of the political economy of forest developed during the colonial period?

In shifting cultivation, there are different methods of preparation of soil. While in most of the areas the soil is upturned with a hand-hoe, in some it is upturned with the spade and in recent years the plough is being used in some fields in North District. The bearing of each technique of productivity on the one hand and soil erosion on the other are to be known for appropriate administrative and legislative action and extension work. It is also necessary to know the labour-time disposition of the male and female workers in case of each technique.

The crops grown in shifting cultivation are diverse. The productivity of each in different types of soil and under different techniques is yet to be studied. The same requires to be compared with productivity in terrace cultivation under diverse conditions. This information is indispensable in order to rationally understand the frequent reluctance of shifting cultivators to take to terrace cultivation.

The different crops produced under shifting cultivation have different effects on soil erosion. This is to be carefully assessed. For instance, root crops of commercial value cause more soil erosion but because of the immediate economic benefit, root crop cultivation in shifting cultivation fields is encouraged by the government concerned. This raises a doubt as to whether the opposition to shifting cultivation is always guided by scientific considerations or if it is rooted in politico-economic considerations.

There is an impression of reluctance to carry out scientific investigation for improvement of the crop varieties in shifting cultivation. It is to be examined whether this observation is correct. Thus, we also have to find out whether this has contributed to further aggravating the harmful effects of shifting cultivation.

Where the different species of flora do not mature in harmonisation with nature and rather are determined by the jhum cycle, in cases where a disharmonic relationship prevails it is to be examined to what extent commercial exploitation of the forest is responsible for the same.

In Manipur and most other parts of the country, once a plot is cleared for shifting cultivation, it is cultivated for two years at a stretch. But in Mizoram, it is cultivated for a year. On the face of it, this does not appear to be related to the nature of the terrain. In any case, one is to examine whether the volume of soil erosion significantly varies according to the duration of cultivation. An examination of the change in the chemical composition of the soil depending on the duration of cultivation and cropping pattern would also help in appreciating the rationale of these two different processes in the adjoining areas.

The physical location of the shifting cultivation fields, particularly with reference to terrace cultivation fields is also an important issue about which information is needed. The possibility of a symbiotic relationship between the two does not appear to have been adequately exploited in policy planning in respect of hill cultivation.

- ❑ In the Five-Year Plan, soil conservation measures have been given high priority, especially with respect to terrace cultivation. It is to be examined whether some procedural norms have been laid down in this matter.

In the case of block terracing, is a process of concentration of holdings also taking place? One can probe further and find out whether the social consequence is also linked to the question of water management in terraces. In the Tangkhul Naga area, where a very intricate system of water management is practiced traditionally the recent tendency of construction of dry terraces is noticeable. It is reported that sometimes the people go in for such terraces to take advantage of the government subsidy that enables them to get employment for a short duration. As these terraces are delinked from the question of community action for water management, the chances of loosening of lineage and clan solidarity seems to be quite considerable in their case. This, however, requires to be checked. Further, what is the level of productivity in dry terrace farming? If it is not higher than that of shifting cultivation, does it not increase pressure on shifting cultivation land, leading to cultivation of marginal areas and consequent soil erosion?

In many parts of Manipur, dry terraces are found lying fallow. What is the extent of research support for dry farming in Manipur? In Mizoram, a variety of paddy called phulbuh is being tried. Has any experiment with phulbuh been done in Manipur?

In some areas of Manipur construction of terraces appears to have been taken up as a programme of special assistance to the landless labourers. It is to be examined to what extent institutional finance is available to the assignees of these terraces. Where institutional finance is not available, how do these persons, who are not likely to have any savings of their own, meet the cost of cultivation? Is it possible that they lease out the lands to others in a clandestine manner? It is reported that in several cases migrants from the valley have virtually taken over land, taking advantage of this situation. Thus confusion in the ownership of tribal lands is reported to be taking place. What is its

magnitude? What is its impact on the solidarity of the traditional community? And what are the consequences on other aspects of development and the functioning of the cooperative institutions?

In the hills, there are a large number of narrow strips of plain land. It seems that in many cases ground water is available at a depth of 8-10 ft. It is reported that while the water is not enough to irrigate large tracts of land, it is possible to irrigate 2-3 acres of land from each well that may be dug in these fields. In some parts of Orissa, cultivation in the hill seems to have been tremendously influenced by this strategy. How far is this the case? Has any attempt been made in this direction in Manipur: if so, what is the result?

- In the valley, there appears to be a positive correlation between the size-class of holding and fragmentation of holdings. In the size-class 0.5-1 hectare, there are 1.05 parcels; in the size class 10.0-20.0 hectares there are 9.5 parcels. In the size class 30.0-40.0 hectares there are 16.3 parcels. This extreme fragmentation of holdings is not unlikely to have adversely affected the efficiency of many of the large farms, particularly in the matter of adoption of high-yielding varieties of paddy seeds like ratna, jaya, etc. In the case of these varieties, to obtain the minimum output there must be optimum balancing of (a) the time of the various operations in conformity with the climatic conditions and (b) flow and logging of water. All these require close supervision. Where the holding is parcelled out into a large number of fragments, such supervision is not possible. The logic of the situation suggests that a class of skilled entrepreneurs may come into existence, reflecting a capitalist type of social relationship of agricultural operation. The socialist system of relationship is ruled out by the act of extreme fragmentation of holdings. In case of failure of emergence of an entrepreneur class or a corporate sector, the level of production in large holdings is likely to be comparatively low. The available data shows that it is

actually low. This indirect evidence of the failure of an entrepreneur class in agriculture raises a number of questions. Is it because of the presence of other attractions for the prospective entrepreneurial class? Is it because of inadequate infrastructural support including that of institutional finance? Or again, is it linked up with the problem of tenancy reform?

The changes in the cropping pattern and in the adoption of early and late maturing varieties of seeds to suit the requirements of mechanised farming and multiple cropping on irrigated lands also require to be examined.

One of the major policy planks of the Five-Year Plan with respect to agricultural development is the maximisation of the productive roles of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers. To what extent have these objectives been fulfilled in Manipur? It appears that in many states the progress of S.F.D.A. and M.F.A.L. schemes have not been satisfactory. One of the main hurdles centres on the problems of identification of the small and marginal farmers. How correct are the records in Manipur? Another bottleneck is the credit policy of the cooperatives and commercial banks. The draft of the Five-Year Plan has, *inter alia*, envisaged the following measures:

- (a) Investment policies and procedures of financing institutions are to be suitably modified to ensure flow of credit to small farmers, marginal farmers and other weaker sections of society;
- (b) With regard to villages, adoption and such other specific measures that are to be taken by commercial banks, stress will be laid on areas where the effect of commercial bank finance on agriculture has been comparatively weak;
- (c) Apart from administrative and legislative measures that have been recommended by the Talwar Committee for adoption by the state government, measures will have to be taken to rationalise some of the laws relating to alienation of land in favour of financing agencies. To

maintain up-to-date land records, introduce agricultural holding credit cards for all individual farmers, ensure better rural communication, better means of storage and transport and of agricultural commodities, arrange for adequate and timely supply of inputs and ensure purposeful support with institutional credit agencies at all levels.

The workshop will update itself to the extent of which the measures envisaged at the national policy level have been implemented in Manipur. It will also examine the concrete form of the procedural and other changes introduced by the various financial institutions including banks and assess their suitability or adequacy for the specific social structural conditions prevailing in Manipur. With respect to the other measures as well, the difficulties, if any, in their implementation, the phase and process through which they should be implemented, would be considered by the workshop.

The draft of the Five-Year Plan has provided consultancy service in the eastern region that would assist in formation, implementation and appraisal of agricultural finance corporation schemes. What is the progress in this matter and what is its impact? What are the factors determining the progress and impact?

A comparative study of the assumptions, provisions and trends of planned development in the state, all-India and regional contexts helps to see them in perspective. (i) During the Five-Year Plan, the anticipated annual growth rate in the production of food grain in India as a whole in the '70s and '80s was 4.2, in Manipur it was 5.8. The corresponding figures in the other states and union territories (UTS) of North East India are as follows: Assam (6.0), Meghalaya (3.3), Nagaland (96.6), Tripura (3.9). The validity of these figures regarding Manipur in particular will have to be examined. Assuming they are correct, the wide variations in the anticipated growth rate cannot be explained by the variations in the natural endowment factors only; in that case, Meghalaya and Nagaland should not be at two ends of the scale. Infrastructural development and institutional factors might

have played a role. Faculty statistics might as well have been the final arbitrator. The workshop would try to locate the relevant factor. This will help in sharpening the tools of planning in all the states and UTS of the region. (ii) In the Five-Year Plan, whereas in India as a whole Rs 1496.37 crores were proposed to be invested in long-term agricultural loan by development banks, in Manipur it was only Rs 0.50 crores. The corresponding figures for the other states of the region were: Assam (14.00), Meghalaya (0.50), Nagaland (1.00), Tripura (2.00). It is obvious that while the region as a whole is under-served by long-term loans, within the region also there are wide disparities in per capita availability of loans. If the figures for medium-term advanced by co-operatives are examined, Manipur with Rs 0.5 crores investment is at the bottom of the ladder. The workshop will address itself to the identification of the institutional factors for this dismal picture and will try to suggest remedial measures.

Soil Conservation

In the Five-Year Plan of the states, it has been visualised that one of the principal reasons for the productivity in agriculture, especially in the hill areas is the progressive deterioration of soil due to erosion caused by shifting cultivation, indiscriminate cutting of forests, etc. As a remedial measure, protective afforestation of over 640 hectares of barren and eroded lands and the terracing of over 7,600 hectares of agricultural land have been proposed.

The adequacy of the remedial measures would depend on a realistic assessment of the relative role of the contributory factors. A rapid survey in the Chandel district suggests that in some of the roadside villages near the valley there is more denudation of forests due to the combined effects of commercial exploitation of timber, cutting down of trees for supply of firewood to the local community and to Imphal and for housing material rather than due to shifting cultivation.

A more detailed study is necessary to find out to what extent this pattern holds good for the other areas of the state.

The workshop will have to address itself to find out the remedial measures with reference to each of these contributory factors.

Forestry

The Five-Year Plan envisages the following objectives of forestry development at the national level:

- A. Initiate measures for increasing production of industrial wood and other forest products by changing over from conservation-oriented forestry to a dynamic programme of production forestry.
- B. Develop farm forestry and improve degraded forests to increase the fuel and timber supply in rural areas.
- C. Introduce a system of meaningful forest survey to assess the present growing stock, increments and potential increments by forest division, natural regions, etc.

At the programming level, the Five-Year Plan includes - (a) economic plantations like teak, sal, shir, devdar, fir, spruce, semal and other matchwood and plywood species, (b) quick-growing species, i.e. mainly eucalyptus hybrid and (c) social forestry, mainly aiming at supplying firewood needed by the community.

With this broad framework of policy perspectives at the national level, the workshop will have to examine whether there are sub-goals and objectives which are specific to Manipur and which require to be spelled out.

The economic and social implications of the policy perspective become clearer when the actual priorities assigned to the various operational aspects are examined.

At the end of the Fourth Plan in India as a whole, while 8,59,000 hectares were covered by economic plantations, 5,10,000 hectares were covered by quick-growing species and 2,20,000 hectares were covered by farm forestry.

The draft mentions that in a number of states the programme of quick-growing species was converted into a programme of plantations of economic and commercial use. This seems to

confirm the suspicion that many forest officers are more concerned about raising revenue from the forest than about the overall social purpose of forests.

The workshop will have to consider whether the target set for the Five-Year Plan at the all-India level reflects any radical change of approach.

It was estimated that in 1978-79 economic plantations would cover 150,000 hectares of land, on the other hand quick-growing species would cover 860,000 hectares and farm forestry only 400,000 hectares.

In drawing its conclusion, the workshop will have to take note of the firewood requirements of the country.

In the context of the all-India trend, the position in Manipur will be examined. To some extent the position in the neighbouring states and UTS will also be considered. At the end of the Fourth Plan, 3,000 hectares of land were under economic forestry in Manipur. Farm forestry was introduced by the forest department to a next to negligible extent and there was hardly any programme regarding quick-growing species. During the Five-Year Plan while economic plantations will cover 7,000 hectares, farm forestry will continue to be negligible and quick growing species will not far better. More or less the same trend is noticeable in the adjoining states of North-East India, except Assam, where a programme of planting quick growing species has been proposed to be taken up in a big way.

In view of the fact that the large-scale denunciation of forestland, particularly in order to meeting the demands of firewood, is sometimes a more important factor for causing soil erosion, it is difficult to see the justification of the priorities assigned by the forest department in Manipur. This also holds true for other states of North-East India in their forest production programme. The workshop will dispassionately examine as to what extent the priorities have been derived out of scientific considerations in forest management and to what extent these have been acquitted by the traditional modes of thinking and functioning of the department. It is understood that of late there

has been a wind of change. The workshop should take note of the same too.

The workshop may also examine the need for democratisation of the system of forest management in keeping with the progressive democratisation of industrial management and agrarian structure.

No realistic plan for forest development and management can be drawn up in Manipur if the fact that vast tracts of forestland are owned by the tribals is ignored.

It is obvious that while the legal status of the forests may differ, there must be functional inter-linkage and interdependence.

It seems that integrated planning encompassing state forest and private forest has been inhibited by a mistaken notion among many that all tribal forests are owned by their chiefs. In fact, it is only among those tribes who claim to be Kuki that the chiefs are recognised as the owners of the lands which have not been specifically assigned to individuals.

In recent years, the question of the chief's right of ownership over the community land has become the crucial focus of ethnic polarisation among the tribes.

There are those who reject the special prerogative of the chief on ideological grounds. They move towards Naga identity and claim that the land belongs to the community as a whole and not the chief. Then again, there are those tribes that retain the special prerogative of the chief not because of his strategic position in the internal power structure of the community but because of his symbolic position in the inter-ethnic historical prestige structure.

It is to be examined as to what extent this wrong notion (entertained by many in the administration) that the chief is the owner of the lands associated with the tribal communities is responsible for perpetuating rights or creating new rights, where such rights did not exist in the past.

In this matter, community-by-community definite information is necessary for issue of permits for the marketing of forest products.

It appears that some of the tribal villages informally regulate the use of their forest resources so as to be able to finance some of their community activities like running a school or building a church through the sale proceeds of the surplus. In this matter, it is necessary to have empirical data for the different parts of the state as it may lead to far-reaching policy decisions.

The workshop might like to suggest certain legal, administrative and historical relations with constructive orientation towards the forest that can be harnessed for development purposes.

Particularly, the workshop may examine whether modernisation of the land-use pattern in the hills can be effected through recognition of corporate rights and the introduction of an efficient management system in conformity with the same.

The workshop may also examine as to what extent and through what process codification and/or authentication of the customary laws of the tribals should be done so as to facilitate the flow of institutional finance for the development of community-based forestry in the hills.

Animal Husbandry

In the Five-Year Plan, great emphasis has been laid at the national level on an integrated approach to animal husbandry. Attempts will be made to augment poultry, sheep and pig production through requisite assistance to small and marginal farmers. The scientific breeding programme at the state poultry farms aims at developing an indigenous high-producing strain capable of laying about 220 eggs per annum. It also aims at developing a better meat strain which will attain over 1 kg body weight within eight weeks.

In cattle development, the emphasis is on crossbreeds. Buffalo development is also to receive attention. Simultaneously, feed and fodder development programmes are to be taken up. Besides, development of forestland for grazing is envisaged at the national level. Research is also to be taken up on the best combination of feeds, fodder and nutritional supplements that will enable cattle to produce optimum quantity of milk.

It is to be examined as to what extent the state plan in the development of animal husbandry conforms to the policy and perspective formulated at the national level. An examination of the state Five-Year Plan shows that almost all the items envisaged at the national level have been included. But it is not the aggregation of items, but their integration in a specific order of priorities and spatial distribution and temporal sequence that is important if one is to achieve results.

In the absence of a statement of perspective in the state Five-Year Plan, it is difficult to say what pattern of integrated development as regards poultry has been kept in mind by the planning authority at the conceptual level. It is expected that an authoritative paper on the subject will be available to the workshop for its appraisal. Particularly, one would like to know as to what extent poultry, pig and goat production programmes have been linked up with the diversification and improvement of the economy of small and marginal farmers. In this matter, the norms and procedures adopted by the promoting agencies and the financial institutions are of particular importance. Frequently, the norms and procedures insisted upon by financial institutions, particularly the norms relating to viable production units, are derived from the experience of urban middle class. These are thoroughly unsuitable for small marginal farmers. As a result, it becomes difficult to persuade them to take advantage of the programme. The workshop will have to address itself to this problem in great detail.

The workshop will also have to examine the strategic importance of poultry, pig and goat rearing of the marginal farmers and agricultural labourers in the political economy. If covered by institutional finance and an appropriate marketing agency, these schemes go a long way in reducing the dependence of marginal farmers and agricultural labourers on wealthy farmers. Thus a condition congenial to correct preparation of the records of rights and implementation of land reform measures is created. If these processes and developments are not taking place in Manipur it will be necessary to examine (a) whether the magnitude of the input and output is adequate to make any

impact and (b) what is the pattern of distribution of the efforts in spaces? Is it too scattered to render ancillary services and to make any impact economically or politically? Or is it so highly concentrated in space and among a small number of beneficiaries that while it promotes economics it completely ignores the larger objective of structural change?

Fishery

The strategy that the Five-Year Plan adopts in the case of fishery at the national level consists of (a) adoption of intensive fish culture method, (b) seed production by fish farmers development agencies, (c) induced breeding, (d) self-employment by educated youth with reclaimed fresh water areas and (e) fish processing, marketing and transport.

At present in Manipur, about 1,000 tonnes of fish is available and fishery contributes to about 2% of the aggregate income of the state. So there seems to be adequate scope for the development of fisheries in the state. It is to be examined as to what extent the proposed outlay in the Five-Year Plan would be able to attain self-sufficiency in this field? Further, it is to be examined as to what extent there are conflicting choices in the matter of change of land use pattern? It seems that the extensive swampy and marshy lands can be reclaimed either for cultivation or for fishery: there would be limited areas where these can be developed as fishery-cum-irrigation tanks. One would like to know how the choice is actually made and which sections of the community would benefit more from each of the alternative choices? Are there some rational principles by which an optimum balance can be obtained? For policy decisions it would be necessary to have information on the system of stratification and role-differentiation among the fishermen. To what extent would the programmes of fish seed-cum-fry distribution, encouragement to commercial seed farms, assistance to pisciculturists, reduce or reinforce the system of stratification and role-differentiation? To what extent would the changes or reiteration of the existing social structure, in their turn, impede or promote technological and economic development of modern fishery?

Transport

Road transport is practically the only means of transport in Manipur as the state is not connected by railway and there is hardly any waterway for the purpose of trade and commerce. There are, however, regular Indian Airlines flights connecting Imphal with Silchar, Guwahati and Calcutta.

The road system in Manipur is questionable. It is obvious that till recently the National Highway dominated the entire transport system. This implies that the transport system was basically oriented towards the external market and security considerations rather than to the requirements of internal mobilisation. In other words, external relations determined the pattern of functional specialisation of space and growth of internal linkages. With the needs of the traditional, economic and social structure and with the political cost, what was the system that emerged? Can some of the political turmoil of the 60s at least partially be attributed to these factors? It is found that the state highway expanded quite considerably during 1971-75. But even then the headquarters of one of the districts remains to be connected by travel worthy road with Imphal; there are still 12 sub-divisions out of a total of 17 hill sub-divisions which are not yet connected with the district headquarters.

The workshop would like to discuss the order of priorities and norms that have been laid down by the state government in the matter of construction of roads.

It would also be necessary to examine as to the extent to which the distortions in the regionalisation process that might have come into existence through the domination of the National Highway have been corrected or are being corrected through the construction of the other systems of roads during the past years.

Going into the details of the district and village road systems, it appears that until recently there was no internal road network connecting various areas with the district headquarters. Whatever connections existed were generally with Imphal. The situation has been rapidly changing during the past few years.

Is there any data to substantiate the changes in the settlement pattern, in the flow of commodities and productive forces and pattern of production and consumption in the wake of the new roads?

In the Five-Year Plan, Rs 500 crores were earmarked at the national level for the construction of rural roads under the minimum needs programme. It has been envisaged that rural roads will be suitably dovetailed with the rest of the roads network and that their alignments will be framed in such a manner so as to secure optimum benefits. It has also been proposed to develop suitable machinery for the implementation and monitoring of this programme.

The approach to the Five-Year Plan visualises that all villages with a population of 1,500 persons and above would be provided with all-weather roads. In the hill areas all weather link roads will be provided to a cluster of villages.

The workshop will study the Five-Year Plan outlay in the state for the construction of village roads under the minimum needs programme. It will also discuss how the efficient and effective functioning of the monitoring agency as envisaged in the plan is to be strengthened.

The efficiency of the transport system for social planning is to be seen not only in terms of the distribution of the transport facilities in space but also in terms of organisational efficiency, rationality of procedure, availability of capital, optimum use of raw materials and impact on the labour market.

It is to be examined as to what extent there is a delay in the construction of roads due to lack of advance investigative action on an approved scheme. In case of delay, is it due to deficiency in the staffing pattern? To what extent can the implementation of scheme be expedited by procedural reforms including greater decentralisation of power and advance payment for the preparing of projects. The employment generation potential of different types of roads is also to be examined. The more sophisticated the roads system, less will be the direct employment for construction and maintenance of

the roads. Is it possible to integrate a plan of absorption of construction workers in socially useful production after the construction phase is over or after the existing system is transformed into a more sophisticated one?

The efficiency of the road system is also to be seen in the context of an overall transport system.

The workshop will also have to address itself to the question of developing waterways and connecting the state with railways.

The problem of vehicular traffic is inextricably linked up with the transport system. In this connection the licensing policies for road transport, availability of public transport facilities, freight and fare rates and availability of finance on reasonable terms for road transport industry are matters that will deserve close attention.

It seems that the availability of power is not keeping pace with the extension of the transport network in Manipur. The politico-economic implication of this lacuna is to be examined.

Power

The per capita power consumption in the state is only 7km against 25km for Assam, and 93 for all-India. The installed capacity for the generation of power is only 6,510 km though Manipur is rich in hydel power potential.

At present, the state is banking on the Loktak project. It is a multi-purpose project to provide 70,000km of cheap power, irrigation over 24,000 hectares of fields in Bishenpur, Churachandpur and Imphal west sub-division and reclamation of 17,000 hectares of reclaimable land.

At the national level, the Five-Year Plan envisages (a) carrying out a detailed year-by-year examination of the position of power supply to priority industries, (b) orienting the rural electrification programme for supporting agricultural production through energising of irrigation pump sets and; (c) providing benefits of electricity in backward and hill areas under the minimum needs programme.

The workshop would like to examine, in the light of the foregoing perspective at the national level, the strategy actually accepted in the state as far as transmission of power is concerned. Of particular significance is the shift from power for domestic use to power for productive use. The difficulties, if any, faced in the state in implementing the policy because of the pattern of dispersal of the settlements and the agricultural fields, may be discussed and remedies sought.

The policy programme of generation of power would also merit some discussion. The workshop would like to know whether there are other potential sources of hydel power in the state. In that case the factors determining macrohydel project or microhydel project will have to be considered in terms of the bearing of the same on the total eco-system, quality of life of the population affected and pattern of regional cooperation involving the adjoining states.

Irrigation

The Five-Year Plan strategy at the national level is to have a comprehensive approach to the problem of irrigation by simultaneously taking up all the relevant aspects like engineering safety, better regulation, augmentation of supplies, making up efficiencies, efficiency in conveyance of water, scientific application of water crops, maximising benefits by changing the cropping pattern.

Introduction of irrigation in an area should be a catalyst in the agricultural and economic development of the area resulting in a major change in the cropping pattern, land development, availability of marketing facility and mechanisation of certain farm operations.

For so many years there has been under-utilisation of irrigation potential due to the following reasons: (i) non-availability of assured and regular supplies in certain irrigation systems, (ii) need for land levelling, (iii) non-existence of proper drainage systems leading to problems of water logging, salinity and alkalinity and (iv) non-adoption of the rostering system of irrigation.

There is a need for more coordinated work by the department of irrigation, soil and agriculture to make the best use of the irrigation system with its modernisation and the adjustment of the cropping pattern to the soil and agro-climatic conditions of the command area.

In the major irrigation commands, a mere coordinating agency may not be able to bring in cohesion at the various levels of operation. The organisation will have to be a unified agency with a centre of direction and radiating organisations in the various disciplines up to the field level.

It has further been envisaged that there should be a board for each command area with non-official representatives to supervise the preparation of various programmes and ensure implementation by removing bottlenecks through periodic reviews of progress. The board may be structured as a company under company law for the limited purpose of ensuring flow of institutional credit to farmers. It has also been stipulated that funds on matching basis will be provided for surveys, designs and preparation of plans on farm works, supervision of its execution and consultancy services to farmers.

In the light of the foregoing perspective and programme formulated at the national level, the workshop will examine the position in Manipur.

In the Fourth Plan, stress was laid on construction of diversion weirs and head regulators across the streams for shortfall during good rains of lands already under cultivation. An estimated area of 24,000 hectares had been covered. During the Five-Year Plan, the scheme of providing water to an area of 15,000 acres through 30 lift irrigation systems and schemes under the minor irrigation section had been formulated. Besides, the Loktak hydro-electric project will feed about 60,000 acres of total cultivable area. It is estimated that surface water flowing down the main rivers of the state will be of the order of 1.3 million acres, which, if harnessed properly, will be more than sufficient to serve the purpose of irrigating the valley area.

While the state plan provides considerable information on the outlay and physical target, there is no information on organisational and management planning. This has been found to be of crucial importance at the national level.

The Five-Year Plan at the national level has even considered the question of legal cover for the optimum utilisation of the irrigation potential. It has suggested the following: (i) beyond the outlets, distribution of water should not be left completely to the initiative of the farmers, (ii) the state should have the power to (a) make the beneficiaries construct and maintain field channels and field drains, (b) carry out land levelling and land shaping operations, (c) undertake such works if the beneficiaries fail to do so, with the costs being recovered as arrears of land revenue and (ii) canal officers should have power to deal effectively in case of wastage, unauthorised use and obstruction to the flow of water.

The workshop will discuss as to what extent these are relevant problems in Manipur, and with what concomitant actions requisite legislations should be introduced.

Industry

Manipur also has mineral resources like copper, lignite, and limestone. It gets an annual output of approximately 68 lakh tonnes of bamboo, 25,000 tonnes of firewood in forest-based industries. About 1 lakh acres of forest area are covered by oak trees which can well serve as a host for the tasar industry. Orange, pineapple and maize grown in the state make it possible to develop an agro-based industry. In the state plan, it has been mentioned in a general way that industrialisation could not progress much due to pathetic infrastructure. The workshop may like to identify the specific responsibility of each of the major infrastructural facilities like transport and communication, institutional finance power, skilled manpower and machinery to ensure the continued supply of raw material.

Among the factors retarding the progress of the industrialisation programme during the Fourth Plan, the following

have been found to be particularly important (a) incomplete feasibility report, (b) incomplete investigation and (c) maintenance and design deficiency.

In one state in North-East India, it has been observed that reputed consultancy organisations commissioned to prepare feasibility reports had failed to adequately take note of the local conditions, with particular reference to the following aspects:

- (i) Political consequence of the choice of a particular design which will involve an inordinately long time gap between the starting of the factory and the availability of minimum proportion of skilled manpower
- (ii) The problem of inter-ethnic relations of a large number of unskilled labour recruited from different tribal communities
- (iii) Existing system of ownership of resources and economic and political consequence of disturbing the same beyond the essential minimum extent when the area as a whole is passing through a phase of political transition
- (iv) Problem of setting up ancillary enterprises for the purpose of rendering supportive services
- (v) Traditional system of social control and problems of industrial relation.

If the feasibility reports for the various industrial projects in Manipur have already been prepared, the same require to be examined with an awareness of the local socio-economic setting and political culture and with knowledge of the technical aspects when preparing a project report.

The industrial policy as laid down in the Five-Year Plan visualises appropriate share of the public, private and cooperative sectors. It also lays down the aspects to be taken into consideration for preferring large and medium-size and small and village industries in the manufacture of various industrial goods.

To what extent and in what manner the policy guidelines at the national level are reflected in the industrialisation programme

of Manipur will be discussed in the workshop on the basis of a few case studies (e.g. Khandsari sugar mills already functioning). The following questions will be put forward - (a) factors determining choice of sector (public, private, cooperative), (b) factors determining the choice of location and size, (c) assessment of infrastructural facility with particular reference to transport and communication, freight, power, institutional finance at a concession, (d) raw material planning, (e) organisational structure, (f) industrial relations with particular reference to reward structure of industrial employees in terms of wage and non-wage benefit and participation of the employee in production planning, (g) production with reference to installed capacity and factors for under-utilisation if any, (h) micro-regionalisation process as a sequel to the establishment of the factory with particular reference to the change in land-use pattern (i.e. more area being put under sugarcane cultivation) and the growth of ancillary industries and establishments; inflow of skilled and unskilled manpower.

Coming to the village and small industrial sector, it has been found that during the Five-Year Plan, an estimated amount of Rs 131.15 lakhs has been spent in place of the targeted amount of Rs 71.22 lakhs. During the Five-Year Plan, the proposed outlay is Rs 465.00 lakhs. The factors conducive to the upward revision during the Five-Year Plan and the upsurge during the Five-Year Plan require to be identified.

It is the general experience that growth of village and small industries is ordinarily inhibited by (i) outmoded skill and technique, (ii) shortage of raw materials, credit facilities and market facilities, (iii) unorganised and widely dispersed nature of industry and (iv) shortage of power.

The workshop would like to discuss as to what extent these factors play a role with respect to the village and small industrial sector and what are the remedial measures.

It is generally assumed that village and small industries have the potential for providing increasingly larger employment opportunities with a relatively smaller capital investment, shorter

gestation period and satisfaction of the substantial part of the essential and other requirements of the masses.

To what extent are these assumptions valid for Manipur? If in some aspects these are not found to be valid, what could be the reasons? Should any corrective measures be adopted? Or should more far-reaching adjustments be made in the overall industrialisation programme? The workshop will address itself to these questions.

Cooperation

The Five-Year Plan sets the following objectives in respect of Cooperative Institutions in the country - (a) strengthen network of agricultural cooperatives dealing with credit supply, marketing and processing; (b) build up viable consumer movement; (c) correct regional imbalances at the level of cooperative development, particularly in the sphere of agricultural credit; (d) restructure and reorient cooperatives so as to shift the focus of their activities increasingly in favour of small and marginal farmers and other under-privileged section of the people.

In operational terms, the following programme has been formulated (i) organisation of farmers' service cooperative which while keeping the cooperative frame substantially intact will act as a guided institution focusing mainly on the economy of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labour. One of the highlights of these cooperatives is the provision for professional management, generally under the supervision of a commercial bank; (ii) organisation of large-sized credit-cum-marketing societies in tribal areas as recommended by an expert group; (iii) structural reform of a large number of non-viable primary agricultural credit societies and weak district central cooperative banks and (iv) reorganisation of a large number of consumer cooperative stores.

Other aspects deserving special mention are: (a) reliance chiefly on professional management within cooperatives; (b) building up of a cadre of cooperative managers; (c) growing collaboration between public sectors, commercial banks and

primary credit societies; (d) intimate working relationship between public sector undertakings like Food Corporation of India, Cotton Corporation of India, and marketing and processing cooperatives dealing in relevant commodities.

As the Five-Year Plan marks a radical change in the structure and organisation of cooperatives, it is desirable to examine the underlying assumptions and philosophy in some detail.

One may first question whether the reliance mainly on specialised professional management rather than popular initiative is in conformity with the echoes of the Five-Year Plan, which in the draft has been claimed to be a peoples' plan? The unsatisfactory functioning of the existing cooperative institutions seems to be because of what some may consider a bureaucratic takeover of the movement. This seems to suggest that till now the cooperatives were by and large free from official control. But is this true? It seems that there had always been official control and guidance of some sort or the other in varying degrees in different parts of the country. It is not unlikely that a dispassionate study will show that the areas where the cooperative movement has grown through acceptance of the norms and constraints of the social structure they have done better; where they have grown according to the dictates of the officialdoms, they have failed. One need not be dogmatic but one requires to be sure that a course of action that has far-reaching consequences has been taken on a sound empirical and theoretical basis.

Secondly, it is to be seen as to what extent and in what manner operational norms and procedures can evolve in favour of small and marginal farmers under the guidance of commercial banks. Ideally, the cooperative system is a synthesis of three sub-systems—the moral sub-system of the society, legal sub-system of the state and rationality of the economic sub-system. The new dispensation seems to be based on lack of confidence in the first, accentuation of the second and mythical ideas about the third. One is to examine whether there is any abstract rationality of the economic sub-system. Is it linked up with the

attitudes and values relating to production, consumption habit, and management experience and decision-making process about investment, among the people concerned? Is there any rational ground to consider that commercial banks have the necessary insight and expertise in these matters?

Thirdly, with regard to jumps (large-sized multi-purpose cooperative societies) envisaged for the tribal areas, an argument is advanced that tribals would like to have all kinds of credit from a single source; and as small primary credit societies are not viable for such purposes, it is better to go in for large multi-purpose cooperative institutions. Which category of tribals is this argument valid for and what is their proportion to the total population of the tribal societies? The bulk of the tribals do not have the resources to go in for long-term credit; they are interested in short-term credit. Hence the organisational structure should be such as to suit their convenience. Is a large cooperative, which will increase the distance of the centre of decision-making, more compatible with the need of the marginal and small farmers among tribals? Is there not a danger they will react to the new set up by simply withdrawing from the cooperative fold? The large farmers among the tribals will, of course, be interested in not only in short-term loans but also in long-term loans; they will naturally like to have both from the same source. On the face of it, does it not appear that the large tribal farmers have been equated with the entire tribal society and that the new organisational pattern will benefit only them?

Again in operational terms, there are certain problems that deserve consideration. The tribal villages are generally widely dispersed and communication is undeveloped in their area. Does it not pose a problem even for the board of management to meet as frequently as is required? Are there opportunities for the members living in widely dispersed areas to interact among themselves, mobilise their moral consensus in the functioning of the cooperative? In the absence of the same, will not the cooperative depend only on the coercive power of the state for its successful functioning?

These are the questions about the new strategy of the Five-Year Plan which logically arise. What is the empirical reality? It is quite possible that, notwithstanding the incongruities of the formal structure, there is much elasticity in the functioning of the institutions. In that case in each specific context specific answers might have been found to the questions raised here. The workshop would like to discuss them in the light of actual experience in Manipur.

The analysis of the logical incongruities of the new strategy should not, however, take the attention away from the generally unsatisfactory functioning of the existing cooperatives. In Manipur, there are now even forest cooperatives, labour cooperatives, marketing cooperatives and so on. It appears they do not always functioning very satisfactorily. Why? Are there systematic studies of their structure and functions? For instance, has it been carefully examined what categories of persons become their members? What controls them? If undesirable elements (like professional contractors using forest cooperatives as a cover) have been able to establish a hold over the cooperatives, is it possible that faulty laws and organisational strategies are responsible for the same to a large extent? Has anybody in the academic arena made a study of the problem in Manipur or in the North-Eastern region of India? It is not unlikely that it would be possible to gain fresh insight about the problems of cooperatives. Rather than treating them as homogeneous institutional complexes, they are looked upon as highly different structural types each having a distinct meaning in the economic, social and political systems in the region. The pre-working symposia at the district level and in the colleges will perhaps provide considerable useful data in this connection.

Education

In the field of education, the thrust of the Five-Year Plan is visualised to have taken place along four directions: (a) equality of educational opportunities as part of overall plan of ensuring social justice; (b) closer links between the pattern of education on the one hand and the employment market on the

other; (c) improvement of the quality of education imparted; and (d) involvement of the academic community including students in the tasks of social and economic development.

Equality of opportunity requires increased emphasis on primary and adult education; incentives to help enrolment and the retention of weaker sections in schools; provision of informal education to enable those who are forced to enter life early to improve their prospects.

Linkage of employment and development envisage introduction of vocational courses as a part of general education at the university stage; also linkage of professional and adult education estimated manpower needs, both quantitatively and qualitatively for various development programmes; reorientation of the curriculum to bring it into closer relationship with developmental needs and utilisation of the resources of educational institutions for developmental tasks.

Quality improvement centres around the questions of curriculum and examination reform; improvement of text books, the increased use of mass media, development of research and training institutions and their linkage with institutions at the base level; encouragement of talent through scholarship and so on.

Linkage with social environment requires the curriculum to be brought down to the level of practical application at various stages and social education and social services need to be made an essential part of the curriculum at every stage.

From the foregoing perspective at the national level, the Five-Year Plan outlay for primary, secondary and post-secondary education require to be examined. Particularly, the problems of wastage and stagnation are of considerable importance.

The problem of employment and wastage in the primary stage can be seen in perspective if comparative statistics of the different states and UTS of the North-East region are considered together.

According to the data furnished in the Five-Year Plan, the boys and girls enrolled in the primary schools in Manipur in

1973-74 constituted 115% of the children of the age group 6-11. The corresponding figures for India as a whole and the states and UTS of the North-East region were as follows: India 84%; Assam 78%; Meghalaya 80%; Nagaland 100%; Tripura 77%; Arunachal 50%; and Mizoram 73%.

The boys and girls enrolled in the middle classes VI-VIII in 1973-74 in Manipur constituted 44% of the children of the age group 11-14. The corresponding figures for India as a whole and the states and UTS of North-East region are as follows: India 36%; Assam 40%, Meghalaya 30%; Nagaland 52%; Arunachal 14%; Mizoram 39%.

When the two sets of figures are compared, a number of important issues come to light. Why is it that Manipur, which has the leading position in enrolment in the primary schools in the region, has to trail behind Nagaland when it comes to secondary education? Does it mean there is greater wastage at the primary stage in Manipur? Or is it possible that the highest enrolment rate in the primary stage in the state conceals certain weaknesses of its education system? The 115% enrolment obviously means that a large number of boys and girls not quite around the age of 11 study in primary schools; perhaps there are a much larger number of late starters than early starters. But these sets of statistics do not say how many boys and girls of the age-group 6-11 do not study in school. Can this be checked and verified with the assistance of the North-East Council or the ICSSR? Incidentally, contrary to the general impression, the Khasis seem to be lagging behind both in the primary as well as the secondary stage.

The fact that Manipur had to concede rank to Nagaland in the matter of secondary education may perhaps be linked up with one or more of the following factors: (a) wastage and stagnation among the children, particularly girls of a higher age-group who start primary education late in Manipur; (b) better distribution in space of secondary schools in Nagaland; (c) language policy in respect of primary and secondary education of the tribals in Nagaland; (d) more facilities for secondary

education in Nagaland; (e) less of a motivation factor for secondary education in Manipur; (f) comparative weakness of the social structure in Manipur to sustain a higher rate of secondary education and (g) more job opportunities for persons who have gone in for higher education in Nagaland.

Whatever information is available regarding these matters should receive the workshop's close and careful attention.

The problem of informal education of those who had to begin life early will have to be discussed with reference to (a) categories of persons requiring such education, (b) context and (c) method of imparting education and role of various agencies. Perhaps in this matter the experience gained by the department of continuing education, North East Hill University, Shillong will be useful.

The linkage of education to the developmental needs consists of two components - social service and training components and employment components.

The social service and training component would require the students to take up studies of the resources, including human resources, of their respective communities on a voluntary basis. Each year they could take up some problem of topical importance like area under cultivation of a particular variety of crop and problem of adoption of improved technology; functioning of the applied nutrition programme, child-rearing practices among different rural communities; indigenous beliefs and practices about various diseases. If standardised schedules are given, the secondary students can carry out the survey. On the basis of such a survey, programmes can be initiated by post-graduate students under N.S.S. Besides, post-graduate students can take up soil analysis on a large scale to guide the cultivators. The life sciences department can establish close liaison with the rice-research centres, seed multiplication farms and other field organisations of agriculture, animal husbandry and sericulture departments. They could take up collaborative studies for a systematic analysis of the records maintained at the field level.

The feasibility of preparing a glossary of all flora and fauna found in Manipur, giving local names and English equivalent and scientific names, should be examined.

These ancillary matters should be examined in great detail at the workshop.

With regard to teaching and learning methodologies, the question of creating an organic link with the community will have to be examined in detail. The workshop might like to consider the role of the institutions of community resource persons in the social sciences and community reference service in the natural sciences.

Health

The Five-Year Plan objectives as regards to health are: (a) minimum public health facilities integrated with family planning and nutrition for vulnerable groups, i.e. children, pregnant women and lactating mothers, (b) accent on (i) increasing accessibility of health services to rural areas, (ii) correcting regional imbalance, (iii) development of referral services by removing deficiencies in district and sub-divisional hospitals, (iv) intensification of control and eradication of communicable diseases especially malaria and small pox, (v) qualitative improvement in education and training of health personnel and (vi) development of referral services by providing specialists' attention to common diseases in rural areas.

At the programme level, the following have been visualised: Minimum needs (i) one primary health centre (PHC) for each CD block, (ii) one sub-centre for 1,000 persons, (iii) drugs at the rate of Rs 12,000 per annum per P.H.C. and Rs 2,000 per sub-centre, (iv) Upgradation of one in 4 PHC to a 30-bed rural hospital.

i) Under-graduate education is to be reoriented to the need of the country and emphasis is to be on community centre rather than on hospital care, (ii) district hospitals, integrated with the activities of the medical colleges, (iii) health education is to be woven into a general education system.

Integrated childcare service with emphasis on immunisation, health check-ups and supplementary nutrition is to be built up.

Indigenous systems of medicines and homeopathy are to be developed and integrated in the medical system.

It is found that in Manipur the outlay for primary health centres has gone up from 38.06 lakhs to 152 lakhs in the Five-Year Plan. The corresponding figures for hospital and dispensary are 66.04 lakhs and 93.00 lakhs respectively. These seem to indicate a certain shift in emphasis in the direction required by the Five-Year Plan at the national level. It is to be examined whether the ancillary changes in the education of the medical and paramedical personnel and in the health education of the population are also taking place. Such changes pose a number of social and cultural issues - (a) attitude and values of the population concerning different types of medical aid, (b) social and cultural consequences of acceptance of positive health as a way of life, (c) shifts in the status of medical profession within the prestige system of occupation in the country and (d) shifts in the relative status of various specialisations within the medical profession.

The integrated childcare service requires minimal acquaintance among the concerned medical personnel of the feeding, weaning and the indigenous methods of treatment of infants and children as found in different areas. The workshop will address itself to the confident and cheapest methods of treatment of documentation of these practices and to the problem of making use of the implementation of the childcare programme.

Family Welfare Planning

The components of the family welfare planning during the Five-Year Plan are mainly as follows:

- i) Increasingly integrated FP service with those for health and maternity and child welfare and nutrition to be extended to other fields like functional literacy, workers' education, health education etc.

- ii) Efforts are to be concentrated on healthy family life, education before marriage, intensive motivation of high parity couples in the 25-35 age group and the recently married ones.
- iii) More emphasis is to be given on community involvement. While compensation for acceptance is to be continued, payment to doctors, etc. is to be gradually discontinued, converting the same into community award.
- iv) Involvement of voluntary agencies and practitioners of the indigenous system of medicines.

The Manipur population growth has been 37.53% during 1961-71 as compared to 24.80% at the all-India level. In the Five-Year Plan of the state it has been observed that the moderate rate of growth of the economy was largely offset by the phenomenal increase in the population. The family welfare programme is, therefore, of particular importance for the state. The validity and efficiency of the strategy developed at the all-India level and the different categories of population in the state will be keenly discussed in the workshop. The crucial issue is whether there is any shortcut to structural change and socio-economic development for family welfare planning? In this connection, such demographic and socio-cultural data as the trends in birth and death rates, reproductive index, age at marriage, incidence of divorce and widow marriage, incidence of different types of family, role differentiation among family members, child rearing practices, incidence of child labour, trend in female participation in primary sector of economy, role of women in the decision-making process, incidence of marriage payment in different forms, preference for male or female child, family size norm as defined by the culture of the community, religious beliefs and practices impeding or promoting birth control measures require to be discussed in detail. An annotated bibliography of the research done in this field in Manipur should be available. A paper analysing the magnitude of the problem and suggesting the steps to be taken to impart to the family welfare planning, the dimensions of a peoples' movement and

not merely a state programme is expected.

Development of the Backward Classes

The Five-Year Plan defined the objectives of the development of the backward classes as follows: (a) to improve the quality of life among the backward classes and narrow the gap with the rest of the population, (b) to formulate a time-bound programme to eliminate exploitation and (c) to speed up the process of economic development.

The strategy of development envisages the following: (i) greater emphasis to be laid on the role of the general sector in providing major thrust to the development of backward classes; (ii) basic infrastructure in terms of growth centres, network of communication, school, rural health centre, rural electrification to be provided; (iii) integrated credit cum marketing structure to be organised; (iv) legal and institutional framework is to be created for realising the social and economic objectives; (v) integrated area development plan is to be drawn up by providing for: (a) separate sub-plans for areas with large concentration of scheduled tribes within respective state plans; (b) T.D. Blocks, T.D. Agencies and other projects set up by central ministries in various states to be integrated with area plans; (c) taking into consideration the concentration of tribal population as the criteria, compact areas to be demarcated at district, taluk and block levels and core programmes to be drawn up which will be related to credit, marketing, completion of land records and records of rights, debt redemption, development of medium and minor irrigation, provision of improved practices in agriculture and horticulture, tackling the problem of shifting cultivation, establishment of agro and forest-based processing industries, artificial roads linking up tribal huts and forests, transport and communication facilities, strengthening of administrative structure; (vi) special attention is to be paid to tribal pockets scattered throughout the country; (vii) state resources for sub-plans for the development of tribal areas are to be supplemented by suitable financial support from the centre, which will be in addition to the provisions on supplementary as well as sector-wise programmes; (viii) in other

areas with a dispersed population, backward classes sector is to assume a coordinating role providing critical inputs where necessary and (ix) the more backward among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are to be identified and special programmes are to be formulated.

Before discussing the specific provisions and programmes in Manipur, the workshop may like to examine some of the concepts and assumptions underlying the strategy at the national level.

- a) It has been envisaged that the general sector will provide the major thrust in the development of the backward classes. The crucial question is how to ensure in operational terms that it does not degenerate into merely earmarking a portion of the funds for the welfare of the backward classes. Can the general sector provide a major thrust in the development of the backward classes without bringing about a qualitative change in the general sector itself? In other words, how is one to ensure that the general sector as a whole is oriented in such a way that the interests of the backward classes automatically take first place? Perhaps the 20-point programme of the prime minister may be considered to have introduced the necessary corrective. In that case, is it not necessary for the planners to embark upon a rethink? Why is it that the lacuna, which was perceived in the planning process, has been carried out merely as a technical exercise without adequate appreciation of the role of the political process? In the present context it becomes a pertinent question. The whole approach to the problem of backward classes development seems to be based on techno-bureaucratic management. There is no indication of the role of the peoples' forums in the formulation, monitoring and execution of the plan and programmes;
- (b) growth centre has been considered to be basic infrastructure but is it a correct assumption particularly for the tribal areas both on theoretical grounds and in the light of empirical experience?

- (c) What is actually meant by integrated credit cum marketing structure? Does a structure become integrated simply by aggregation of functions? The two functions of operation of credit and marketing of commodities require skill. Integration of these two functions does not take place automatically. Detailed organisational, operational, procedural intelligence and communication planning is necessary. The nature and quality of orientation training imparted to the cooperative functionaries also require to be examined;
- (d) A long list of services has been drawn up as the core programme in the context of tribal blocks; and the whole approach has been termed as an integrated area development plan. Again, one would ask whether it is correct to equate aggregation with integration of too many functions without right phasing and appropriate balance, which may have just the opposite effect. Are there clear guidelines on these matters? Also in view of the long list of items, one wonders what has been meant by core programme? What is the concept of core in social planning? Obviously it requires that society be looked upon as a unified field. In that case, are there enough guidelines in the plan to identify the parameters and the contours of the social fields for various tribal areas? Again, is it scientific and precise to anticipate the core?
- (e) Lastly, it has been visualised that in areas with a dispersed population, the backward classes sector is to assume a coordinating role, providing critical inputs where necessary. It is by no means clear what is meant by coordinating role; the emphasis seems to be on supplementing the financial outlay. The various models of coordination of the tribal sector and the strong and weak points of each have been discussed in several reports of the commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the light of the same, perhaps a clear guideline can be given in the plan itself.

The workshop would like to examine all these questions and give suggestions.

Coming to the problem of the backward classes in Manipur, it is to be noticed that in the state, 32% of the population consists of Scheduled Tribes and 2% are Scheduled Caste. Out of the six districts in the state, tribals form the majority in five of them. During the Five-Year Plan, the outlay for the backward classes sector was Rs 121.50 lakhs; in the Fifth Plan it is Rs 180 lakhs (Rs 170 lakhs for Scheduled Tribes and Rs 10 lakhs for Scheduled Castes). It is to be examined whether the outlay is adequate even to meet the minimum needs of the tribals who inhabit 9/10^{ths} of the territory of the state.

The schemes for backward classes welfare are divided into three major heads, viz, education, economic development, health and housing.

The workshop would like to discuss the principles on which the various items of development are assigned to the general special sectors; it will also like to go into the method of calculating the share of benefits actually enjoyed by the backward classes and others.

Development of the Backward Areas

In the statement of perspective of the Five-Year Plan, it has been observed that each backward area represents a unique combination of factors and as such an essential pre-requisite for accelerated development is evolution of appropriate location-specific strategies.

The Five-Year Plan has divided the backward areas broadly in two categories: (a) areas with unfavourable geographic conditions, terrain, climate and regions inhabited by people with typical cultural characteristics (hill areas, drought-prone areas and tribal areas) and (b) economically backward areas marked by adverse land-man ratio, lack of infrastructure, inadequate development of resource potential.

As regards the approach to the problem of the backward areas, the Five-Year Plan envisages the following:

- (i) Allocation of adequate financial resources is only one of the many steps necessary for accelerated development of the area. Other essential measures include (a) evolution of locally-oriented integrated strategies; (b) development of suitable programmes with appropriate norms, procedures and technologies; (c) strengthening and coordinated functioning of financing, promotional and consultancy institutions; (d) reorientation and, where necessary, restructuring of field organisation to suit functional requirements of identified development programmes;
- (ii) The main responsibility for the development of the backward areas pertaining to the state though central government will participate by - (a) making special allocations; (b) providing technical support in respect of planning as well as programme development; (c) channelling institutional resources on a priority basis; (d) continuing and further extending liberal patterns of central assistance; (e) providing special incentives for the flow of private investment to the identified backward areas.

Manipur as a whole is considered a backward area. One is to know what the parameters of backwardness are. Besides, as in the case of development, backwardness also causes a particular pattern of inter-dependence with the rest of the country and with other states in the region. Development does not mean only a creation of certain material or social traits; it is also implied in the pattern of relationship.

The development perspective for Manipur should clearly indicate the new pattern of relationship within the North-East, and with the rest of the country. If the requisite work has already been done in this matter, the workshop should like to receive an appraisal of the same; it should be the starting point for initiating work in collaboration with other states and UTS and with the assistance of the North-East Council.

Within Manipur, the hill areas as a whole are considered to be backward. One is to consider whether such an approach is

in conformity with the perspective of the Five-Year Plan; and whether it would not be more useful to go in for specific classification. For instance, Ukhrul district with its wonderful system of water management of the terrace fields cannot be considered as agriculturally backward in the same sense as Tengnoupal district. There is also a massive gap in the intensity of communication with the rest of the nation, particularly at the symbolic level. On the other hand while Tengnoupal district is comparatively more backward in agriculture and education, it seems to be in an advantageous position with respect to transport and communication. In the field of institutional preparedness for modern technology and services it seems to lag behind. But, for historical reasons, the communication gap with the rest of the nation doesn't seem as wide as is case with the people of Ukhrul district. These are but impressionistic observations. But after carefully establishing the specific indicators of arrested development and ecological non-adaptation, the strategies and programmes for each area are to be drawn up. One may for instance consider whether it would not be more useful to persuade the people of Ukhrul to invest a part of their savings from the agricultural sector in the diversification of their economy with more emphasis on forest-based* industries and animal husbandry. On the other hand, would it not be more useful to persuade the tribals of Chandel district to go in for modernisation of the land-use pattern on the basis of recognition of the corporate nature of ownership. Once the basic strategies for the respective areas are decided, the core programmes and linked-up ancillary programmes can easily be identified.

Along with the characterisation of the region in terms of specific attributes, it would also be useful to delineate the agro-climatic micro-regions within Manipur. At the present level of technology and with the limited availability of investible resources, the physical environment will certainly be the next important limiting factor, though not necessarily the sole determining factor for the pace and direction of development.