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It is certified that the dissertation entitled "Political Economy of Forestry in Manipur" submitted by Luingam Luithui in fulfilment of six credits out of the total requirements of twenty four credits for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) of the University is his original work according to the best of my knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Luingan Luithui

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INTRODUCTION

Inspite of its immense importance to the over-all development of the country, forest has been either neglected or given very little attention by the public as well as the State. That long after the independence, Forest Departments continued to function in the old tradition of merely collecting royalties and enforcing 'law and order' in the forest areas against the forest-dwellers, as the Government continued to look at the forest as mere stock of timbers, fuelwoods and bamboos. Many states have been conviniently limiting their responsibility to the estimation of the revenue yielding stocks of forests and as a results the few available statistical information are mostly estimated accounts as different from the actual accounts. Many States are yet to make or complete a proper survey of forests within their respective boundaries. This one-sided view and unreliable information have frequently led to the formulation of defective, if not dangerous and openly outrageous, forest policies. Besides being unworkable, such a policy put the State against the common people, especially the forest-dwellers and consequently brought them misery and poverty instead of development and comfort. The organisations of Jhumia families into 'forest village, or colonies, forest labour co-operative and Taungya-cultivators have except in very few cases, resulted in stripping them of basic human rights. On their part, the traditiongl forest-dwellers, by and large, have come to develop attitudes, varying from fear and suspicion to hostility towards anything 'Government'.

Thus despite the large spendings of public funds and mobilization of State machineries, it has not been possible to realize the plan objectives of prompting forestry and improving the lot of the rural poor. For a 'nation' wedded to the principle of 'democratic welfare State' this is a matter of deep concern and can not be let to continue any longer.

First of all a correct identification of the magnitude and nature of the problem has to be done, only then will it be possible to draw up a scientific programme. So this demands a goods deal of serious study and a sympathetic consideration of a number of factors. We may identify these factors as follow :

1. Forest as a component of the ecosystem.
2. Repository of resources.
3. Traditional production relations of the forest-dwellers centring on utilization of the forest resources.
4. Penetration of mar-ket economy in the utilization of forest resources and its impact on the traditional production relations.
5. Intervention of political and ideological factors.
6. Socio-political and cultural response of the forest-dwellers to the changing situation.
7. The dynamic perspective of the ecosystem balancingthe needs of :

   (a) improvement of the physical environment.
   (b) harmonizing the technology to the values and aspirations of the people,

(c) maximising the resources utilization including physical and human resources.

(d) ensuring that there is no erosion of the traditional rights of the population in respect of the resources, until they are in a position to feel that they are having effective shares in the rights of higher order.

Several worthwhile suggestions and recommendations have been given by the National Commissions and Committees, and the concerned scholars, and several pilot projects are being run or taken up in different parts of the country in search of a long term solution to this problem.

The First Part of thispaper, which consist of a 'glimse into political economy of forestry in India' is intended to bring to our notice an outline of the problem of forestry at the National level as well as to provide a theoretical background to the study of the political economy of forestry. The second part is a study of the 'Political economy of forestry in Manipur' in some detail.

As only a short interval was available for field observations during the study period, the analysis submitted in this paper is based mainly on secondary sources, such as Government publications, Administrative correspondence, published and unpublished seminar and symposium papers and research works in the field.

PART ONE

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A Glimse into the Political Economy of Forestry ih India

Originally, the term 'forest' denotes the uncultivated land lying on the periphery of the inhabited area, i.e. all the uncultivated land outside the village fence. Now more frequently it refers to that portion of land being managed for the purpose of forestry whether covered with trees, shrubs, grass, climbers etc., or not. Any portion of lands can became forest by an act of law. Forestry refers to the 'practice of scientific management and development of forest for the continuous supply of its produce and services'.

a. Ecosystem:

The term 'ecology' is derived from the Greek word "Oikos" - meaning, 'household' or 'living place', its obvious reference is to the ways in which organisms live in their environment. In social sciences it indicates the broad outline of the study of correlations between the organisms, engaged with a given unit of environment. The social proposition underlying this study is that "organisms establish viable relationships with environments not independently but eollectively under a system of relationships; and that exploitation of an environment may drastically affect the environment which again reacts upon the living conditions the organisms." Ecosystem denotes the entire sets of these relationships taken together.

Forest, as a component of the ecosystem, occupies an exceedingly important place. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, in his "The Indus Civilization", (Cambridge, 1960), states that extensive deforestation process which had been going on in the area from about 5000 B.C. was responsible for the collapse of the Harappan Civilization. Keeton,[2] after an intensive research, came to the conclusion that the fall of the Theban Government and the ultimate fall of the Burmese Kingdom in 1885 was to a large measure explained by the large scale felling of timber during 1862 to 1865, which resulted in the denudation of an extensive area in the 'Dry-Zone' and gave in to floods and droughts in 1883-85. The overwhelming importance of forest to the ecosystem is being broughtout

with increasing scientific proofs by the scholars in the field.[3] We may summarise its importance, thus, : its presence moderates extreme heat and cold, it prevants soil erosion by lessening the intensity of drifting sand in land and semi-arid regions; where in the wet areas it increases soil porosity and helps its permeability and seepage and thereby preventing untrammelled and harmful surface run-off, on the one hand, and regulates sub-soil flow of water providing a sustained source of water supply to springs and rivers, on the other. Thus 'forest', in general, acts decisively against the agents of droughts, flood, land-slide and soil erosion, which are fundamentally harmful to mankind. In short, forest profoundly influence the conditions of land and thereby takes the central place in the shaping of the total habitat.

A predominantly agricultural country like India, heavily depends on the conditions of her land for the economic and political well being of the people. More than 50% of the country's annual product comes from the agricultural sector and more than 70% of the population derive their livelihood either directly or indirectly from agriculture. Over the last 25 years the population of the country has been rising by 2.47% every year. All together about 946 million lives (nearly 6 crore human population, about 237 million cattles and about109 million other livestocks) are living in this country.[4] In response to the increasing demands and requirements generated by the ever increasing population all the states, excepting Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, have resorted to extensive agriculture. The increase in net sown

area between 1949-50 and 1966-67 is as follows:-

Year	Net area sown (thousand hectares)
1949-50	114664
1950-51	118747
1960-61	133158
1966-67	137047

Source: Commerce Annual Number - 1970.

According to Central Forestry Commission, New Delhi, during the last 22 years (approximately the period 1952-1973) 3.4 million hectares of forest land was lost for river valley projects, agricultural pupposes, road, construction of transmission lines etc., establishment of industries/townships and other miscellaneous purposes[5]. Rapid denudation of the hills and plains have greatly disturbed the ecosystem of the sub-continent and loss of fertility of soil, drought, flood, land slide, sand-storm have become very common (Here as a rule, a mathematical picture of the correlationship between the forest condition and the other phenomena, would be respects but unfortunately no such work seems to be in existence, however this does not nullified the evidences supporting this statement[6]). It is not possible or at least too difficult at this stage, to make a comparative study of forest conditions and the frequency of the occurance of the above given phenomena in different parts of the world and in the absence of such information it may be useful to look at the comparative average yield per heactare of important crops vis-a-vis percentage of forest areas in India and some other countries.

Name of the Country	Forest area in percentage	Per Capita availability of forest area(in hec.)	Average Yield Per Hectare					
			Paddy 00Kgs.	Wheat 00Kgs	Maize 00Kgs	Sugar 00Kgs.	Cotton 00 Kgs.	Ground-nut 00 Kgs.
India	23.00	0.14	16.1	9.1	10.1	466.8	1.2	8.2
Europe	30.00	0.30	-	-	-	-	-	-
USSR	41.00	3.75	24.3	10.9	13.2	-	7.3	-
USA	32.00	1.44	45.9	17.7	39.3	367.4	3.8	17.7
Japan	-	-	51.5	-	-	-	-	20.7
UAR	-	-	50.4	27.6	27.4	-	7.4	-

Source : (i) Average yield has been obtained from FAO Production year Book, 1965.

(ii) Forest area in percentage and per capita has been taken from : India in 2001. Second India and Forestry.

According to the 'Commodity Trasport Studies'[7] the total forest area of the country is 782962 sq.kms. (or 24% of the total geographical area of 3262234 sq.kms.). Table I gives the state-wise forest area(see Annexure). The process of deforestation which has been going on in the sub-continent from the early settlement has deprived nearly 70 of the land surface of the natural vegetative cover. This destruction is central to the development and expansion of ravine lands, desert land, soil erosion, and other forms of soil destruction like drought, flood and lanslide.

The loss of nutruent due to soil erosion, accoring to 'The Soil Conservation Diggest'[8] is 2.5 million tonnes of nitrogen, 3.8 million tonnes of potassium annually. The Diggest in its April 1974 issue reported that the extent of ravine lands in States of U.P., Rajasthan, Gujrat, Punjab, and Haryana are : 123000, 600000, 340000, 280000, and 120000 hectares respectively. The total area of ravine land in the country is about 3.7 millinn hectares of this 2.3 million hectares are gully affected. In Punjab and Haryana the gully(Chos) area was only 19811 hectares in 1852 it reached the extent of 171354 hectares by 1952.[10] Overgrazing, biotic interferencew with natural vegetative cover and the jhuming and commercial exploitation of forest are the main causes of gully erosion. In addition, to this a vast area is being subjected to the increasing encroachment desert influence. "The Aravalle hills which serve as a savier against the eastward encroachment of the desert and the desert laden winds have been crumbling fast through denudation"[11], and more and more areas are in the process

of turning into desert lands. For a more complete picture we may here add the extent of salt erosion.

The salt lands are of the following order in the sise-States.

States	Area under salt erosion (lakh hectares) Saline and Alkali soil
U.P.	12.95
Haryana	5.26
Punjab	6.89
Rajasthan	7.28
Gujrat	12.14
M.P.	2.24

Source : The Central Soil Salinity Research Insitutue - "Reclaiming Alkali Soils" - 1973. P.4.

The soil erosion has become so extensive that the major portion of the agricultural lands and other plantation areas in use is in immediate need of conservatory measures. According to J.S. Bali(Dr.)[12]- 1974 following is the land under use in urgent need of soil conservation treatment.

Land use Category	Total area	Conservancy inventory area	Soil and water conservation treatment given to conservancy area	Percentage
1. Rainfed arable area	109.80	55.00	15.00	27%
2. Irrigated arable area	27.50	10.00	.20	2%
3. Cultivable waste land	26.50	20.00	-	-
4. Uncultivable waste land and land for forest and grass land.	51.00	50.00	1.10	1.30%

Figures in million hectares.

R.C. Soni[13] stated that out of the 139 million hectares of cultivated area in the country about 31.2 million hectares are liable to draught (The Deptt. of Agriculture & Irrigation, Govt. of India gives 20 million hectares as the area affected by flood annually from about 20 river systems[14].

These developments adversely affect the socio-economic and political health of the country. This very fact was perceived by the rulers of the sub-continent even the in the early part of the 19th Century. However, it was only in 1865 that an attempt to arrest the process of deforestation in the area was started in some regular way.[15] But there was obvious flaw in the policy, its main object was to prevent the native people and ignored the denudation cause by commercial exploitations as such it did not produce any good result.[16] By the time of India's independence forest area had been reduced to 18% of the total geographical area (14.7 million hectares). This urgently demanded an integrated treatment of the problem of conservation of soils and forests. Measures taken in response to this demands were incorporated in the successive Five Year Plans.

Plan-wise expenditure on soil conservation programme:

Plan	Area Covered (thousand hectares)	Expenditure (lakhs of rupees)
First Plan	3.00	160
Second Plan	12.70	2037
Third Plan	43.20	7761
1966-69	44.90	8678
Fourth Plan	71.40	16096

Plan	Area Covered (Thousand hectares)	Expenditure (lakhs of rupees)
1974-75	68.00 (target)	474
1975-76	Not yet known	7.04(budget allotment).

Sources : (i) Performance Budget of the Ministry of Agriculture & Irrigation, Deptt. of Ariculture, Govt. of India. 1975-76.

(ii) Economic Survey of Indian Agriculture 1972-73.

The Fifth Plan (Draft) proposed to achieve forestry in 1 lakh hectares and a plantation on the road-side of a total length of 32000 kms. during the Plan period and Rs.220.50 crores has been set aside (tentatively) for this purpose. Statewise Forest Area covered by working Plans and Schemes (1970-71) may be seen from the Table 2 Annexure.

The following shows the expenditure on forestry programme:

Plan	Expenditure (Rupees in crores)
First Plan	8.5
Second Plan	21.2
Third Plan	45.9
1966-69	42.0
Fourth Plan	93.8
	211.4

(A statement showing the expenditure on and Revenue from forest under the control of State Forest Departments (1971-72) has been provided in Table 3 Annexure).

The forestry undertakings covered an area of 2.21 million hectares involving Rs.97.79 crores and about 2.1 million hecatares of man-made forests have been raised so far according to the Performance Budget 1975-76. Pilot projects for control of

shifting cultivation incurred an expenditure of Rs.10 lakhs during 1974-75, and Rs.75 lakhs been set for the purpose during 1975-76.

b. As a Repository of Resources:

Forest resources constitute the most important source of wealth, however, the tendency to consider aonly timber, fuelwood and grass and climbers as forest wealth frequently led to a serious underestimation of its real worth (We have already discussed its importance as a component of the economic system). It may be said that till the time the technologically advanced traders of Europe came to exploit the forest resources, it's exploitation was not rapid and only for domestic consumption. The European bussiness houses/ groups found it quite profitable to exploit the forest resources for commercial purposes, and this discovery brought about the 'introduction of private/state capitalism on a primitive social and technological base'[17], which drastically changed the legal status of forests and the pattern and techniques of their utilisation. The rapid exploitation of the forest resources was followed by a rapid extension of the Company Govt.'s control over the same. The idea of inexhaustibility hitherto attached to forest resources was very soon proved wrong and people came to look at the forest resources as (i) a good means of earning monetary income, and (ii) a renewable but not inexhaustible resource.

Botanical surveys were carried out to determine the commercial values of the forests and this greatly increased public knowledge of the worth of the forest. However, it was

the application of commonly known bussiness methods (or shall we say monopoly capitalism) like hoarding, and smuggling which often creat artificial scarcity of commoditi-es, on the forest resources, which most cleary bourhght home to the common people what it meant to him without the forest resources.

In the beginning commercial exploitation was mainly confined to precious woods/timbers for far off markets and was limited in volume, but with the introduction of the Railways in the sub-continent, although timber and other precious woods exploitation was expanded considerably, Fuelwood extraction became the mainbulk of commercial exploitation.(It is regretted that a satisfactory statistical information of forest- exploitation during the colonial era is not available even up to date).

The total forest product (wood), according to the Statistical Year Book (UN) 1971, in the years 1953, 1966, and 1967 were 92.5 million cubic metres, 102.3 million cubic metres and 105.0 million cubic metres respectively.(Round wood production). Coniferous and Broad leaves production in the succeeding three years were:

Year	Coniferous	Broad leaves
1968	4.1	103.5
1969	4.2	106.2
1970	4.4	109.0

(figures in million c.ms.).

Against these figures, the All India Estimate of forest growing stock was (according to India Forest Statistics

1959-60) 2510 million c.ms. and (as compiled during the Commonwealth Forestry Conferenc 1968) 2606 million cubic metres[18](For a statewise picture please see Table 4 Annexure). The gap between the estimated growing stock and production may be explained by a-high the ineconomic way of logging and a high unaccessibility. According to S.D.Thapar ("India in 200? ....' P.12), 'The economically accessible or the currently exploitable area makes up 63.3% of the total forest area. This is expected to increase to 84% by 1984. He also quoted the Central Forestry Commission's Report (1971-72) that in addition to 46.6 million hectares of forests under exploitation 12.6 million hectares were exploitable. Again, the meagre forest lands in the country is largely covered by inferior type of wood, grasses and shrubs, as forestry is still heavely dependent upon natural vegetative and growth (Man-made forests constitutes only 2% of the total forest area[19]). Only 3% of the total forest area are covered by coniferous (2.6 million hectares) and the rest 97% are covered by Broad leaves forest. The all-India production of wood in 1970-71 was 20728000 cubic metres, of this Industrial woods makes up 9382000 m^3 and fuel woods makes up the rest 11346000 m^3 (Statewise production of wood in 1970-71 is given in Annexure Table 5).[20] The value forest produce in 1970-71, was, timber Rs.866158 thousand, fuel wood Rs.123600000. The per capita value of forest produced was 2.00 (Statewise value of Forest produce in the country in 1970-71 is shown in Table 6 Annexture). In 1965 India exported 6984 tonnes of timber. The following shows Import and Export of selected forest products in 1972-73 ('000 Rs.)

Particulars	Import	Export	Balance
1. Wood Lumber and cork	10589	95097	+ 84508
2. Pulp and Waste paper	99196	151	- 99045
3. Wood and cord manufacturers (excluding furniture)	1313	12671	+ 11358
4. Paper, paper board and manufacture thereof	307263	41616	-265647
5. Wood furniture and fixtures	37	1415	+ 1378
6. Planks for use in Dying & Tanning	1294	3806	+ 2512
7. Natural Gums, Resins, Balsans, lacs & lac products	13828	110928	+97100
8. Vegetable Materials for planting etc.	9	2076	2067

Source:- Central Forestry Commission, Ministry of Agriculture, New Delhi.

The total consumption of wood and bamboo in 1965 was Bamboo 2025000, timber 4980000, and fuel wood 9580000 tonnes.[21] Against this the estimated total industrial Raw-material Requirements during the coming decades are given as followed:-

Forest product	Estimated consumption in 1970	Projected demands in 1980	1990	2000
1. Raw material for sawn woods ('000m^3)	9561	13750	19773	26836
2. Wood required for panel boards('000m^3)	372	939	1500	2267
3. Pulp wood ('000m^3)	746	5033	12600	30910
4. Round wood ('000m^3) (from forest and non-forest sources)	5232	7169	9823	13459
Total Industrial wood('000m^3)	15911	26891	43696	73472
5. Fuel wood('000m^3)	203000	256000	300000	385000
6. Bamboo('000 tonnes)	2773	4372	4914	58000
(a) Pulp & Paper	1191	2199	1954	1800
(b) non-industrial uses	1582	2173	2960	4000

Source : Basic figures for 1970 have been taken from National Commission on Agriculture "Interim Report on Production-Forestry, Man-made Forests". S.D. Thapar: India in 2001.

From the figures of growing stocks in the two periods, we can see that the ~~wovl~~ volume of stock is not increasing much over the years and that by 1980 even if the utilization is improved so as to cover the entire supply of stocks supply will fall far short of the requirements. If we look beyond the next decade the picture became more frightening by 1990 and 2000. The demands on the forest products will be almost more than double the current growing

stock. This means we have to work with urgency on all fronts where rooms for improving the management and development of the present forestry exist, while at the same time earnestly explore new methods and techniques of forestry, for improving the quality and quantity of the forest product.

As already stated above, the bounty of forest resources of a region cannot be evaluated merely in terms of its productivity of wood, as is generally the common approach, being the most complex component of the ecosystem with far reaching ramifications on national and the world environment, it serves not only as a repository of renewable resources, but also as a protection against ecological degeneration. It is the most important factor for ensuring environmental conservation, soil fertility, and stability of the surface for an all round development.

c. Traditional Production Relations of the Forest-dwellers centring on utilization of the Forest Resources:

The forest-dwellers in India who are referred to commonly as 'Scheduled Tribes' and 'Scheduled Caste' consist of a total population of 38015162* and they are divided into over 400 communities. They are at different stages of socio-economic development : "spread along the entire spectrum-ranging from the stone age hunters and quttaerers from ~~s~~ of forest produce to the urbanized industrial wage earners ... Their spatial distribution is however,

*According to 1971 Census, according to Dr.B.K.Roy Burman they are divided into about 450 communities. Dr.B.K.Roy Burman"Tribal demography .. K.S.Singh(ed) Tribal Situation in India. N.K. Bose put the number of tribes communities as 427.

characterized by a striking tendency to cluster in a few pockets of diverse degrees of isolation within an environmental setting which is by and large adverse to settled - agriculture".[20] Their social production has been mainly confined to the shaping of, according to their needs, the resources supplied by nature, so when we speak of their "traditional relations of production centring on utilization of forest resources we are infact speaking about their traditional social relations of production" as whole. We may sum up these relations in the following.

(i) Subsistence self-sufficient economy in small fragmentative; Every settlement is more or less self-sufficient economy.

(ii) The community owns or controls their means of subsistence; Land from which the members of the community collects subsistence belong to the community as a whole.

(iii) Very limited kinds of property, characterized by low mobility and short durability.

(iv) Social division of labour is almost nil (that is apart from the division of labour in terms of sex there is almost a complete absence of division of labour) - specialisation of is nearly completely absent and there is a concentration of social roles on the same person or office.

(v) Economic organization are very simple and horizontal in the sense that the economic activity here is to collectively exploit the resources supplied by the

nature, for subsistence. In this collective operation each is an equal member of the group - each of them receive an equal share of their product according to the man-hour participation, and that no investment for 'skill' is necessary for the operation, and that their working relations are guided and sustained by their common understanding of their customs and traditions and not by any stipulated agreements.

(i) The forest-dwellers, by and large, build their villages on the mountain tops. The size of their villages varying from five families to over several thousands of families, and are practically collection of people of common origin (or at least believed by the members themselves of a common ancestor). Each village is itself a complete economy - all the requirements of the population are produced within the village, except for items like salt and iron ore, for which they bartered with other villages during the months of February and such month other non-agricultural season. For majority of their village is a place of permanent settlement. They make use of the forest tracts around the village for their numerous needs. Normally the village elders-body headed by their chief (the chief office was a hereditary one but there were cases where it is a popular office, the office is nominal or symbolic, except in few cases like the Kukis and the Lushais and Konyaks in the east) after making the necessary survey of their forest select-padges of slum for using slum for particular purposes, like jhuming, pasture,etc. When this is

made the village as a whole arranges work programmes for the numerous activity. In most cases livestocks - cattles and buffaloes are kept within the confines of a tract of forest and that tract is surrounded with loosely built fence. The cattles and buffaloes are not allowed to go beyond this tract during the croping seasons. In the intervals between croping seasons cattles, buffaloes, etc. are let to go out anywhere

Third category of forest consist of private forests which generally are found within one to one and half miles distance from the village settlement. The community make use of (individual members of the community can be the same) the forest for games, fishing, edible leaves anf roots, but fuel wood, and small timber and cultivation fof vegetables or cereals are under the owners rights.

The third and the fourth categories are about the same regarding ownership rights. The field are opened to public use during the non-agricultural season, but once the crop is planted public use is restricted to collection of small snail-fish.

Recently the commercial activities have been extended to village forests and same villages have taken placed in the methods of utilization and with it the long followed (or practiced) rules are undergoing rapid changes. The villager haven restricted shifting cultivation, specially no shifting cultivation is now carried in the reserved forest, in the areas of the central part of Ukhrul and Mao west, also it has been

reduced everywhere including Tengnohol and West Districts (West district has pre-dominently wet-cultivation and shifting cultivation is practiced only to a very small extent). Now reserved forest are marked out for raising funds for a particular purpose like running school and building club-halls etc. Comme rcial utilization by the individual members is permitted but royalties are collected per timber or truck load of fuel wood.* As many as 14 villages were found, in East district in 1975-76 to be funning private schools from the funds collected from selling the reserved-forests in lump-sums. In Tenoubal district, Komlathabi village was found running a M.E. school from the funds raised from reserved forests (Dr. B.K. Roy Burman, at whose initiative and guidance a several such symposiums/sciences have organised in

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* This commercial utilization by the individual has also been restrictedin many villages. Only certain kinds of timber or fuel woods are allowed to be used for commercial purposes. The accounts given bythe participants of the symposium at Komlathabi - Tengnaubal, organised by the post graduate J.N.U. centre Imphal indicate the same development in Tengnaubal District.

Manipur with co-operation and participation of the local people and State officials, confirmed this in this field work and has stated this fact in several of his papers and publications).

However, there are also tribes where the chief is the sole owner of the entire village land and where slavery is practised, and thus the society consists of chifes and the ruled. For instance Konyaks in Nagaland, Lushais in Mizoram and Kukis in Manipur, the chief in the case of these tribes has a wide prerogative over and above being the 'owner of the village land'.* Any members of the village can make use of the land and exploit forest resources on payment of rent or tax and so long as he lives in the village and makes use of it, it belongs to him but the moment he leave the village or ceases using it the land returns to the chief. The chief also keeps slaves and solely depends on others labour for his economic requirements. Whenever and wherever he wants to build a home for himself villagers are required to built it without any payment.

As will be seen in the succeeding pages, the territory within which different tribal communites have been carrying their long practised ways of subsistence life are no longer the 'total world' but far from being 'a complete world' it has become appendise to a more stronger and developed areas, serving, generally as the raw material source area. Their means of subsistence no longer belong to them, but their

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* Asoso :'The Rising Nagas'. T. Kipken : Mayon Village.

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technology and social institution - the superstructure have not undergone much changes. So they are living, within a superstructure whose 'base' has been removed and consequently many of the communities have been suffering from serious social shocks.

d. Penetration of the Market Economy in the Utilization of forest resources:

Exploitation of forest resources as in the sub-continent for commercial purposes is a recent phenomenon. The forest-dwellers made wood-works and bamboo works for house hold consumption as well as for barter but was subsistent in nature and scale. It was the commerically oriented Europeans who brought to India the idea and practice of exploiting these resources in a mass-scale for commercial purposes. To begin with they extracted only the highly valued timber and was limited in scale. But with the introduction of the Railways in the sub-continent, fuelд wood exploitation became extensive and superseded teak and other timber. However, exploitation of all kinds of forest produce became increasing extensive and intensive. Vast sums were for the first time spent for a massive exploitation and a huge labour force was brought in. This resulted in the denudation of extensive areas. Two problems, the need for controlling the rapid process of deforestation, and the urge for a proper harnessing of these resources for a greater and greater profit, came to define themselves as the immediate tasks. The Company Govt. in response to the situation, appointed itself the owner and controller of the economically accessible forests, and commercial houses were given monopoly over the

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exploitation of these resources. "A Forest Act, which was later replaced by the more elaborate provisions of Act VII of 1878 and Act XVI of 1927 was passed in 1865"[24] to legalise its illegal act. Forest began to merit a seperate department of its own and accordingly forest departments were created. Advanced technology and modern political and economic organisations reached forest areas only to eliminte the traditional forest-dwellers from their land. In short, as has been pointed out by Dr. B.K. Roy Burman,[25] this was nothing but the introduction of private and State capitalism on a primitve social and technological base. The over-night change of methods of productions and habits and outlook of life which the new situation demanded of the tribals, but which was clearly impossible to be achieved, forced them to take up arms against their intruders. This brought the oppressive State machine - the police and the armed forces, at their door - steps". The riots of Adivasis (Walis) in Dahanu Taluka should be an eye opener to us. No doubt the police and the military will suppress the riots, and peace will be restored. But that does not mean that the problem is solved... These rioters are known to be an extremely timid people. Their poverty and ignorance baffle description. For ages they have been exploited by the rulers of the day, by the landlords, the money lenders and a host of other parasites. They were the original owners of the lands, but to day they are forced to labour on that same land as serfs ..... At the back

of this exploitation, there lurks frightful injustice and suppression.... Is it any wonder if they are exasperated and resort to violence out of a feeling of frustration and despair."[26] This incident is one of such events which in many cases led to a strict prohibition of tribals from their means of subsistence.

The penetration of market economy, brought to the forests all evils of capitalism. As the social base the means of production changed from the common ownership to private/State ownership. The traditional tribal relations of production crumbled to the ground and with it its customs and traditions social values and organisations began to lose their meaning and influences. From an independent producer the tribal was reduced to a wage-labourer. Very few of his fellows became exclusive owners of immense wealth and they together with the capitalists from outside now buy his labour power. Once deprived of his means of production he is left with only his labour power and so now for subsistence he sells his daily labour. This inhuman relations became his social relations with the world around. He became impotent for all practical purposes, except as the labour." The conditions under which the jungle tribes people work and live are wretched in the extreme, and abuses to which they are subjectdd consitute a blot on the administration. "If they refuse or procrastinate, they are liable to assaults and beatings. These are common occurrences and are usually carried out by the landlords local agents,"[27] Mr. Symington, who was appointed to inquire

and report upon the conditions of life among the Scheduled Tribes. The basis of his traditional (tribal) relations of production was destroyed not as a result of the maturing of new productive forces within the old relationship, but as a result of a heavy pressure from outside. The dissolution of the old relatios happened haphardly and so the replacement by a new set of relations. The result was simple : The tribals were thrown out into the wilderness where they could not breath without being stinged. In the areas where inaccessibility has protected them, tribal societies still retain their ownership and control over the forests and their (tribal) relations of production remain intact.

e. Intervention of Political and Ideological Factors :

As already stated, the East India Company Government, and the British India Government looked at the forest as a rich repository of wealth that should be fully exploited for their own benefit. Their aim was to extract maximum wealth from it with least expenditure. And thus, they were faced with the need for a systematic management of forests and to ignore the ownership rights of the forest-dwellers over theforests. In the beginning no uniform forests rules were made and individual commercial houses and bussiness groups, who paid forest royalties to the Provincial Governments, laid down their own regulative and such regulations were respected by the Government, at least in reference to the Native peoples.[28] It provided military/police protection to the contractors and capitalists against the

traditional forest-dwellers. To justify its wrongful claims over the forest, the Government described the forest-dwellers as "irresponsible" and "deadly enemies of forests". To consolidate its claims, the Government invented legal fictions by which it made itself the owner of the forests. In 1865 a forest Act (The Indian Forest Act of 1865) which laid down a general framework for all the local Governments to follow, was passed. This marked the first attempt towards inforcing a uniform legislation through British India. But given the highly biased attitude of the state and the profit motives of the privileged sections the attempt towards receiving a more organised and uniform approach to the problems of forest management was turned into a means of intensifying the process of elimination and eviction of the forest-dwellers by the State-supported contractors and commercial houses. The contractors and commercial houses, who, by means of forest-loyalties, bought state assistance and state support against the tribals, not only exploited the forest resources but also the tribals to the extreme. Tribal resistence against exploitation and suppression was described as "barbarous savage act" and was put down with untold brutality ain the name of 'Law and order'. As it will be apparent, almost all the so-called "tribal uprisings" that swept this sub-continent at the wake of British Commercial/colonial expansion here were desperate struggles waged by the tribals against the forcible taking over of their lands by the State and by the State-supported agencies, and their suppression was the enslavement of several tribal societies.

In the post-colonial era, the national leaders, to begin with, paid an overwhelming importance to the ecological and economic aspects of forest paying only scant attention to its social and political aspects. This is reflected in the National Forest Policy of 1952. This policy, approached the problem of forestry in the country from more or less the same stand-point as did the Policy of 1894, namely : "That any forest not in immediate use by the tribals belonged to the State, that tribals control over the forests was incompatible with the notion of a scientific management and development of forests. Therefore, they have to be evicted from the forest". As it appeared, the main purpose of the policy was to secure an effective implementation of programmes provided by the erstwhile forest-policies.[29] The policy, in the first place, reduced to "riths and concessions" what the British had treated as "rights and privileges" of the forest-dwellers over the forest, secondly, it provided for the introduction of Taunya-system, forest cooperatives, forest villages, etc. The first measure was an expansion of the legal fiction by which the owndership and other rights and privileges over the forests and the forest-lands had been transferred from the traditional forest-dwellers to the State. And the second measures were to ensure a source of supply of subsistence to the tribals so as to moderate the friction between the tribals and the State.

As provided in the policy, many forest-villages made up of the forest-dwellers were setup in the deep interiors of the various States by the Forest Department. The villagers

were required to place their labour power at the disposal of the forest departments and the forest contractors only when these latters did not require the formers labour, could the villages with the permission of the forest department sell their labour to others. The price of their labour was fixed by the Forest Department and the contractors, often the price is extremely low not justifyable under any modern law (The Minimum wages Act has so far not reached them as the wages suggested). Anyone of them was liable to summary evication without compensation for breach of the above conditions. Besides, they had to live under a head-man nominated by the forest officer.[30]

'Taungya-system'- a practice of forestry-cum-shifting cultivativation had been introduced in several States. The villagers are made to work in the Govt. forests in return for the land given to them for shifting cultivation when the trees are small.

Forest cooperatives, have been set up in several States, to give organised approach to the economic problems of the poverty ridden villagers. But the movement has not broughtforth the desired developments, and in many cases have became another means of exploiting the village 'wretched'.

As have been pointed out by many concerned scholars[31] and the Govt. instituted Commissions and Committees,[32] all these measures have not improved the socio-economic lives of the tribals, on the other hand, they have been very unfairly deprived of their basic means of production - their means of subsistence. The law gives undue preference

to property over looking the human dignity and the true welfare of the villagers. The setting up of the forest villages and the introduction of Taungya-system only help to bring villages within the forest-areas under the complete control of the Forest Department. Forest villages, taunhya-system, labour cooperatives, forest cooperatives, all these organisations, far from being the means of development have become effective means of destroying every kind of means afor the development of the villagers. These organizations have been consciously or unconsciously acting to keep these people as man-labourers for ever.

The various State committees and commissions entrusted with the task of recommending ways and means for improving the lots of forest-dwellers have, without exception, pointed out the need for improvement and reorientation of the present forest policy. We will disouss some of this problems in the latter page.

f. Socio-Political and Cultural Response of the forest-dwellers to the changing situation:

As seen from the preceding discussion, for quite a long time, the officials' attitudes had been 'to treat the forest-dwellers as 'animals' to be controlled and to be used. The urban people are by and large inclined to accept that the forest-dwellers- the adivasis, are savages (at best ignorant creatures) and this attitude seems to run in the veins of the officials while dealing with the forest-dwellers that often (even now) State Govt. officials have been found to hold that "they are getting

food and other necessities which they didn't get before they were brought under our departments control, they ought to thank us and obey us. What do they expect us to do beyond this? They should be controlled and ordered, etc." However, for the forest-dwellers, as for any other society, it is not merely a question of how much one produces or gets, but more the important thing is in what manner and circumstances one produces - the effects produced by that productive effort upon the persons engaged therein and on the rest of the community. As such friction inevitably develops between them and the State-represented by forest officials and the police. For the tribal his economic activity was not merely an act of production but a way of life. The introduction of State-control over the forest in the above mentioned manner has robbing him of that 'way of life' and this in no small way affects his attitude towards the State as well as towards the urban societies. Everywhere he finds forces, visible and in-visible, circumvening his life, he acts instinctively and consciously against these forces. But as majority of them had no access to systematic methods of analysing and presenting problems, often their actions are limited to the impulsive release of deep frustration which are, unless examined sympathetically, no capable of conveying any social meaning. Yet it is now not difficult to understand that Government's inability to provide a social solution as different from the military solution, to this problem

is behind most of the forest-dwellers/addivasis/tribals/ peasants unrest in the country. The more enlightened sections of the tribals have resorted to modern methods of organised political actions, even including military action, to redress their grievances. In the central parts of the country many tribals under the leadership of different political parties have resorted to agitations and land-grabling movements, where in the North-eastern region this has either led to initiation of aor to the strengthening of independence movements. Tripura and Talungana, and recently the peasants movements in North Bengal, and parts of U.P. and Bihar, are instances of the tribals attempts to retain or to get back what they believed, and rightly so, was shines through modern methods of politcal organisation. The independence movement of the Nagas under the leadership of NNC since the 1940s and the Mizo-movement for an independent State since the 1960s under the Mizo National Front, both the movements have drawn immence strength from the general fear of being eliminated from their forests and the forest-lands. (in the 1950s, people in the hills of Manipur bitterly resisted the Government's attempts to introduce forest reservations).

Those few tribals seeking to adopt the modern methods of production, forestry, etc., have been quite often frustrated for want of fund and difficulty in getting access to financial sources of capital. The Bank's practice of demanding high security and a fore-knowledge

of profit etc. have made it almost impossible for the tribals to get the benefit from it.

While pointing out these we should not be blind about the fact that quite a few of the tribals themselves have, of late, became big capitalists exploiting their own people like any other, if not more; that many have joined the State and Central services and in most cases behave like any other "sahhib" or "babu" displaying condemn for their own people and identifying themselves with the urban people. However, for the overwhelming majority there is little chance of getting access to any mddern facilities. The corrupted tribal officer, the rich tribal exploitor, are to the tribal common folk symbolic of the evil desease they have attracted from the commercial oriented industrialized communities.

g. The New Challenge:

A democratic society has to find a social solution to the complex problems facing it. Military action no doubt stifles or sometimes even extinguishes certain problems from the knowledge and memory of the society, but if often leads to violent release of the suppressed feelings by those, who have been, conditioned to live in frustration for a long period of time, often involving bloody killing and murders. A state control of the forest and forest-lands dwellers the means of production of the tribals, demands a similar control of other means of production within the economy and a great increase in the state's social responsibility - free access to education, facilities to

enable the less well-informed people to make use of the various social and economic opportunities including medical service. State control/socialization of the basic means of production of subsistence of the tribals, in the absence of similar measure regarding other means of production, reduces them to bands of wage earning labourers in private and corporate industries. And not only that, this leads to tribal's social inabilities vis-a-vis the rest and finally the image of his own 'self' appears to the tribal as "an enslaved person".

Thus the Report of the Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes[33] suggested that 'the authorities concerned should take action suo moto to resume without any payment of compensation any tribal land which to their knowledge has been trans to, or is otherwise under the illegal occupation of a non-tribal'to check illegal elimination of tribal land'. The Commission also strongly recommended setting up of welfare funds for backward classes so as to not only prevent exploitation by the money lenders but also to provide the much needed capitals to them. Recently Forest Departments in Tripura and Arunachal have linked up the settlement programme of shifting cultivators with their own forestry operations and are doing very well. In Namsang and Burduriat area of Tirap in Arunachal, a massive area programme of development of forest and building up an industrial complex has been taken up without, interfering with the traditional rights. A people's fund has been created on the basis of the revenue earned from the forest and with this fund a number of welfare works, like running schools, providing medical service, etc. have been taken up.

Based on this experience the State has formulated the Arunachal Pradesh Anchal Reserve Forests (Constitution and Maintanance) Act 1975. The Act enables economically viable forests to be handed over by Anchal Samities for management by Forest Department, which will raise tree plantations and other cash crops and the profit therefrom will be shared equally between them. The Samities will in turn use the amount on social and welfare activities of the people there[34]. B.D. Sharma[35] on the basis of this field findings observed that 'it appears that the best cause would be to distinguish between ownership and usufruct of a specified plot the ownership should be corporate. The individual should be assigned the individual plot from the beginning so that a special relationship develops .... A corporate body should be created in which ownership vest and which should service the individual in attending to special problmes like prevention of disease, technical advice ... and marketing to ensure that benefit of the produce accrue to the individual'. The Fifth Plan outline clearly stated that forestry from the 'protection orientation will be converted into "dynamic forestry aiming at clear-felling and creating large scale man-made forests with the help of institutional financing". And for this purpose 'a net work of state Forest Corporation is proposed to be created for the establishment and management of man-made forests and forest based industries.... project plans approach is to be widely used..... These projects and suggestions on the basis of the results of the projects,

among other things have rightly emphasised the need for 'do the best according to the local needs' and should be given serious attention to. However, one aspect seems to have been missed or not clear. How the projects would be managed and how the local people's sentiments would be understood, how can their cooperation be earned. The National Commission equates by implication 'area' with State and therefore, the fianancing and administration of area planning/project planning, as it appears would fall with the state. However, the District Councils and Panchayats which are at the base of the democratic hierarchy functioning at the local level and so manned by the local people, seem to have not been given proper attention in the Commission's report. This needs further consideration. As already pointed out the forest-dwellers are not at the same stage of socio-economic development, and this suggests that education, for is a must ~~for~~ to enable them to participate and fully benefitted from forestry, must be arranged stage-wise according to the local situations. Lastly, we have to always remeber that forestry and the development of the rural India is but one.

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Foot Notes:

2. Keeton, King Thebaw and the Ecological Rape of Burma.

3. (i) William L. Thomas Jr. Man's Role in Changing the face of the Earth, I955. He found that sandy-waste-land (barren) obsorb only one inch of waste water, where the same sandy-waste-land covered with weeds and small plants could obsorb five inches of water an hour .

(ii) In another study, W.C. Londermilk found the causes of dust-storms and desert in the American Great Plains to be the continued clearing of forests for cultivation which led to a complete destruction of the ground-cover.

4. Soni, Afforestation in Indian Economies PP.I-3.

5. S.D. Thapar, India in 200I, Second India and Forestry, P.3.

6. W.C. Louder Milk, has given a clear account of this in his "Man Made Deserts".

7. Commodity Transport Studies Summary, Vol. II Planning Commission, March I968, P.299.

8. The Soil Conservation Digest Oct. I973 P.I.

9. Ibid. April I974 PP. 22-25.

I0. Soni, n. 4, PP. 2 & 3

II. Ibid. P.7

I2. Ibid. P.9

I3. Ibid. P. I.

I4. Department of Agriculture and Irrigation, Government of India: Performance of Budget of Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, I975-76.

I5. The Indian Forest Act of I865, was the first step towards framing a National Forest Policy.

I6. Through sheer force the English Company Government made itself into a timber Monopoly. This account can be easily derrive from "A Hundred Years of Forestry in India I96I.

I7. Dr. B.K.Roy Burman's unpublish paper "People and Forest in North-East India" submitted at the saminar on "People and Forest" Shillong Oct. I8-I9, I976, P.3.

I8. Report of the Task O force on Forest Resources Survey Planning Commission, I972.

I9. S.D. Thapar, n. 5, PP. 3- 4-6

20. The Tribal Population of India: "Spatial Patterns of Clustering and Concentration", Unpublish Symposioum Paper by Monie Raza, Aizazuddin Ahmad, Ashoklata Jain, and C. Chauhan. J.N.U.New Delhi, 8-I0 Nov. I976, PP. I & 2.

21. Indian Agriculture in Brief (13th edition) 1973 Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

22. Coomodity Transport Studies Summary, Vol. II. 1968. PP.299-316.

23. It is almost impossible to determine the exact volume of subsistence the individual tribal obtains from the forest,but it is plain fact that his production is far less than his consumption.

24. Kaul's unpublished paper presented in the saminar on 'Peoples Forest', Shillong, Oct. 18-19, 1976. P.3

25. Dr. B.K.Roy Burman: n. 17,P.3.

26. Mr. Narhari Parekh stated in Harizan, 19.1.1947.

27. Godaveri Parulekar "Adivasis Revolt" PP. 3-53.

28. For instance, Mr. Watson, who was appointed conservator of forest brought all the commercially profitable forests within the 'British Rights' and made himself - a timber Monopoly in the Malabar and Travancore region in 1823. See, 100 years of Indian Forestry 1861-1961" , The Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun.

29. B.H. Mehta's article on "Forestry and Tensins in Tribal Area" in L.P.Vidyarthi (ed.) 'Applied Anthropology in India. 1968, P.208 to 221.

30. Dr. B.K. Roy Burman in his "Forests and Tribals in India" high lights this miserable condition. L.P. (ed.) Applied Anthropology in India.

31. Ibid.

32. B.D Sharma, Joint Secretary (T.D), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India : Note on"Settlement of Shifting Cultivator Families in Tripura", for Cultivation. New Delhi, 16 Oct. 1975. P.3.

33. Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (20th and 22nd Reports)

34. Dr. B.K. Roy Burman n. 17

35. B.D.Sharma, n. 32. P. 3

36. Report of the National Commission on Agriculture, Part IX. Forestry, 1976,PP.25-26

PART II

A. General outline

1. (a) Manipur is a small state, with a total area of 22356 sq. Kms.* and a population of 11.61 lakhs;** lying in the Northeastern extremity of India. It is geographically isolated from the rest of the country and the Imphal-Kohima-Dimapur road is the only land route connecting it with the neighbouring states. Blessed with heavy monsoon rains and sweep by seven rivers (1-Imphal river, 2- Iril river, 3- Thoubal river, 4- Nambul river, 5- Nambol river, 6- Khuga river, and 7- Barak river); the state is known for its evergreen subtropical forests and rich alluvial soils. More than nine-tenth of its total land area is made up of hills running into north-south parallel with attitudes ranging from 850 metres to 3000 metres above sea level. In the middle of these hills lies the Manipur valley 779 sq. miles in area with an elevation of 790 metres above sea level. The State, on the whole, has a sub-tropical to temperate climate and the temperature varies from 0^{o}c to 40^{o}c. The annual rainfall varies from 110 cms to 350 cms. It, normally, starts from the latter part of April and continue till October.

Since the date of its merger with the Indian Union in October 1949, Manipur remained a Union Territory directly

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* This figure is according to Statistical Hand-book of Manipur issued by the Department of statistics, Government of Manipur. Imphal. 1975. Industrial Potential Survey of Manipur (1971) gives thetotal land area as 22350 sq. kms.

** This figure relates to 1973-74.

administered by the Union Government till 1972 when it became a fullfledged State.

General Outline :

(a) Land utilisation,- (b) Population including live-stock,- (c) Plan outlays, and (d) domestic production.

a. Land Utilizations in Manipur is as follow :

		(in hectares)
1.	Total land area	181300
2.	Area under forests	8029
3.	Land not available for cultivation (including forests, barren and uncultivable waste and land put to non agricultural use)	19353
4.	Other cultivable land (excluding current fallows)	24220
5.	Current fallow	157
6.	Other fallow	26
7.	Net area sown (1963-64)	93528
8.	Nwt area sown (1973-74)	185000
9.	Area sown more than once	2359

This statement is only a rough estimation of land utilization in the State.. More accurate and detailed information concerning this is not yet available.

b. Population :

The States population according to 1971 Census is 107273. This has reached 11.61 lakhs in 1973-74.. On the basis of 1971 figure following is the per centage distribution of the

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Source : Report On Resources Mobilization in Manipur.

non-scheduled and the scheduled.

	Scheduled/ non-scheduled	Per centage
1.	Non-scheduled	63.61
2.	Scheduled Tribes	31.18
3.	Scheduled Castes	1.52
4.	Others	3.69

The non-scheduled are the Meitirs (57% of the State's total) and the Muslims (6.61%) they are concentrated in the central valley. The scheduled castes are mainly make up of the Lois and are seatterd in the isolated pocket of the valley. The scheduled tribes are mainly divided into the Nagas and Kukis and form majority groups in the East, North, West and South districts of the State. Whereas the Nagas live in concentrated areas Kukis are scattered all over the State. Majority of the scheduled tribes population are found along the forest tracts of the State.

There are 8 urban centres, of these only one is located in the scheduled dominated locality. The urban population makes 13% of the States total and the rest 87% are scattered in 1949 villages. (See Table I for Economic classification of the population).

The livestock of the State consists of livestock/poultry

Livestock/poultry	No.*
Cattle	305270
Buffaloes	61030
Sheep	2092
Goats	16386
Horses/Ponies etc.	824

* This figure relates to the 1972, Economic Review 1975-76. Statistical Department, Imphal.

Livestock/Poultry	No.*
Pigs	144062
Other	9191
Total	538855
Fowls	969939
Ducks	37508
Others	852
	1008299
	1547154

Inspite of the huge number the total milk yield was only 6000 lit. per day. Cattles are mainly reared for meat production and for animal power.

c. Plan Outlays :

Plan outlays for the State from First Five Year onwards:

Plan	Outlay and expenditure	Actual expenditures
First Plan	Rs. 1.55 crores	Rs. 1.03 crores
Second Plan	Rs. 6.25 crores	Rs. 5.97 crores
Third Plan	Rs.12.88 crores	Rs.12.81 crores
Annual Plans (1966-69)	Rs.10.13 crores	Rs. 7.20 crores
Fourth Plan	Rs.32.71 crores	Rs.33.22 crores
Fifth Plan	Rs.92.86 crores	---

Source : Statistical Hand book 1975. Imphal.

As seen from the table, the State, inspite of the pressing needs for effective utilization of the meagre plan outlays and mobilize its resources, it could not exhaust the 'outlays' mainly due to a lack of proper planning and improvement. It is only in the Fourth Plan that actual expenditure exceeded the Plan outlay. This was so because it is during this plan period that some serious efforts were made to find the proper direction towards which the States economy has to move and laid the foundation for taking that direction.

d. Domestic Productions and Per capita Income :

Compared to all-India average States domestic production and per-capita income and consumption are very low. Manipur's total net domestic product was Rs. 1187.4 lakhs for 1960-61, (All-India or national product Rs. 13347 lakhs), Rs. 1446.9 lakhs in (1965-66) (National product Rs. 15230 lakhs), Rs. 1825.7 in 1970-71 (National Rs. 18885 lakhs), and Rs. 1805.5 lakhs in 1972-73 (National Rs. 19273) in 1960-61 prices. The per capita income at 1966-61 prices was, Rs. 154.2 in 1960-61 (all-India Rs. 3057), Rs. 173 in 1970-71 (all India Rs. 173) and Rs. 163 in 1972-73 (all India Rs. 337). (Social indicators level, table II). During the decade the per capita income shows a very slow rise but decrease during the first three years of the present decade.

This fall was largely due to set back suffered on the agricultural front due to rainfall. As agriculture remains

as the main source of state income (on the average it constitutes 51% of the total state domestic product) ups and downs in this sector has profound effect on the state's entire social and economic life. Infact this sector absorbs more than 71% of the states working population.* But inspite of its inable soil and climatic situation agriculture still remains very backward. The state's not area sown wore than once is only 2359 hectars. The industrial sector, and trade commerce sector are also lagging far behind. There is no medium or large size (scale) industry in the state, and the small scale industries are also of very small size employing on the overage 5 persons and are all based on very primitive technology. The state suffers from a lack of under development in all aspects. Forests, which constitutes more than 63% of the total land area (all-India 20% only) contributed very small show in the net domestic product: Rs. 1.59 lakhs 1955-56, Rs. 3.98 in 1960-61, Rs. 5.32 lakhs in 1965-66, Rs. 2.87 lakhs 1966-67 and Rs. 4.13 in 1970-71.*

However, there is a growing inthusiasm for putting the state's economy into the modern processes of development, and a vigorous effort is being made on all fronts for the development of adequate infrastructure that would inable the state to mobilize its hitherto un-exploited and under exploited resourcess.

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* According to 1971 census.

* Economic Review 1975-76. Statistical Deptt. Manipur Imphal. Pp. 13,14.

4. B Agriculture

As stated above Manipur is basically on agrarian state. More than 71% of the state's working population are in this sector and 179000 hectares of land is under not area sown (a comparative picture of the cultivated area, and shifting cultivation in the North Eastern India is provided in Table A and B). Of the total net area sown only 2359 hectares are sown more than once, indicating the extent of the under developed stage of the state's agriculture. (Table 'C' gives a comparative picture of the states total Food Grains production, Area, and yield with all-India and Assam for the year 1969-70 to 1974-75). The table shows the yield rate comfortably higher than the all-India average, however, taking into account the soil conditions and climatic factors the state's yield rate is rather low. There is much scope for improving the yield rate. The salient character of Manipur's agriculture is that rice accounts for 90% of agricultural products and cr 140 thousand hectares out of the total 144 thousand hectares area under cereal crops.* (Table D gives the state's area under high yieldice varieties along with those of the state's in the North Eastern region). The main bottle-neck of the state's agriculture is that it relies mainly on rainfall. Till 1955 there was hardly any area under systematic irrigation. As such double cropping was almost unknown. The per capita consumption of fertilizers

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* This figure relotes to the year 1970-71. Economic Review 1975-76 Govt. of Manipur. P. 16,17

in the state is also very low. The istimated average figure is 2 kgs. for 1956, 11 kgs. in 1973-74. The use of modern methods of agriculture, soil conservation and irrigation are almost foreign to the farmers here. The non-availability of technical guidances and lack of inadequate supply of capital for acquiring modern inputs, and want of irrigation facilities are mainly responsible for the low productivity.

The Fifth Five Year Plan outline (1974-79) of Manipur, has proposed to take up vigorous work for the elimination of jhuming practice, for increasing production of cereals by extending area under high yielding variety's; and for increasing production of pulse and oil seeds through multiple cropping with or without irrigation* 50 to 60 thousand hectares are estimated as under jhuming annually in the hill areas especially in the East and South districts of Manipur. Under the Scheme "Intensive Valley Development Programme". A plan is being drown up for the re-settlement of a portion of the estimated 50 thousand jhumia families in settled agriculture. 10 thousand hectares of land will torraced and 400 hectares will be brought under horticulture during the plan period. Altogether 200 thousand hectares will be covered by irrigation, of this 9790 acres will be in the hills. The plan thus propose to bring 6 thousand hectares of area under irrigation at the end of the plan period. Another important target of the plan is to raise the fertilizer consumption rate from

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* Fifth Five Year Plan outline 1974-79. Government of Manipur. P. 38

the 1973-74 figure of 11 k.g. to 30 k.g. per hectare by 1979. Rs. 180 lakhs have been earmarked for agriculture imputs, and Rs. 132/- lakhs have been set afort for crop printed programmes, in the plan outlay.

The great majority of the state's population which is directly dependent on agriculture live below the national-poverty time. This fact is crucial to any development programme of the state. The state has yet to concentrate its energy to produce the subsistence needs of the population before it goes for secondary items. More than 60% of the cultivated land area is below the holding size group of 2 hectares of land, showing a high degree of fragmentation of land holding which is from the economic point of view not favourable for the introduction of advanced technologies.

In the hill areas of Manipur, which constitutes 9/10 of the total land area, two types of agriculture are found viz, a) shifting cultivation, and b) Wet terraced (settled) cultivation. The former is practised more extensively in the southern part of East district, Tengnoupal district and South district of Manipur. This cultivation is carried out on the slopes of the hills by clearing of the patches of forests. A particular jhum field is cultivated even for 3 years at a stretch and then leave to follow for several years till it becawse the best forest left for jhuming. The jhum field is, ussually, multi-cropped, after and before paddy plantation, it is used for numerous crops, including vegetables.

When there was plenty of virgin or leng forest in the surroundings of the villages, jhum cultivation had certain advantages to wet-cultivation. The labour required for this practice was quite simple and less, clearing of the forest was the only time when labour was required. Once clearing was done paddy was sprink-led on the land sunface. Then few labour was spent to keep away animals and birds from the field. There after the busy months of January and February the jhumias were free. But the paucity of land for jhuming and the grewing awareness of the advantages of other types of use of forests is now forcing the jhumias to cultivate the forest after short fallow. The cycle of fallow and cultivation has narrowed down drastically in the last 30 years. The jhumias in most places are forced to take some sort of soil conservation measures and also used fertilizers to prevent the rate of yield from the gradual decline. They used logs and stones to prevent soil erosion by placing them across the slope into raws and husk and manure scattered to enrich the soil. But even after taking these measures the yield in the jhum areas is very low. On an average 1 to 2 hectares of jhum-lands per household in east district and 1 to 1.5 hectares land per household in Tengnoubal and south districts, are cultivated yearly yielding on an average 1000 kgs. to 1200 kgs, where wet-cultivated field of anaverage size of 0.5 hectares to 1.5 hectares produce 1200 kgs. to 2000 kgs. in one agricultural season. Thus hardly supports a jhumia family for 8 months, they therefore, depended on other sources of food supply.for the remaining 4 months. It is clean now that

jhum practice is not only low yield per hectare of land but also there is extremely low productivity of labour. Because of this extremely low productivity, jhumia families labour throughout the year for subsistence but even then they live in semi-starvation condition.

Inspite of this extreme conditions, of live, the state still has more than 50 thousand* jhumia families out of the estimated 318000 tribal population. Taking into consideration the estimated total areaof land available for jhuming (100000 hectares**) and the area cultivated at one point of time (60000 hectares***), it is painstaking that even on the basis of an average 1.20 hectares cultivation the cycle of jhuming is less than one year. But besides those who entirely dependent on jhum. There are the charge majority of the tribal population who practised jhum to supplement thier earning from other sources. And so, though scattered over a large area, there is an acute problem of land scarcity in the hills.

The land-scarcity problem has in many cases led to land dispute between the villages and between the tribes. In the east-district, almost all the villages in one way or the other, are involved in letigation with another village. The

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* according to 'State Governments/Union Territories quoted in Wadia. 'Control of shifting cultivation in North-Eastern Region. P. 4.

** Ibid. P. 4.

*** Ibid. P. 4.

frequency of land dispute is such that most of the village have permanent funds for this purpose.

The hill peoples are also extremely vegiliant against the possible introduction of state control over thier forests. This resistence to state control has been sometimes interpreted in the official circles, as primitive and hostile act. But while the amoung of ignorance, and sometimes baseless suspicion, associated with such outlook must be thoroughly exposed and condemned it has to be admitted that most of the state control measures over the forests has only deprived them of their basic source of living without getting anything in return.

Wet terraced cultivation which occurs in the narrow strips between the hills is the more advanced form of agriculture practised by the tribals. The northern part of Manipur east district, Manipur North, Manipur west and to some extent, Tungnonpal and Manipur south district are covered with terraced cultivation. But because of the narrow terraced cultivation, wet cultivation has been carrying on for several centuries with intensive human labour. Only in some of the fields bullock, could be imployed in the rest man work with hoe, spade and dao. As is the case everywhere, population pressure on the land has considerably increased in the tribal areas. In the absence of any scope for extension of wet-cultivated area, ~~attempts~~ disperate attempts have been made to increase the yield per hectare by putting excessive human labour. The average yield per hectare has no doubt increased

to some extent but the productivity of labour has gone-down considerably. (The exact extent of theincrease and fall is not yet known).

On the whole the hill areas are not suited to the Development of settled agriculture as they are constrained by unfavourable environment. The rugged topography and the nature of the ground (most of the hills are composed of young rocks and are very unstable) offer little scope for introduction of advanced technology in agriculture.

* The prevailing agriculture situation in the hills poses very serious economic and political question. On the one hand, since present methods of cultivation can hardly meet their cereal requirements and at the same time offers very little scope forintroducing advanced technologies. On the other hand, the hill region is very rich in timber production and also offers a wide scope for hortieulture and livestock farming, but they don't have the 'know-how' and organisational skill, and the much needed capital for taking up these offers.

From the immediate revenue yielding point of view of the state, the hill areas should be earnarked for forestry, which if earrird out without proper arrangement will deprived the impoverished hill people their last source of life.

It will be apparent that this problem has provided the direction in which we have to look for a solution. We will examine this in the latter chapter.

₹. C. Forest-based Industry

The industrial sector of Manipur at present is mainly made up of rice mills. There is no medium or large scale industry in the state and the small scale industries are of the size of 3 to 10 persons. The number of registered industries in the state since 1957 is given below:

Year	Number of Industries
1954	27
1961	66
1968	137
1971	203
1972	204
1973	251

SOURCE:- Statistical hand book of Manipur.

The register factories in 1972 consist of 128 rise mills, 11 sow mills, one gun factory, 4 manufacturing pipe, 5 repair and maintenance, 9 dal mills, 34 flour mills, one hand made paper unit, 4 prenting units and 7 others, The condition of Industrial sector has not changed much since then except for the one Khandsari factory "60 tonnes capacity at Wangbal," needless to say that the industrial sector is extremely backward. Very recently, investigations out frasibilities of starting medium and large scale industries alongside the modernisation of the existing industries has been taken up. Infact, the Fourth Plan was mainly allocated this task. The greatest himderance to the growth

of industry in the state, as would be seen, is the non-availability of power and want of infrastructure. This is being attempted to be overcome, by, among other things, opening the new cacher Road and completing the Lok-tak hydro-electric project. Once these two projects are put to services, it will no doubt facilitate development in all the sectors. However the usefulness of such development to the population will depend on how far the local talents and needs are absorbed and produced by the plants. At present afforts are being made for setting up industries in the state which are "largely based on resourcess and potential locally available and producing items locally needed and others not involving high transport charges".* In particular, two paper mills, one cement factory, one sugar and Distillery plant, and the stareh factory are being proposed to be set up in the state. There is ample opportunity for the development of the above mentioned industries. The bamboo-based, paper mill being proposed to be opened of Chandighat (Jiribam division) will be fed from the bamboo forests in the west and south districts which has been estimated as having a potential yield of 61800 tonnes annually**. The other paper mill (insultated based) will be fed from the Pine supply from the East and South districts and the 25520 spindle cotton spinming Mill of loitong Khemou, will be gradually fed entirely from the local product. The extensive oak forests, in the

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* Fifth Plan Outline. P. 74.

** Economic Review 1975-76.

state offers a very good opportunity for a rapid development of tasar industry in the state. The quality of tasar produced in Manipur is one of the best in the world. Manipur is also richly endowed with rare flowers and orchids if properly exploited these may provide the capital needed for various projects at the initial stage.

The development of Manipur, at this stage, would depend mainly on the exploitation of the rich forest resources and advancement in agricultural sector. As we have seen in the 'Agriculture Chapter', any effort to harness the forest resources will directly effect the agricultural operation in the hills. Because, due to the prevailing situation in the hills forestry and agriculture are being placed opposite to one another.

However, it may not be impossible to solve this problem. It is possible to work out an arrangement wherein the hill people takes us forestry as one of their major occupation. This will solve to a large extent their economic problems and along with it prevent the present process of deludation of forest due to shifting cultivation, and also due to the commercial felling of trees. All these possibilities have to be taken account in formulating the development programme. In fact, it will be founds, as provided in the last chapter, that the development of industry, agriculture and forestry are basically one issue.

FORESTRY

2. A. FORESTS OF MANIPUR :

Based on location, elevation and forest-types, forests in Manipur may be grouped broadly into four regions, viz, a. Burma Border Forests, b. Ukhrul Forests, c. Central Forests, and d. Jiri-Barak Drainage Forests.

a. Burma Border Forests : In this region those forests situated in the south-eastern part of the State along the Burma boundary are included. Teak (Tectona grandis), garjan (Dipterocarpusspp), and bamboo are found in good quality. Though, no proper survey of those forests are known to have been made till now, the quality of the timber and bamboo is considered as good. The area of these forests is estimated of 900 sq. kms.* The average railfall is about 150cm, and the region is very hot in summer and cold in winter. The hills here are not high. The communities in whose ownership these forests fall are small in size and live at some distances from this region.

b. Ukhrul Forests : These are the forest found in the East District of Manipur. The forests here are situated around the settlement areas and are under active use of the local communities in whole ownership the forest area.

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* Economic Review 1975-76. p. 14.

Khasi Pine, Oak, and Chestnut are the main varieties found in the region. The region's altitude varies from 1220 metres t to 3000 metres above sea level. The extent forests area in the region is estimated of 1300 sq. km of which 250 sq. km. is estimated to be covered by good pine. The present standing volume of Khasi Pine (including the southeastern Khasi pine forests) has been estimated to be about 10 million. The average annual railfall is about 170cm.

c. Central Forests : In this region the scattered forests over the hills Of Manipur valley are covered. It consists of Oak (Quercus spp.), Chestnut (castanopsis spp) forests. These forests are in the densely populated areas of the State. however, because of certain historical circumstances the communities living in the immediate surroundings have ceased to exercised effective control over than since a long time.

d. Jiri-Barak Drainage Forests : Forests in this region are made up of tree forests having an area of 1300 sq. km and bamboo forests of 2590 sq. km. The tree forests consists of Cham (Artocarpus Chaplasha), Nahar (Mesua fenia), Bonsum (Phoebe hainesiana), Chanpa (Mechilia chamacca), Hollock (Terminalia) and Gondoi (cinnamomum eceidodaphne). While the bamboo forests are mainly made up of Muli bamboo (Melaccanna bambusides). The bamboo supply from these forsts has been found to be of a very high quality. The annual yield of bamboo from these forests, according to State Forest

Department's estimation, is 61800 tonnes. The average annual rainfall is about 359 cm. The elevation of the region varies from 200 metres to 1500 metres above sea level.

In addition to these major forests stocks, many valued plants like Agar, dalchini, canes, and many rare and highly demanded flowers and orchids are also found in Manipur forests in considerable quantity (also see the Forest Resource Map, Fig.I).

The above of a glance picture of Manipur forests indicatesa very high resources potenlities and it would be interesting to make a short survey of the extent and manner of their utilization in the recent past and at present.

B. TRADITIONAL PRODUCTION RELATIONS OF THE FOREST-DWELLERS CENTRING ON UTILIZATION OF THE FOREST RESOURCES.

The forest-dwellers of the State fall within the 'schedule' category of the country's population. They are therefore, referred to as the 'scheduled tribes'. They constitute 31.18% of the state total population of 107273 in 1971 (according to 1971 Census) and are sub-divided into 29 tribes which is again broadly grouped into the Nagas and the Kukis. These tribes inhabited the entire hill area which makes up more than nine-tenth of the State total Land area. They together constituted the weaker section of the States population. However, though referred to and often treated as, belongingto one social and economic category their social and economic developments

are not of a uniform stage. Their economic activities ranged from hunting jherming to terraced settled cultivation. Yet, by and large, their social economic activities remained subsistence. The tools and implements they are using are extremely primitive - axe, hoe, sickles, flail, dao and certain other tools which have not been much refined from their raw conditions constitute their principal means of working on the means of production. Their social production has been confined mainly to the shapping of the resources supplied by the forest to suit their needs, therefore, when we speak of their 'traditional relations if production centring on utilization of forest resources' we are infact speaking about 'their traditional social relations of production' as a whole. We may sum up these relations in the following :

1. Subsistence self-sufficient economy in small, small fragmentation : Every settlement is almost self-sufficient economy.

2. Social division of labour is almost nil (it is apart from the division of labour in terms of sex there is no division of labour)- specialization is almost eompletely absent and there is a concentration of a multiplicity of social roles on the same person or office.

3. The community owns or controls their means of subsistence. In other works, land from which the

members or the community collect means of subsistence does not belong to any (one) individual member but to the whole community (nominal ownership may be in the individual chirfs name).

4. There are a limited kinds of property which are very simple in content and form, and are marked by either low mobility or short durability or by both.

5. Economic organization are very simple and horizontal, in the sense that the economic activity here is to collectively exploit the resources supplied by the nature, for subsistence. In this collective operation each of them are equal members of the group-ea ch of them get equal share of their product according to the number of man-hours participated; that no investment for 'skill' is necessary for that operation and that their working relations are guided and sustained ny their common sense and not by and stipulated agreement.

The forest-dwellers in this state build their villages on the spurs of different hills. The size of their villages varying from five families to over one thousand families, and are practically collections of people of common origin (or at least believed by the members themselves as descendent of a common anccstror). Each village was itself a complete economy-all the requirements of the population were produced

within the village, except for items like salt and iron ore, for which they bartered with other villages during the months of February and March.

In the case of the Naga* groups of these forest-dwellers their villages are more or less their permanent place of settlement and they make use of the forest tracts surrounding their immediate settlement for meeting their numerous needs. Normally, the village elder's - body headed by the chief (sometimes elected but predominantly it is a heriditary office) after making surveys of the forest tracts select a particular padge for using it for a particular purpose, like jherming pasture etc.. When selection of areas of forests are made for each of the specific purposes the village as a whole arrange the dates for carrying out the specific tasks e.g. keeping the livestock of the village in one particular tract of forest is decided in the month of December and January and they build fields around that tract of forest so as to keep the cattles and buffaloes within the confines of that forest, during the croping season.. Number of labour each of the households has to contribute vary according to the number of cattles and buffaloes one had . When agriculture season comes, which starts from January second week for most of the village practising jherming, each of the jhermia families sends a certain number of able bodies who form themselves into a

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* As stated in the 'Chapter-Population' of this paper the tribals in Manipur are broadly grouped into namely (a) the Nagas and (b) the Kukis.

labour body and work in the forest till the slashing and burning is over.* The land thus cleared is then alloted in plots to the individual households according to the number of labour they have spend. When the slope is steep logs are kept to prevent erosion of landsm and sometimes even husk is used as a fertilizer. Each village has a definite idea of the territorial limits of its land over which it enjoys almost absolute economic, political and social rights and these limits are marked roughly on the basis of natural boundaries like, river, ridge, slopes, gully etc. (onlyin exceptional cases artificial marks are errected). Land once used for jherming begins to acquire the characters of privately owned property : the plots are from such a date referred to as 'so and so's plot', with an implied recognition of a kind of ownership of the individual over that plot of land.. The particular jhum jharm field is cultivated for ~~one~~ one to three years at a stretch then it is fallowed for several years depending on the availability of other choice. When it is ressumed for jherming after a period of fallow, each of the families ~~get~~ gets back the plot that had been cultivated by them previously(unless the individual wishes otherwise. The chief is entitled to a small portion of the produce (first product) from the jherm fields, and also a

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* The evidence of this practice in the past centuries is mainly based on the folksongs and folktales, and recollections of the aged people of these people. For the present century this is confirmed by fielf observations.

slice of the hunted animal. This has very little economic significance, however, this is insisted because of the social and political position sympolise by such payments. Members from other villages are also allowed to do jherming on the basis of the above mentioned customary payment. During the period of fallow such a forest remains to be used by all of the village for fuel wood, small timber, grazing game & fishing and idible leaves and roots. Nothing is paid for such use to the chief or the elders' assembly. But with this tribes the Nagas have been practising since about the 18th century, the community has no control over it. The individual has a heriditable rights over his fields. He also has the right to control and manage the source of and supply of water. These types of cultivation envolved more delicate methods of soil conservation, e.g. sometimes strong walls, built retain the soil and water, even trees are planted between the terraces. Also wet-cultivation requires proper and regular maintenance of water and wet_field is more or less in constant maintenance. The complex problems of water management is distribution and regulation requires a sophisticated techneques of management and this often gives rise to the development of new patterns of argrarian, organization. Here some kind of skill-labour and more detailed and defined arrangements of the productive activities are required. The requirement of this cultivation gives incentive for specialization to some extent and thus some form of division of labour begins to appear. The average productivity here is much higher than that of shifting cultivation

(on an average 1 to 2 hectares of land are jhermed by one households in the southeastern part of East district and 1 to 1.5 hectares in Western part of East district and the average collection of rice of one such a household is 1000 kgs to 1200 kgs, where wet-cultivated field of an average size of 0.5 hectare to 1.5 hectares yield 1200 to 2000 kgs in one agricultural season. In Megahalaya according to one estimation* paddy per hectare was 775 kgs in Jherm area, and 1369 kgs in more settled cultivation). But inspite of this higher rate of yields the whole product goes to the individual-meaning nothing is paid to the community or to the chief for the lands used, as the field became exclusively his (his private property). Thus, there is a trend of individualization and an extent of specialization in this productive activity, which tends to give rise to the development of an entirely new sets ~~to the~~ of relations of production within the society, which is, from the technological and socio-economic point of view higher than the tribal social relations of production. In fact, here is the beginning of the private appropriation of the development of the 'base' (economic basis) of the class-society.

Labour groups formed on the basis of age (although the age is not strictly observed the assumption is that all the members are of the same age) is the most common labour organization among the Naga tribal societies. Beginning from

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* C.K. Wadia : Control of Shifting Cultivation in the North East Region. p. 6.

the grown-up childrem up-to old-age, a tribal participates in the socio-economic and political life of the society through his/her age group organisation. Within the group and through the group individual members exchange ideas and physical labour working as a team on the means of production belonging to or has been alloted individual members. The group organizes itself into voluntary body whenever some ill-fete befalls any members of the village. Hiring of labour on payment in cash/in kind has developed in the recent times, espetially within the wet-cultivated areas or cash-cropping areas. However, a person who hires labour may be found in andther instance selling his own labour or being hired by the others. It still remains a casual phenomenon. Even now agricultural labourer among the Nagas is almost completely nil.

Livestock, number of granary & wet paddy field are the mos counted wealth of the individual in a Naga society. Exchange of goods between the individuals of the village or of distant villages takes place during the non-agricultural and dry seasons on a limited scale.

On the basis of ownership and utilization, the land under the tribal holdings may be categorized as (i) Reserved forests, where good timber woods are let to grow to maturity, (ii) Fuelwood and small timber and grazing open-forests,

(iii) Private forest, and (iv) Wet-field and the forest within its immediate surroundings.

The reserved forests are protected from fire and other kinds of destruction by the community. They are the source of the valued-timbers and belonged to the community nominal ownership titled being vested with the Chief's office. The extraction of timber from such a forest generally occasion a grand community feast given by the individual member for whom the timbers are being extracted by the whole village. Every member of the village is entitled to utilize the purposes which do not merit such a celeberation is socially condemned and may even lead to a social isolation of the individual. Reserved forests are commonly found in the areas which are some what far away from the settlement area. It belongs to the community but sometimes it is in the name of a class or the chief of the village.

The second category of forests consisted of grass-land, fallow land and barren land in most cases covers the major land area of the village. Here every-one in the village can collect small timber, fuelwood, peliable leaves or plant vegetables and corn, maize, etc free of rent. In course of time such forest may became a reserved forest is when the area become covered with thick forest. As such there is no area permanently alloted for either of the above mention categories -(a) Reserved and (b) fallow, grass and barren land.

Third category of forest consists of private forests which generally are found within one to one and half miles distance from the village settlement. The community can make use of (individual members of the community can do the same) the forest for games fishing, edible leaves and roots, but fuelwood, small timber and cultivation of vegetables or cereals are under the owners rights.

The third and the fourth categories are almost the same regarding ownership rights. The field are opened to public use during the non-agricultural season, but once the crop is planted public use is restricted to collection of snail-fish.

Recently, the commercial activities have been extended to village forests and some changes have taken places in the methods of utilization and with it the long followed (or practised) rules are under going rapid changes. The villager have restricted shifting cultivation, especially no shifting cultivation is now carried in the reserved forest, in the areas of the central part of Ukhrul and Moo West, also it has been reduced everywhere including tengnobal and west Districts(West district has pre-dominantly wet-cultivation and shifting cultivation is practised only to a very small extent). Now reserved forests are marked out for raising funds for a particular purpose like running school and building club-halls etc.

Commercial utilization by the individual member is permitted but royalities are collected per timber or truck load of fuelwood.* As many as 14 villages were found, in East district, in 1975-76 to be running private schools from the funds collected from selling the reserved-forests in lump-sums. In Trungroubal district, Komlathabi village was found running a M.E. school from the funds raise from reserved forests (Dr. B.K. Roy Burman, at whose initiative and guidence several such symposirems// sincerars have organised in Manipur with the cooperation and participation of the local people and state officials, confirmed this in his field work and has stated this fact in several of his papers and publications).

The Kuki group of the tribal, in Manipur, followed some slightly different practice. The land belonged to the chief and while living within the village the individual can make use of it as his own, the moment the individual ceased to be a member of that particular village, the land returns to the chief. The chief has also the prerogative of kicking out any one from his village. For his economic need he depends solely on others labour. However, as they remained a migratory population the question of permanent ownership of land did not seems to ~~have been important to them~~ have

* This commercial utilization by the individual has also been restricted in many villages. Only certain kinds of timber or fuelwoods are allowed to be used for commercial purposes. The accounts given by the participates of the symposium at Komlathabi-Tengnoubal, organised by the post-graduate J.N.U. Centre Imphal indicate the same development in Tengnoubal District.

been important to them.* It took them quite some time to settle down on a particular tract of forest, and excepting for a few villages in Manipur East such as (1) Chasot, Maokot and Pootong villages; and in south District like Churachandpur and thanlon villages, there was no kuki villages, in the strict sense of the termitill the 1920s. In the settled-village the chiefpprerogative is effective and he not only had shares to the produce but also could use the bambus in building his home and in domestic matters. However, some kuki villages owned the land combinely and only service they render has been in constructing the chief's home of any size and anywhere within the village (K.Kippen. A Mayon Village: Profile of Development and stagnation: field investigation and Draft. Centre for post Graduate Studies, J.N.U. Imphal 1976. P.8)

By and large, they remain jhumias but they are already developing new orientations in the land use pattern and methods. This seems to be because of the increasing awareness of the population of the good values of the forests and the advantages of the different methods of production. The seareity of land and the recent legislative measures (Manipur Hill Areas (acquistion of chief's rights) Act. 1967) which restricted the chief rights on land and political matters.

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* During the 1917-18 kuki uprising the colonial administration found the meaninglessness of attacking on their villages, Webster to wood clearly bears out this fact, see Webster to wood, 28th March 1918, FPD, INI-A August. 1919, Pro. No.50 (the meaning of the abrevations been given).

The tribals are thus starting to come out from tribal relations of social production-from a life which is not much different from the life of the early 'food-producers'.

C. The Legal Fiction

In the course of history different social groups and individuals who came to exercise one or the other form of control in the area had invariably 'assumed for themselve/ himself the ownership rights over these forests. But while these 'assumed-claims' kept on changing hands according to the changes at the power centres in the area and in the neighbourhood, common men's (or more specifically speaking'-the traditional forest dwellers) association with the forest, not only as a store of his food and a place of shelter but also as a part of his own life, remained almost unbroken. There developed two distinct forms of claims: (i) ownership rights by vertue of the extent of one commanded , and (ii) claims to ownership rights on the basis of a close association with, and economic utilization of the forests. But while the latter forms of claims were known and universally accepted as a natural development the former forms of claime existed only in the minds of those in power for most of the time and were therefore, not immediately known, Hence the existence of such an overlapping claims did not intervene with the process of immediate utilization of the forests. So long as those in authority did not attempt to translate their wish into action. But when those in power made attempts to translate their legal fiction into reality the process of the utilization of forest by the people living along the forest tracts was disturbed. This provoked bitter and determined struggles from the people against the power centre. Because of the knowledge of this

fact that 'people would resist' those in authority chose to exercise their claims in an indirect manner, through (i) tributes, (ii) land revenue and house tax, (iii) compulsory labour, and lately (iv) forest royalities. This exercise of the 'assumed claims' in an indirect way surved his purpose without at the sometime directly provoking the displeasure of the masses.

The history of the peoples of Manipur is full of the accounts of this pracrice. As late as the 1910s Tangkhul chiefs were involved in the practice of 'tribute system'. It consisted of roughly two layers:

(a) the tribute system under the ukhrul (Humphum) chief, and

(b) the tribute system under the Meitri King occupying the Central Valley. Among, the Tangkluls 'younger brothers' seeking to open-up forest-tracts for new settlement under his chieftainship were normally given permission and sometimes even assisted by the elder brothers and the members of the clan in their/his efforts. In return the younger brother sent part of his harvest and huntings, to his elder brothers. This practice was continued by their decentands but as their emmotional attachment towards each other faded slowly this practice was turn to a form of harsh duty, it developed into a kind of 'land tax' (locally called lamshai-literally it means 'land tax') which the receiving village collected yearly. This way a net-work of vassal villages came into existence in the out skirts of central ukhrul where the tribute receiving villages were concentrated. Later, in the beginning of the 19th century Kukis were also settled down on the basis of land tax in this

Tangklul area.*

But before this system developed into a higher system of exploitation, the more powerful group at the central valley of Manipur under the Mirtir King, started attempts to bring this area within their own vassalage. The most powerful chiefs of Tangkluls, namely the Hunphun Chief (Ukhrul Village Chief) and Hundung Chief acknowledged the over-lord ship of the king at the valley, and though no formal agreement or order was made for the collection of the 'lalup' from the Tangkhul Villages within their respective 'land tax' system, they readily offered their service whenever converient to do so.* The process of legitimizing the 'assumed claims' before it could develop into a eleborate system, and ceased as an internally generated process. And along with this the process of political centralization which was emerging (a kind of a federation of the Tangkhul Villages was, taking shape, the federation of the Tangkhul is 'called' Tangkhul long. It still exists even today but in an entirely different shape , every Tangkhul is a member of this organisation by birth) was slowed-down.

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* Apart from the account given by S. Kaurie Tangkhul in his 'Humphun Thotrin Chau', The Gandhi Memorial Press-Imphal, 1967, eye witness's accounts are also available on this tribute system.

* H.A.Raihao, the king of Ukhrul, who was a close-friend of Prince Tigentrajit of Manipur, was with the Mritic Contigent Collecting 'lalup' when that contigent was attack by the villagers of Somra, Chingsu Bohira singh, the commender of the Mritri contigent who was fatally in the attack succumbled to his wounds. Ibid. P. 104.

However, this development did not stop the legitimization process of the legal fiction but rather accelerated it, as the Manipur King had a more developed machinery to sock his claims. His claims over the Tangkhul area was, gradually regularized while the 'claims' of the Tangkhul chiefs died out. In other words, Tangkhul society was brought within the sphere of the Mritri feudal society and became rapidly integrated to it, at a juncture of history where within Tangkhul society itself the seeds of feudal relations or property was getting germinated within the womb of tribal relations of property. And with it came to a close the separate history of social processes of development of the Tangkhul Nagas.

The Kabui Nagas, majority of wham are still found in Western part of Manipur (a good number of there are now settled down in the central valley) had by and large taken to advanced agricultural methods of wet-(settled) cultivation (and shifting cultivation waspractice to supplement it). In the interiors, which was almost completely cut-off by steef mountains, from the rest of Manipur, the village chiefs(which was a hereditary office) received a small portion of the products from shifting cultivation, this practice was of the Kabuis who had settled-down of the fringes of the valley, on the other hand was within the immediate sphere of the Mritri King, and were subjected to 'lalup' duties. This group unlike, those in the interior were involved into a two-layer tribute and land-tax system.

The elders of the class received an annual payment (in kind or in cash) for his service as the 'bird-watcher' security affairs in-charge, etc., from the village. In addition to this the villages were required to rendered numerous service to the Mritri for making use of the land under their own possession. From making them pay for the forest-lands, they were reduced to 'permanent labourers' for the king (at this time 'every one subject of the king was his servant' had became the official attitude as the palace) and very generally many of them (Kaberis) were brought to Imphal and settled them down into colonies each colony with a specific duty like carry. Dolai of the king's and his cabenet members, cleaning laterine etc (one of the reason for which the Kabuis had to accept such a life seems to be the frequent harassment (sometimes even killing and robbery were committed against them) by the Kukis who were migratory groups living mainly from shifting cultivation and looted.

Another tribal group in the area, the Kukis, were by and large migratory group. Because ofthe mobility which their way of living afforded, they could frequently harass or attack other tribals who had taken to 'settled life'.* But inspite of this low productive activity they lived under a kind of dictorial rule. All the land belonged to him and the villagers had to supply him all his economic needs. (This aspect of the

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* The advantage of their was also reflected during 1917-1919. See Webster to Wood, 28th March 1918, Proceeding, Foreign and political Deptt., National Archive-A August. 1919 Pro. No. 50.

chief's power seems to have been developed as a result of outside influence).*

Within the Mritri society the system of 'Lalup'-Compulsory service, was introduced in the 15th century** and through the gradual elaboration expansion of this system he sucessfully legitimized his assumed claims. That part of lands which was within the affective reach of his power was soon charaterized as "belonging to him". With this it was also accepted within the Mritri society that 'everyone of them was a servent (A "minai"-literally it means a servant but its implication have something close bonded-mained of socially very inferior kinds) of the king'.*** As stated above, the Manipur king expanded his system of collecting 'lalup' in the hill areas and to an extent brought the societies there within the fudal system that had been established at the centre. But before things could be moved substantially, this system came within the sphere of an outside system which ultimately sucked-it up.

The company Government of the British initially exploited the resources of the state through the merchants and traders.**** They (the Britishs) built up their bold over the land of Manipur

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* history of the Lushai hills and Tripura 'to mentioned a few, in which Kukis are frequently referred to supports this views. See A. Mackenzic, History of the Relations.

** J.Roy,'History of Manipur', Imphal, 1960

*** Hudson's, "The Mritris" gives a good account of the economic & social practices of the Mritris in the 18th & 19th centuries.

**** Under the Trealy of Yandobao of Feb. 1826 between the Raja of Meklee (Manipur) and the English Company Government. British secure a lot of concessing and free passage (movement) for the businessmen. Dr. Brown: statistical account of Manipur P. 84-89.

through the traders and through military deterrence and finally through the king. While the British expanded and consolidated their legal fiction, the Manipur Kings claims contracted and wittered. The Hill areas which wasbeing sbought in to the Manipur Kings economic and political net-work were set apart from it and a saper structure of a higher order was slowly introduced, there. The British employed the 'royalty' system in addition, to what was already there (like 'pothang' or compulsory labour, house tase). The forest resources were sold to the businessmen by the Government but in most cases the communities who have been the sole owners of the forests were not informed of this fact. Then the felling of timber by the contractors came to their notice they took measures to prevent these but such attempts to prevent the contractors only resulted in the posting (setting up) of the Forest Department which assisted the contractors and bring terror to the local people.

Thus in the process of exercising legal claims through indirect methods and through the third persons, a particular which through trials and errors developed into a regular net-work with clearly defined spheres of action and specific social oriantation. At the top of this system was the supreme authority the British who granteed the position of the Manipur king and the smaller chiefs. This was slowly replaced by a net-work of bureaucracy just before they left the area. The forest Department of the state has been functioning since 1955-56 and it would be interesting to see how far it has

or is moving away from the old concept of implementing the authorities claims collecting revenue for the state.

4. (i) Legal classification; and (ii) the present position of forestry in Manipur.

(i) Inspite of the fact that 63% of the states total land area is covered by forests its contribution to the states revenue has been very small as would be seen from the following figures.

Revenue from the forests:

Year	Revenue (in lakh of rupees)
1969-70	5.33
1970-71	4.11
1971-72	5.54
1972-73	9.24
1973-74	6.52
1974-75	14.55
1975-76	14.60
1976-77	15.00

SOURCE: Forest Department Government of Manipur

(Out turn and value of forest products are given in table)

The main reason for this low contribution has been due to the practice of merely collecting revenue from the natural vegetation without making any attempt to create man-make forest. A complete survey of the forests of Manipur has yet to be completed. The following figures show the no

firm figures are available concerning the extent of forest area in the state.

Total area of forest has been given variously. It is

8188 sqr. km. according to stop forest deptt. 1968.

6019 " " " " " " " 1960-61

14365 " " " " " " " 1974-75

14000 " " " " " " " to the Fifth Plan Outlay.

The state statistical handbook (1975) gives the legal composition of forests as follows:

Class of Forest	Year		
	1955-56	1966-67	1974-75
Reserved	1004	1247	1371
Protected	2219	2450	4171
Unclossed	2796	10368	8823
Total	6019	14365	14365

(For a more detailed account see Table. 2)

According to this figures the size of the total area of forests in Manipur became suddenly larger in 1966-67, however, it is believed that the previous figures were mainly based on distant observations and therefore, 1966-67 seems to suggest the beginning of some undertakings towards a general survey of the forest areas.

If this the case then the variations in the figures are indicative of a favourable development in the practice

of forestry in the state. However, though the Forest Deptts. steps to ward making a proper survey is not disputed the increase in the total area of forest is a highly doubtful proposition, as the process of denudation of forest has been very greatly accelerated by a combination of agricultural activity and commercial felling of forests during the last two decades.

Excepting, the Kaugpokpi forest (notified in 1968), Tedubi Maram forest (1952) and Dambi 1951), no forest of some significant size was notified as reserved forest after the 1940s and all the rest important forests had been taken (notified) in the 1930s and 1940s.

(iii) Present Position

~~(ii)~~ The state Forest department even now functions in the old tradition of merely collecting royalties by selling forest resources in the state through the technic of public auction to registered forest contractors and price-meal permit system.* Generally Forest Officials are never on the spot and the sale proceeds are conducted in their safe urban/town centres. The people therefore, seldom know this fact that their forests has been sold to such and such person for a period of time during which they (contractors) are free to exploit their forest. But the contractors here seem to be equally cautious and they have always involved some local people hired or paid as agents (though the local people are

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* Report on Resources Mobilization in Manipur, P. 17

made to believe that they were partners because of the small share they receive, which are a little more than the labour price) in extracting timber and fuelwood from their forests. This seems to be not so much out of a consideration to share with them but because of veiling in the tell areas of the state. But whatever may be, the reason it is a fact that in the major income from the forest the local population has only a very marginal share. What more, this share came to them as an incident.

As it is in other partsof India, closely associated with the above practice is the concept of establishing state monopoly capitalism in the forest as a necessary step to the developmental activities. The programme of forest management drawn up according to this concept has been protection oriented' on the fact but in actuality it has been a programme of protection against the native people and free exploitation by the businessmen on the basis of a small sum paid as royalities to the state Forest Department. As such, the 'reserve forests' and 'protected forests' has been (and including the unclassed forests by the efficiency of the contractors) in fact left to the contractors good sense of protection and preservation and to the Nature for raising the plants. As a result even in the forest where the state monopoly has been established the total growing stocks of forest has considerably gone-down. This is a very clearly established fact, though for want of reliable informations we are unable to give the figures. The process of denudation due to commercial felling has been going on a considerable scale in the

reserve-forests during these 20 years without any occompanying measures of replacing the removed plants.

If the rate of average annual yield has not gone-down but increased in the last 20 years, it is mainly due to an increasing penetration into the interior which probably were not accessible from economic point of view in those days. Not only that, the quality of the growing stocks has also gone-down considerably. Because the best timbers has been felled from the accessible areas. If we look at the table I showing the 'Area of Forest by ownership' it will be found that the total area "dedicated to timber production" was 2066 sq. km. in 1955-56 (the year from which statistical figures are available), but the total forest area under the Forest Department was 3223 sq. km. for the same year. In 1974-75 the area alloted to 'timber' was 5562 sq. km.(this figure of the area seems to be a very careless estimation, even the total of reserved and protected forests which was (Reserve Forests 1371 sq. km. 4171 sq. km. protected) 5542 sq. km. only for the same year which is 40 sq. km. less than 5562 sq. km.), while the area alloted to 'timber production' in the enclosed ("civil authorities") was 673 sq. km. out of 2123 sq.km. in 1955-56 and 8823 sq. km.(the whole forest under civil authorities) in 1974-75.* But inspite of this more than a double increase in the timber producing forests area between 1955-56 and, 1974-75, the value of 'forestry and logging' has increased only by about 8.2% between 1960-61 and

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* Forest Department, Manipur, Statistical Hand book, 1975.

1974-75 was Rs. 24.8 lakhs and Rs. 27 lakhs respectively at 1960-61 prices.** This shows that the rate of yield has considerably gone_down, because, transport communication has certainly improved and also demend on forest products has increased very greatly over the last decade. The total yield of timber in 1965-66 and 1974-75 was 17600 cm and 14600cm respectively, whereas for the same years fuelwood production was33100 cm and 170300 cm respectively. Thus the introduction of state monopoly has neither help to improve the quality of forests nor raisedthe yield of good timber, it has only dispossessed the traditional forest-dwellers of some of their best forests with easy access.

The Plan outline (1974.79) of the state proposed to a) increase economic plantation from the present 0.2% of the total land to 0.4%, b) to raise the total reserve forests area to 7% from the present 6% of the total land area. The proposed forests are a)Moreh forests , b) Chashad forests in the east, c) Shirol forest, in Central Ukhrul, d) Irang Mukh forest in the South district, and e) Nongmeiching forest, in the Central valley. These are among the best forests in the unclassed and protected category. The most possible explanation for this selection seems to be the traditional practice of 'raising state' revenue of the expense of the local communities. If the intention was otherwise, then those forests which have been deforestedor are being rapidly denied could have been selected. Only Chashad

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** Central Statistical Organization, Department of Statistics, New Delhi.

forest, out of the proposed forests, is under the sphere of shifting cultivation. But even here there has been a growing awareness of the value of the timber, and unless forced by their economic necessity, it is not likely to be used for shifting cultivation. It is therefore, very difficult to acceptthe proposal as a desireble step.

The local communities within the accessible areas, have started felling timber and fuelwood for commercial purposes and forests have became one of their main source of income. Besides the income for the individual, community funds are also raised from the timber and fuelwood. But while their awareness of the commercial values have thus increased their traditional idea of "inexhaustibility" of forest supply has not changed. Everyone isinterested in extracting timber and fuelwood but no one even bother to think of replacingthe 'lost'. As such the tendency amongthe local people is to penetrat further and further into the inferior. This has led to the stripping of forest within the short-distance from the motorable roads and also a tendency to claim forests of the nearby villages.

In all these operations (Forest-Departments practice as well as those of the local communities) the principal motive is to the immediate income. That while the accessible forests have been almost completely distroyed little effort has been made to extract the mature timbers from the inferior and as a result countless number of timber are left to decay. Thus

the present position of forestry in Manipur is characterized by a thoughtless exploitation of the growing stocks.

3. DETERMINATION OF POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FORESTRY IN MANIPUR.

The State Department as well as the public has been very slow in taking notice of the rapid process of denudation of forests, that till the last two three years not a voice was raised against it. The State Department remained unaware of the seriousness of the problem of forestry in the State, yet with all these ignorance and defective practices it could still go undetected. In the same way the general public kept. On repeating the age old practice of clear-felling the forests. But in the last two-three years there has been a growing awareness among the population, including the State Department of the denudation process and the lost involved. The State as well as the people are realizing that forests was infact the largest storeof resources for their development. This realization has been partly due to the State's search for resources which in the process come to reveal the hidden wealth of the forest, and partly due to the ceaseless effort of the Imphal Jawaharlal University Centre's 'workshop' under Dr. B.K. Roy Burman's able leadership. This awakening is taking the peoples of Manipur to a crucial juncture for taking correct policy decisions which will shape the future development of forestry in the State. As already seen, the development of industry in the State would depend mainly on the scientific management and development of forest resources. But forest has

been, and is, the principal source of subsistence for the vast hill population. How to fulfil these needs? Is a scientific management and development of these forests possible without introduving state monopoly over them(forests)? Or can the traditional rights and a scientific management and development of forests go together? Is State monopoly a necessary condition for the promotion of forestry? The manner in which the people of Manipur response to these questions will decide the future shape of forestry, and the relations between the local communities and the forest.

In the first place a balance has to be determined between the local needs and the industrial needs from the forests. The local needs, as isclear, range from edible leaves and roots to chulks of forests for shifting cultivation. As already mentioned in the 'Agriculture Section, and 'Industrial section' already the available forests for shifting cultivation has become to less and with it timber supply has also gone-down considerably. There is no scope for firther reducing the area of forest under jhuming. Thus practive of jhuming itself can not be just stopped, because it is not being practised out of extravagence, rather it is the extreme necessity for meeting their bare subsistencethat the people are forced to practise it even today. "Jhuming must be regarded not only as a way of life, but as an important aspect closely interwoven with tribal culture. Any development activity must therefore,

ultimately be basedon a study of both agricultural methods and social implications of jhuerming to be able to provide the right kind of guidance to the people. A programme of agricultural reform based on destruction of a time honoured and well tried system is likely to result in general interference and breakdown of the people's culture, resulting moral vacuum and dieruption of tribal life..... Jhuming is a form of co-operative community farming sought after in many parts of the world, while permanent cultivation automatically shifts the peoples' thoughts towards private ownership, with its individualistic trends this leads towards the breakingup of the old traditions"*..... Control of jhuming infact means so many things for the tribal : from a change in the economic operation to a change in the superstructure, which can not be brought at once. Thus the 50 thousand jhumia families in the State has to be dealtwith sympathy and under standing. In Assam, it has been proposed to resettle about 11600 families in Mikir and North Cachar Hills irom jhum cultivation and employ them on wages in rubber and coffee plantations to be set up over an area of 6120 hectares. Educations, health and other facilities for these group is also beibg proposed to be provided. In Meghalaya, the Government, has which will provide for each family 2 hectares of developed land, initially (partly for wet and partly for dry cultivation) seeds, plants, manures/

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* Farmers of India Vol. III, Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi. 1964.

Social reforms.

As part of the scheme for control of shifting cultivation, the State Government is reviving the Valley Development Programme. Under this programme jhunia families from the hills will be settled down in colonies at Samusang which is about 1600 hectares in area, in the southern part of the Manipur Valley. But so far the Programme has not made much progress. The hill people who have come to notice the scheme and are applying for settlement, are relatively better of section of their society. This may be due to the way the Programme is being handled exclusively by the Settlement & Land Records Office. So far no popular organisation or the District Councils and the Panchayats have been involved and no M.L.As. of the hills seem to be in knowledge of this scheme, that little is being done to take the programme to the people. If the present approach continues, there is obviously very little possibility of reducing the number of jhunia families. Besides, the economic viability of the scheme needs to be reconsidered. Each household would be given one acre of available land at the colony and the colony would be entitled to hire tractors and other machines on a cooperative or organisation basis from the State Agricultural Department. Loans will be given for building embankment and for acquiring expensive inputs. Though provision for loans and hiring modern technologies makes the scheme look very attractive, those applying for land at the settlement area do not seem to think that one acre would be enough to meet their other necessities. It seems, the applicants take the scheme as only a supplementary source of living. Assuming that the scheme succeeds, then about

30000 out of the 50000 thousand jhunia families would be settled at the colonies (at the rate of one acre per household). The remaining 24000 jhunia families may then be left with 100000 hectares of jhun land. Cultivating 30000 thousand hectares at the rate of roughly 1.2 hectares at a time will leave them with 10000 hectares which will widen the cycle of cultivation to 3 years from the present estimated one year.

Another scheme concerning control of shifting cultivation is the proposed programme of terracing 10 thousand hectares in the East and the South districts, where the incidence of shifting cultivation is highest. The areas selected for terracing, by and large, are jhum lands which at the present are fuel wood production forests. Thus approximately it will involve a reduction of 10 thousand hectares of jhum land and fuel wood forests.

Terracing new fields in the hills, will normally involve a heavy investment on irrigation. But as already pointed out terraced cultivation (wet-paddy fields) offers little scope for modernisation. And thus, even after a heavy investment such scheme is not likely to help improve the hill economy.

On the other hand, there is an ample opportunity for the development of horticulture,* tasar industry** and livestock farming. However, their development requires markets for the product and also since the home market would not be able to absorb all the product sophisticated packing and canning etc. will be required to be developed. /

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* Besides, my field experience as a local man, I have also confirmed this from the State Department. Industrial Potential survey of Manipur also holds the same view. Industrial Potential survey, Manipur. P.19.

** Oak Tasar Hidden Wealth in Manipur pub. by Project Officer Tasar Manipur. N.3 April, '76.

But the more important questions pose by the present situation are the political and social issues. As the need of the hour is to introduce a scientific management and development of forest resources which is necessary for the development of industrial sector, a major share of the present developmental efforts of the state will be earmarked for the same. The possibilities are; the establishment of the State monopoly (following the traditional practices) over the forest or providing the local communities the capital and technical assistance for the development of forestry. If the former step is chosen, it will lead to the improvishment of the hill peoples and may transform them as the first all-out wage-labour society. This is also likely to turn 'forests' into paradise of the bureaucrats and the contractors and the State may not get a proper share from the forest product. If we take into account the local sentiments such a step stands very little chance of being implemented without shedding blood. Such a step obviously would be urdesirable and therefore, the efforts would have to be directed towards the second choice. The local communities in control of good forested areas, and land conducive for forestry, would be help to manage and develop forest resources in their forests. They should not merely utilize the existing stock but also raise suitable plantations in their forests. Here we may recall the Arunachal experiment at Nam-Sang and Burdurcot area of Tirap. A massive programme of development of forest and building up of an industrial complex has been taken up here without interfering with the traditional rights*. Here Anchal Samities have been

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* Dr. B.K. Roy Burman: People and Forests in North East India (Key-note address) un-published paper. October 1976. P.8.

managing the forest and from the funds raise from it manage several welfare activities including running schools and health service for the local people. Now the Arunachal Pradesh Legislature has passed a Bill (The Arunachal Pradesh Anchol Reserve Forests (Constitution and maintenance) Act 1976) enabling the economically viable forests to be handed over by Anchal Samities for management by Forest Department which will raise tree plantation and the profit therefrom will be shared anually between them. The Samities will in turn use the amount on social welfare activities in the locality and even in other districts of the State. As already stated in the previous chapters, even now so many communities and running schools and other social organisations from the fund raised through their forests. This practice would be of great help in taking up forest development programme without interfering with the traditional rights of the people.

Because of the natural constraint on the development of settled cultivation, hill economy has for centuries remained stagnant. This can be overcome if the rich resources of the hill, especially forest can be managed and developed with the help of the modern technology. The much needed capital for the development of horticulture and livestock farming in the hills may be raised from the forest itself. However, none of these possibilities can be considered in isolation. The determination of the political economy of forestry in the State has to be based on an over all consideration of the socio-economic, political and physographic conditions obtaining in the State.

The physiography of the State plays an important role in the determination of political economy of forestry. The forest covered the hill areas which is 9/10 of the total land area of the State. The height of the forest areas ranges from 800 metres to 8000 metres. As far as known the hills at present constituting part of Manipur State have been in one way or the other associated with the valley for several centuries. Hence a pattern of inter-dependent relationship is expected to have emerged out of it. One significent character of the valley is that there are several lakes in the central portion of it. The presence of water resources must have been a factor in the emergence and stabilisation of the centralized government exercising control over the entire area. It is therefore, clear that thin association had been working to the advantage of the plains and to the disadvantage of the hills. And this will tend to remain so. But it is not to be overlooked that there is a growing awareness among the hill peoples of this inequality. As a result they are not likely to accept this unequal relationship any longer. The crucial factor of forestry in Manipur is that it can ensure the emergence of a balanced pattern of this contradictory factors. If the best suited economic pursuits are adopted in the hills and plains, it is likely to work out a harmonious development. The plain areas are excellently good for paddy and other crops for which hill areas are not good, where the hill areas offer good forestry and horticulture, besides, the minerals. (See Physiographic Map Fig.)

At present the communication net work is basically made up of State-high ways. But the net work of road linking up outlaying areas with the District headquarters and market centres is absent. It is therefore obvious that apart from the historical factors, in the absence of this infrastructure commercial forestry would not work in the interest of the forest-dwellers themselves. The vested interest that have developed would resist the creation of an adequate infrastructure in the interior (Map Fig.).

The great variation in the extent of (Rainfall Map Fig.) rainfall makes it necessary to use different inputs in forestry. Minerals occur in the State but are scattered over different parts of the districts (Geological Map Fig.). There is a good scope for taking up composite integration : forestry-cum-industry taking advantage of the manner of distribution of minerals and rock types.

Both in the development of the forest and industry the existing settlement has got a bearing. In Manipur there are vast forests with hardly any settlement, there are also forest where clusterings of settlements are found. Taking this into account, it is possible to develop forest-based industries in the densely populated areas, both hill and plain. In this matter the nascent urban centres, like Karong in the North, Ukhrul, in the East; Chandel in Trugnonpal, all scheduled dominated towns, and in the valley Kakching, Yaingangpokri etc. to mention but a few. Power supply which has retarding industrial development will be a decisive factor. But in the districts like Tarnenglong where no town has existed, if is not the urban

centre which will provide the incentive to the development of industry. The possibility of improving transport links with the existing urban centres, closeness to the resources area, etc. would be the main consideration for developing industries in these areas. Thus the pattern of settlement has also to be taken into consideration.

The Forest Resource Map (Fi.) shows that while the forests in the Eastern part of the State are a missed forest of Pine and teak, the Western forest is predominantly bamboo and the central forest is predominantly oak. Besides, these forests many highly valued rare flowers and orchide are also found in Manipur.

One of the problems of forest development in Manipur is that of alternative choices. For instance, bamboo has been found in adequate quantity for feeding a paper mill in the W$_e$stern part of the State. But there are different pressure groups who would like to create a man-made forest of cotton crops. Here it is not just a question of natural resources but that of adjusting the political and economic aspirations.

The distribution of Reserve Forests in the State are not uniform and found scattered in isolated pockets (Map Fig.). If we compare this with the proposed reserve and protected forest (Fig.) It is found that there is a tendency to concentrate State control on sub-tropical Pine and the tropical semi evergreen forests. (See Forest Classification Map, Fig.). The present location of resured-forests is not conducive to large scale forest operation. But these fragmented forests are located in the midst of protected and unclassed forests. If a

policy of integrated development is involved and the communities owning the forests can be persuaded to accept such a policy, a large scale forest operations can be taken up to the benefit of all. But it requires a number of policy decisions. One has to overcome the traditional concept of introducing state capitalism. It requires sympathetic involvement and democratic surveillance of the Forest Department. It also requires that the communities be internally organised for acquiring technical guidance and adequate funds. As seen from the figures given above that the bulk of reserved and protected forests were notified in the 1930s and 1940s. (Map Fig.). A number of forests have been proposed to be reserved but even after these are reserved the bulk of the forest in the State will remain unreserved. It can be assumed that the Forest Department will take the responsibility of creating the infrastructure for the management and development of, and economic utilization of the reserved forests, but for the unreserved forests, who will take this responsibility, is not known. If a policy is framed to develop the unreserved forests by a High Court decision, then a programme of creating infrastructure at par with the reserved forests has to be developed and the Forest Department will have to play the role of giving technical guidance. The institution financing will have to be geared to meet the initial capital requirements. Once the communication net is built to reach the interior of the forests (Rope-ways will be very essential for this), the funds raised from the extraction of mature timbers will be more than sufficient to meet the further capital investment. This will not only help the hill economy but the economy

of the whol State to develop. The crucial factor here is to take the policy decision and emphasis the opportunities which will raise the peoples' self-appraisal right from the start.

4. Conclusion

To sump up, it is clear that Manipur is presently one of the most under-developed and poorest States in India. But she is at the threshold of modernisation and she has the very favourable circumstances for a rapid progress. The hitherto unexploited and under-exploited resources promise self-sufficiency in major sectors of the economy. Another important factor is that with the introduction of advanced technology and the initial capital requirements in forestry the problems of imbalance between the hills and the valley can be largely solved. But it requires a lot of policy decisions. Most important is the need for doing away with the traditional concept of establishing state monopoly over the forest for developmental activities. Once the decision is taken to the extent of developing forestry without interfering with the traditional rights, then it will be a matter of how efficiently the social education campaign is being carried out among the communities as well as the Forest officials. The details for this have to be worked out.

TABLE - I

(In thousand hectares)

Statewise Forest Area Vis-a-Vis Geographical Area (1970-71)

State/Union Territories	Geographical area	Forest area	Percentage of forest area to geographical area	Forest Areas as % of total forest area in the country
1	2	3	4	5
Andhra Pradesh.	27676	6496	23.47	8.71
Assam	12210	4442	36.38	5.96
Bihar	17388	2921	16.80	3.92
Gujarat	19598	1739	8.87	2.33
Haryana	4422	148	3.35	0.20
Himachal Pradesh	5567	2144	38.51	2.87
J & K	22224	2104	9.47	2.82
Karnataka	19177	3510o	10.30	4.71
Kerala	3886	1129	29.05	1.51
Madhya Pradesh	94284	16835	38.02	22.54
Maharashtra	30776	6619	21.51	8.87
Manipur	2236	602	26.92	0.81
Nagaland	1653	288	17.42	0.39
Orissa	15584	6746 oo	43.29	9.04
Punjab	5036	211	4.19	0.28

o Figure for 1969-70 repeated

oo Figure for 1968-69 repeated

contd....

contd... Table.

1	2	3	4	5
Rajasthan	34221	3690	10.78	4.95
Tamil Nadu	13007	2248	14.28	3.01
Tripura	1048	630	60.11	0.84
Uttar Pradesh	29441	4872	16.55	6.53
West Bengal	8785	1183	13.47	1.59
Andaman-Nicobar	829	747	90.11	1.00
Arunachal Pradesh	8358	5154	61.67	6.91
Dadra-Nagra-Haveli	49	21	42.86	0.03
Delhi	149	5	3.36	0.01
Goa-Daman & Diu.	381	105	27.56	0.14
Others	63	-	-	-
All India	328048	74589	22.74	100.00

Source: "India's Forests"-1976 issued by Central Forestry Commission.

TABLE - 2

Statewise Forest Area Covered by Working Plans and Schemes
(1970-71)

States/Union Territories.	Forest Area under control of Forest Deptt.	Forest Area covered by Working Plan/ Scheme.	% of Col 3 to Col.2.
1	2	3	4
	6489	6489	100.00
	2531	1650	65.19
	2928	2816	96.17
	1576	1573	99.81
	95	14	14.74
	1995	1393	69.82
	2104	1895	90.07
	3115	2500	80.26
	901	901	100.00
	16835	12291	73.01
	5604	4979	88.83
	602	39	6.48
	83	17	20.48
	6618	2182	32.97
	100	29	29.00
	3690	3630	100.00

contd....

contd.....Table.2

1	2	3	4
	2104	2102	99.90
	628	121	20.22
	4022	3818	94.92
	1152	711	61. 45
	747	480	64.25
	5154	438	8.49
	20	-	-
	-	-	-
	105	-	-
All India	67205	50134	74.59

(Figures in 1000 hectares)

Spurce: Central Forestry Commission, Ministry of Agriculature.

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TABLE - 11

Extent of Man-Made Forest in India created upto 1968-69 by Main Regions and Species ('000 hectares)

Species	NAME OF REGIONS				TOTAL
	North Eastern	Western& Central	Southern & South Eastern	Northern	
1	2	3	4	5	6
1- Teak	22.6	65.9	179.9	17.1	285.5
2. Sal	9.0	-	-	20.0	20.0
3. Sisso	-	--	-	47.2	47.2
4. Conifers	2.8	-	-	24.0	26.8
5. Soft wood	4.0	-	37.2	31.7	72.9
6. Encaly	12.2	85.2	118.9	67.7	284.0
7. Wattles	-	-	22.4	-	22.4
8. Bamboos	-	9.3	13.4	47.2	69.9
9. Caruarine	-	4.0	25.3	-	29.3
10. Other fuel-woods.	-	-	77.8	-	77.8
11. Babul	-	-	-	37.0	37.0
12. Khair	-	5.2	-	30.8	36.0
13. Sandal	-	-	1.8	-	71.8

cotd.....

contd.....table 11.

1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Cashew Nut.	-	6.8	67.0	-	73.8
15. Rubber	-	-	5.1	-	5.1
16. Miscellaneous	125.4	63.4	104.0	155.1	447.9
Total	176.0	239.8	652.8	477.8	1546.4

Source: Report of the Tark force on Forest Resources Survey, planning commission, 1972.

Forest by States

R.F. 369599 sq.Kms (41.1%)
Pro.F. 237840 " " (30.3%)
Unclassed 176630 " (22.6%)

About 95% of the total area are under State owner

5% Com & Private.

Source: Commodity Tran' St.Suru. Vol.II P.Com. March 1968 pp 299.316.

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TABLE - 4

Estimates of Forest Growing Stock by States

(Million Cubic Metres)

States/Union Territories	As per Indian Forest Statistics 1959-60 issued in 1969.	Commonwealth Forestry Conference 1968	Tentative figure
1	2	3	4
Andhra Pradesh	184	164	170
Assam	NA	59	100
Bihar	211	229	15
Gujarat	N.A.	29	10
Himachal Pradesh	76	115	82
J & K	79	425	150
Kerala	61	85	61
Madhya Pradesh	175	410	410
Manipur	N.A.	61	N.A.
Mysore	1350	226	140
Nagaland	N.A.	6	6
Orissa	68	109	109
Punjab	43	140	-
Rajasthan	N.A.	54	3
Tripura	-	15	10

contd.....

Contd.....Table 4.

1	2	3	4
Tamil Nadu	4	53	4
Uttar Pradesh	93	123	105
West Bengal	37	16	16
Andaman & Nicobar	18	21	51
Arunachal	N.A.	117	111
Others	N.A.	3	3
All India.	2510	2606	1793

N.A. = Not available.

Source : Report of the Task Force on Forest Resources Survey, Planning Commission 1972.

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TABLE - 5

Statewise Production of Wood 1970-71 (Provisional)

(000m^3)

States/Union Territories	Industrial	Fuel Wood	Total Wood
1	2	3	4
Andhra Pradesh	228	524	756
Assam	396	396	792
Bihar	407	351	758
Gujarat	184	232	419
Haryana	32	47	79
Himachal Pradesh	525	135	660
J & K	424	91	515
Karnataka (b)	241	194	435
Kerla	507	850	1357
M.P. (b)	2418	2219	4637
Maharastra	540	1609	2149
Manipur(b)	8	53	61
Meghalaya (b)	2	1	3
Nagaland	9	12	21
Orissa (b)	1681	1436	3117

contd....

contd.....table 5.

1	2	3	4
Punjab	47	41	88
Rajasthan	29	-	29
Tamil Nadu	60	398	458
Tripura	39	27	66
U.P.	927	2422	3349
West Bengal	266	197	463
Union Territories	409	107	316
All India	9382	11346	20728

(b) In the absence of 1970-71 data, the latest available data have been used.

Source: Indian Agriculture in Brief (13th idition) 1973, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

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TABLE - 6

Value of Forest Produce in India - 1970-71 (Provisional)

State/Union Territories	Timber Rs.000	Fuel Wood Rs.000	Total	Per capita value of Forest produce (in' 000 Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5
Andhra Pradesh	36,830	5,506	142,336	3.27
Assam(including Mizoram).	18,477 +	796	19273 +	1.21
Bihar	18,555	7,725	26,280	0.47
Gujarat	30,258	6,021	36,279	1.36
Haryana	2,859	1,281	4,140	0.41
Himachal Pradesh	124,882	9,045	133 927	38.71
Jammu & Kashmir	131,610	3,778	135,388	29.32
Karnataka(b)	83,874	19,018	102,892	3.51
Kerala	(a)	(a)	84,792 +	3.97
Madhya Pradesh(b)	132,843	28,104	160,947	3.86
Maharashtra	85,540	15,320	100,860	2.00
Manipur (b)	183	49	232	0.22
Meghalaya (e)	212	3	215	-
Nagaland	486	24	510	0.99

contd.....

contd.....table 6

1	2	3	4	5
Orissa (b)	22,814	4,703	27,517	1.25
Punjab	4,708	1,996	6,704	0.49
Rajasthan (c)	600	9,707	10,307	0.40
Tamil Nadu	)a)	(a)	21,191 +	0.51
Tripura	1,763	108	1,871	1.20
Uttar Pradesh	125,603	7,594	133,197	1.51
West Bengal	15,146	2,034	17,180	0.39
Union Territories.	28,915	788	30,994	4.89
All India	866,158	123,600	1,097,032(d)	2.00

+ Estimated

++ Includes timber, round wood and pulf & Match wood.

+++ Includes fine wood and charcoal.

(a) Separate figures for Timber & fuel wood are not available.

(b) In the absence of 1970-71 data, the latest available data have been utilized.

(c) The out turn of fuel wood in case of Rajasthan is in ~~ferm~~ of weight.

(d) ~~Separate~~ Includes Rs.107,274 thousands for which separate break-up is not available.

(e) Data in respect of Meghalaya related to the year 1971-72 which has been utilised for 1970-71.

SOURCE: Indian Agriculture in Brief (3th Edition 1973); Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Govt.of India, New Delhi.

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TABLE - 15

Total Industrial Raw material requirements
(1970, 1980,1990 and 2000)

Forest products	Estimated consumption in 1970	Projected demands in 1980	1990	2000
1. Raw material for Sawn Wood(000m^3)	9,561	13,750	19,773	26,836
2. Wood required for Panch boards (000m^3)	372	939	1,500	2,267
3. Pulp Wood(1000m3)	746	5,033	12,600	30,910
4. Round wood('000m3) (from forest and non-forest sources)	5,232	7,169	9,823	13,459
Total industrial wood('000 cubic metres)	15,911	26,891	43,696	73,472
5. Fuel Wood('000cu metres)	203,000	256,000	300,000	385,000
6. Bamboo (100 tonnes) (a) for pulp & paper	1,191	2,199	1,954	1,800
(b) non industrial usees	1,582	2,173	2,960	4,000
Total Bamboo	2,773	4,372	4,914	5,800

Source: Basic figures for 1970 have been taken from National Commission on Agriculture, "Interim Report on production Forestry Man Made forest", Ministry of Agricuture, New Delhi 1972.

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TABLE - 16

Employment of Labour in Forestry and forest industries

(Average number of persons employed per day)

Year	SOURCE OF EMPLOYEMENT			
	Management	Extraction	Forest Industries	Total
1	2	3	4	5
1949-50	60,586	397,453	112,064	570,103
1950-51	44,784	295,629	70,112	410,103
1951-52	49,074	324,260	53,105	426,439
1952-53	24,281	195,147	29,659	249,087
1953-54	101,916	216,193	30,106	384,815
1954-55	57,060	187,524	55,056	299,640
1955-56	62,021	268,890	53,766	384,677
1956-57	62,840	185,453	28,858	277,151
1957-58	54,421	193,033	39,130	286,584
1958-59	826,641	113,074	4,157	943,862
1959-60	2,578,491	228,310	140,614	2,947,435
1960-61	4,262,905	706,201	2,017	4,970,523
1961-62	238,927	4,721,830	3,611	4,970,377
1962-63	8,637,132	362,502	10,723	9,010,357
1963-64	8,708,028	362,521	11,731	9,082,273
1964-65	8,501,088	380,127	11,675	8,892,890

Source: Statistical Abstracts for various years, Central Statistical Organisation, Govt.of India, New Delhi.

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Table-2.

Area Under Forest by Legal and Composition (in sq. Km.)

Class of Forest	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1972-73	1974-75.
I. Reserved Forest.	1,004	1,004	1,247	1,334	1,371
2. Protected Forest	2,219	2,219	2,226	4,171	4,171
3. Unclassed Forest	2,796	2,796	11,892	8,860	8,823
Total	6,019	6,019	14,365	14,365	14,365
4. Employment in Forest and Forest Industries (Average number of persons employed)					
(a) Forestry					
(i) Management	---	---	---	---	---
(ii) Protection	116	168	164	210	343

Source:- Forest Department, Manipur.

6.3 AREA OF FOREST BY OWNERSHIP (IN SQUARE KILOMETRES)

Year	Total Geographical area	FOREST DEPARTMENT			CIVIL AUTHORITIES			TOTAL			Percentage of total area to Geographical area.
		Dedicated to timber production	Other Forest	Total	Dedicated to timber production	Other forests	Total	Dedicated to timber production	Other Forest.	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1955-56	22.356	2,066	.1,157	3,223	673	2,123	2,716	2,739	3,280	6,019	26,92
1960-61	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1965-66	"	-	-	14,365	MA	N.A.	N.A.	-	-	14,365	64,26
1966-67	"	-	-	"	N.A.	-	-	-	-	"	"
1967-68	"	-	-	"	-	-	-	-	-	"	"
1968-69	"	-	-	"	-	-	-	-	-	"	"
1969-70	"	-	-	"	-	-	-	-	-	"	"
1970-71	"	-	-	"	-	-	-	-	-	"	"
1972-73	"	5,505	-	5,505	8,860	-	8,860	-	-	"	"
1973-74	"	"	-	"	"	-	"	-	-	"	"
1973-74	"	5,507	-	5,507	8,858	-	8,858	-	-	"	"
1974-75	"	5,562	-	5.562	8,823	-	8,823	-	-	"	"

a
NA. - Not available
Source: Forest Department Manipur
Statistical H. book 1975.

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6.2

TABLE-1.

6.2 OUT-TURN AND VALUE OF MAJOR AND MINOR FOREST PRODUCTS
(QUANTITY IN CUBIC METRES, VALUE IN RUPEES IN '000 UNIT)

	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1966-67	1968-69	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(A) Major products									
a) Timber (i) Quantity	-	-	17.6	7.8	10.2	7.9	9.6	10.0	14.6
(ii) Value	188.1	284.8	251.8	107.5	214.3	225.4	470.8	277.3	718.6
b-Fuel (i) Quantity	-	-	33.1	26.6	41.3	96.1	177.2	77.6	170.3
(ii) Value	21.5	44.2	47.5	42.2	73.3	80.1	62.7	57.0	102.1
(C) Rowed (i) Quantity	-	-	1.4	1.9	1.3	5.5	0.2	0.6	45.3
(ii) Value	6.0	12.4	28.3	20.7	5.3	66.4	37.4	3.0	18.5
Total Value	215.6	341.4	327.6	170.4	292.7	571.8	570.9	337.2	839.2
(B). Minor Products:- (i) Animal Produce (Value)	0.0	1.9	-	-	-	0.3	-	0.1	1.6

Contd.....

Contd. Table

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(ii) Bamboot Cane(Value)	7.7	3.7	35.3	14.6	9.6	20.9	14.3	15.1	18.5
(iii) Fodder & Grazing (Value)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(iv) Gross other than fodder (value)	2.2	20.4	-	-	-	4.4	-	11.5	13.4
v) Incence and Perfume (Value)	0.5	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(vi) Others(Value)	2.6	10.9	169.5	102.1	104.1	155.6	139.3	35.0	53.0
Total Value	13.0	96.9	204.8	116.7	113.7	181.2	153.6	61.7	86.5
Total of major & Minor(Value)	228.6	398.3	932.4	287.1	406.4	553.0	724.5	398.9	925.7

Source: - Forest Department Manipur
H. Book-1975.

TAD 1.E-C

TOTAL FOOD GRAIN PRODUCTION, AREA AND YIELD

		1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
ASSAM	A. P	2234.1	2091.6	2111.6	2299.5	2236.9	2242.2
	P	1969.7	2034.2	1996.3	2396.3	2171.2	2114.4
	Y	881	973	945	1042	971	943
MANIPUR							
	A	150.3	144.4	145.1	160.9	166.7	196.2
	P	244.8	166.6	179.9	174.4	268.5	300.7
	Y	1629	1154	1240	1084	1438	1533
ALL INDIA							
	A	123569.7	124318.9	122622.6	119277.4	126244.3	121615.9
	P	99501.3	108422.8	97026.3	100644.5	101356.3	
	Y	805	872	858	813	797	833

A = Area -'000 hectares
P = Production-'000 tonnes
Y = Yield-kgs. per hectares

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, Govt. of India.

Contd.....

Total consumption of Fertilizers.

	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	
ASSAM	-	-	8.19	10. 25	7.65	6.60	Total Consumption of fertilizer
MANIPUR	-	-	0.70	1.48	1.98	1.94	
ALL INDIA	-	-	2256.27	2767.87	2833.93	2577.72	

SOURCE: India Fertilizer Statistics 1974-75, Economics Statistics Division, Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals, Govt. of India, N. Delhi.

Table

Programme for Control of Shiefting Cultivation in the Fifth Plan, 1974-79.

State/Union Territory	Outlay				Area Coverage			
	State Plans	Central Sector Plan	NEC Regional Plan	Total	State Plans	Central Sector Plan	NEC Regional Plan	Total
	(Rupees in Lakhs)				(Rupees in Lakhs)			
1. Arunachal Pradesh	200.00*	50.00	97.41	347.41	17.00	1.00	2.60	20.60
2. Assam	380.00	50.00	80.02	510.02	8.00	1.00	8.92	17.92
3. Manipur	200.00	100.00	75.00	375.00	17.60	1.00	5.00	23.60
4. Meghalaya	400.00	50.00	93.03	543.03	9.00	2.00	9.10	20.10
5. Mizoram	225.00	50.00	46.56	321.56	9.80	1.00	2.07	12.87
6. Nagaland	433.00	50.00	---	483.00	14.00	1.00	---	15.00
7. Tripura	300.00	50.00	28.00	378.00	5.00	1.00	1.28	7.28
Total	2,138.00	400.00	420.02	2,958.02	80.40	8.00	28.97	117.37

* Inluding Outlay for resettlement of Villages

Source:- North Eastern Council, Annual Plan 1974-75.

T A B L E - I

Economic Classification of the Population, 1971

Districts	Total Workers	Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers.	Workers other than Cultivators and Agricultural labourers	Percentages of workers to the Population.	Percentage of cultivator to total workers		
						Cultivators	Agrl. Labrs.	Other Workers
Manipur North.	53,611	48,040	168	5,403	52.3	89.6	0.3	10.1
Manipur West.	22,868	20,747	20	2,093	50.6	90.7	0.1	9.2
Manipur South.	39,157	32,752	645	5,760	40.1	83.6	1.7	14.7
Manipur Central	2,38,771	1,25,838	13,717	99,216	31.3	52.7	5.8	41.5
Manipur East.	20,775	25,542	107	4,126	48.1	85.0	0.4	13.8
MANIPUR	3,84,182	2,52,919	14,665	1,16,598	35.9	65.8	3.8	30.4

Source : Census of India, 1971; Series 26, Paper of 1971.

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TABLE - II

Selected Socio-Economic Indicators for Different States in India

Andhra Pradesh	29	5.2	28.5	96	82	113.2	224	29.20	631
Assam	29	3.1	13.0	56	25	142.2	210	30.96	601
Bihar	31	1.8	84.5	84	30	97.0	160	63.79	489
Gujarat	108	13.0	106.4	285	177	190.5	594	23.23	733
Haryana	70	8.7	48.9	142	100	152.3	248	56.05	982
M.P.	228	13.3	10.7	173	30	178.6	27	23.70	902
J & K	6	17.6	17.2	153	48	120.5	345	10.39	708
Karnataka	62	11.7	89.2	170	155	154.6	528	44.54	704
Kerala	42	07.9	61.4	149	108	234.7	336	319.36	785
M.P.	27	4.0	46.6	66	41	126.9	234	19.78	720
Maharashtra	167	17.9	114.4	433	993	179.4	766	33.28	1080
Manipur	1	6.1	117	32	10	262.3	248	38.62	609
Meghalaya	NA	NA	NA	196	18	191.9	NA	41.36	NA
Nagaland	NA	14.8	7.4	59	18	235.4	452	32.16	NA
Orissa	27	2.1	61.2	38	21	123.4	101	29.75	511
Punjab	92	13.6	82.4	353	156	179.6	323	42.69	1105
Rajasthan	26	4.0	27.2	77	46	85.5	492	12.79	769
Tamilnadu	75	9.5	66.2	176	193	178.7	394	75.80	870
Tripura	3	3.0	1.2	64	8	167.2	329	36.69	493
U.P	24	4.9	27.2	103	90	165.0	213	42.07	652
West Bengal	97	16.1	71.5	289	246	151.0	385	62.17	662
India	59	8.9	55.9	184	139	149.9	350	36.10	852

Contd.....

cont.....Table

1. Value added per capita
2. Domestic consumption or electricity per capita (Kwh)(P)
3. Industrial consumption of electricity per capita (Kwh)(P)
4. Scheduled Caste banks

   4. Deposits per capita (Rs) (P)

   5. Credit per capita (Rs) (P)
6. No. of students in primary and secondary schools per thousand population (No.) (P)
7. Motor vehicles per lakh of population (No.) (P)
8. Total Road length per 100 sq.km. of area (Km) (P)
9. Per capita of income at current prices

NA = Not available

* Relates to 1972-73; (a) relates to 1971-72 ; and relates to 1969-70

Source : The Economic Times - Research Bureau 13.4.76 P.I.

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